

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

From the First Entrance of

JULIUS CÆSAR

AND THE

ROMANS,

To the End of the REIGN of

KING JAMES the First.

Containing the Space of 1678 Years.

N. Richard (L.)

With a Compleat INDEX.

By LAURENCE ECHARD, A. M. Prebendary of *Lincoln*,
and Chaplain to the Right Reverend *William*, Lord Bishop of that Diocese.

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A N N E R.



ANNE, by the Grace of God, Queen of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom These Presents shall come Greeting. WHEREAS Our Trusty and Well-beloved *Jacob Tonson*, of our City of *London* Bookseller, hath humbly represented unto Us, That he is now Printing a Compleat History of *England*, in Two large Volumes in Folio, written by *Laurence Echard*, Master of Arts, and Prebendary of *Lincoln*; AND WHEREAS the said *Jacob Tonson* hath informed Us that he has been at a Great Expence and Charge in Carrying on the said Work, and that the sole Right and Title of the Copy of the said Work is Vested in the said *Jacob Tonson*; he hath therefore humbly besought Us to grant him Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the sole Printing and Publishing thereof for the Term of Fourteen Years: We being Graciously inclin'd to Encourage so Useful a Work, are pleased to condescend to his Request; and do therefore hereby Give and Grant unto the said *Jacob Tonson* Our Royal Licence and Privilege for the sole Printing and Publishing the said Two Volumes of the *English* History by the said *Laurence Echard*, for and during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Day of the Date hereof; strictly Charging, and Prohibiting all Our Subjects to Reprint or Abridge the said History, or any Part thereof, or to Import, Buy, Vend, Utter, or Distribute any Copies of the same, or any Part thereof, Reprinted beyond the Seas, within the said Term of Fourteen Years, without the Consent and Approbation of the said *Jacob Tonson*, his Heirs, Executors, and Assigns, by Writing under his or their Hands and Seals first had and obtained, as they and every of them Offending herein will Answer the Contrary at their Peril, and such other Penalties as by the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm may be Inflicted: Whereof the Master, Wardens, and Company of Stationers of Our City of *London*, the Commissioners and Officers of Our Customs, and all other Our Officers and Ministers whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that due Obedience be given to Our Pleasure herein signified. Given at Our Court at St. *James's* this sixth Day of *February*, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$. In the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

C. Hedges.

TO HIS
GRACE
THE
DUKE of ORMOND,
Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, &c.

My LORD,

THE reasonable Hopes that the *English* History could not be unacceptable to a Person and Family, that must make so noble a Figure in it, have encourag'd me to be thus bold in my Approaches: And real Gratitude to your Grace, for putting me upon this Work, and giving Life and Being to it, has excited me to lay it at your Grace's Feet; as a glorious Patron of Learning, and a generous Patriot of your Country, whose very Name will give both Lustre, and Protection to it. And this I have presum'd to offer, not so much with the Prospect of celebrating your Heroick Virtues, as acknowledging this unmerited Favour.

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The DEDICATION.

For to enter into so spacious a Field, and to describe all the great Actions of your Self, and your Renowned Ancestors, is more properly the Work of an *History*, than a *Dedication*. And it would require an Historian of the most exalted Genius to record the several Excellencies of a Family, so truly Nustrious, and so gloriously Conspicuous, as your own. Such a Writer ought to do Justice to your Character in Particular; to display your inherent Magnanimity and Gallantry, your intrepid Courage and Bravery, and, which give Beauty and Brightness to these, your condescending Affability, and your unbounded Beneficence to Others. These, with that Greatness of Mind that soars above all private Interest, and the Faction of all Parties, are proper Subjects to be transmitted to Posterity, by such as have sufficient Abilities. Therefore I shall only presume to glance upon such Particulars, as will easily show what Praises are due from the Gratitude of One Kingdom, and the Justice of Another.

When *England* labour'd under all the Difficulties of a threatening War abroad, and powerful Disturbers at home; when her active Monarch was struggling with perpetual Oppositions, and wanted the Aids of the best and bravest of his Nobility; in those discouraging Times your Grace was pleas'd generously to offer your Service, to hazard your Person, and expend your Fortune, both in *Ireland*, and in *Flanders*. In the Latter, in one Battel your ardent Courage transported you beyond the Assistance of your Friends, to the reaping of the most dangerous Laurels; where your Wounds added Lustre to your Actions, and your Captivity prov'd your Triumph, by giving you Opportunities of displaying your Generosity, as you had done your Valour, and of teaching Humanity and Civility to one of the most polite Nations in the World.

When afterwards the Monarch of *France* became more formidable than ever, by a new Accession of large Kingdoms and Dominions, your Grace then shew'd us that

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He was not invulnerable; and by your glorious Expedition at Vigo, gave us a happy Omen of future Successes in those Parts. This was the first publick Triumph in this wonderful Reign; which gave Joy to the whole Nation, and rais'd an Emulation between the Affections of the People, and the Love of the Soldiers.

As all Men became sensible of your Grace's Merits, so none more justly than those of your Native Country; who, upon your Entrance into the Government there, receiv'd you with the utmost Transports of Zeal and Joy. The Nobility, and Representatives of that Kingdom, unanimously express'd their mighty Satisfaction: The Former could not but assure your Grace, *That they admir'd Her Majesty's Wisdom, in appointing your Grace to represent Her Royal Person upon this Occasion, since only your Grace could in this Juncture of Difficulty and Distress compose the Minds of Her People, and raise their Hopes that some Relief was intended them: And I think I may say in the Words of the Latter, That your unshaken Fidelity to the Crown, Zeal for the Protestant Religion and Interest, Conduct and distinguishing Bravery on all Occasions in the Publick Service, are so many Honours done to your Native Country.* To the same Effect they shortly after declar'd as much in their Address to Her Majesty, who had conferr'd this desir'd Honour upon them.

These were the grateful Marks of the Nation's Satisfaction, in the Beginning of the Parliament; in the Conclusion of which, their Experience excited a more large and particular Acknowledgment of your Grace's Noble Services, as *your indefatigable Application, as well in the framing, as in obtaining, the Return of the many good Bills from Her Majesty, especially the Bill to prevent the Growth of Popery.* And it was upon this happy Occasion, that the Commons thus express'd the Sense of their Nation: *When we recollect the Honourable Part your most Noble Grandfather had in the Settlement of the Protestant Interest in this Kingdom, we cannot but Congratulate your Grace's greater Glory and Felicity, in being the Instru-*
ment,

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ment, under Her Majesty, of giving a more lasting Security to the Protestant Religion, than ever it had since the Reformation.

I have mention'd these Particulars with the Plainness and Fidelity of an *Historian*, in Hopes to render them more agreeable to your Grace; and that such undeniable Truths will not only remove all Imputations of Flattery, but also procure a Pardon for that which would otherwise be an inexcusable Presumption in

Your Grace's most humble,

Most oblig'd, and

Devoted Servant,

Laurence Echard.

THE PREFACE.

Notwithstanding the common Pretence among many Authors, That their Books were written at the Instance of Friends and others, I am oblig'd to do my self the Justice to declare, That several considerable Persons advis'd and urg'd me to undertake this Work, long before I had Time and Leisure to begin it. The chief Reasons alledg'd were, First, The great Benefit and general Usefulness of the English History to all the Nobility, Gentry, and great Numbers of others in the Nation. Next, The unpleasing Difficulties in attaining to that Knowledge, and the Length of Time requir'd to master the Subject; which had discourag'd many, and incapacitated more from arriving at any reasonable Perfection in it. So that as the Case then stood, an Englishman, who desir'd to know his own Country's Story, was oblig'd to read over a Library, rather than a single History, if he expected any answerable Success. Now the Perusal of all the Monkish Writers, with the Others necessary on this Occasion, is a Labour highly disagreeable to the Taste and Genius of this refin'd Age; which cannot bear with the Meannesses and Sterilities of some of them, no more than the Prolixities and Impertinencies of others. Even Hollingshed and Speed, the two best and most compleat Writers of their Times, have been condemn'd chiefly for their being so very tedious and voluminous; and for that Reason, are now much neglected, and almost laid aside.

These were sufficient Inducements to me to undertake this Work, which, as far as the Subject and Materials would afford, was design'd so as to partake of the Advantages both of an Original History and an Abridgement; so as to preserve the Essentials and Beauties of the Former, and the Easiness and Conveniences of the Latter. In order to surmount so great a Difficulty, I had a nice Consultation with several Friends; when the Examples of Milton and Daniel soon convinc'd us, that Abridgements might be useful and acceptable to the Nation; but upon a careful Examination of those two considerable Writers, we found them really too short and confin'd to answer our Ends and Designs; therefore it was determin'd to make this History in Proportion almost as long again as theirs. The Size and Method being thus fix'd and determin'd, I proceeded in the Work with all Care and Diligence, hoping in a reasonable Time to bring it into the World: But in the Performance, I was unhappily disturb'd with a thousand various Interruptions, and many real Indispositions; so that it was hinder'd and protracted at least one Year longer than was expected, and might have been presum'd; for which I am to beg the Excuse of several, who by that Means were deceiv'd as to the Time of the Publication.

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Now it is finish'd and publish'd, perhaps the Reader will expect some further Account than I have already given of it; in which I shall very briefly endeavour to satisfy him, tho' I cannot pretend to obviate all the Objections that may be rais'd against it. As Truth and Fidelity were my principal Aims, as Qualifications most necessary; so were likewise Perspicuity and Elevation, Diversion and Instruction, as Properties no less useful. For the Business of an Historian is not barely to tell his Reader a true and faithful Story, which is the Office of a Gazetteer and Journalist; but he ought withal insensibly to instruct him, as also sensibly to divert him: He is not so much to fill his Head, as to enlarge his Mind; not so much to load his Memory, as to enrich his Understanding, to elevate his Thoughts, and even to captivate his Affections. In short, the Qualifications of a compleat Historian are so considerable, as well as numerous, that a perfect Work of that Nature has been justly rank'd with the greatest of all Human Undertakings; as may be seen from Rapin, Le Moyne, and others, who have given us excellent Rules for that Purpose, taken from the Nature of the Thing, as well as the Examples of the most celebrated Historians in all Ages. To enumerate and particularize those Rules and Qualifications, would too much discover my own Defects and Imperfections; therefore I shall only inform my Reader, that all along I had them in my View, and endeavour'd to follow them as much as a real Abridgement, broken Materials, and an unequal Subject would permit; all which were great Disadvantages.

I have all the Way consider'd my Reader as a Traveller through a vast Country, wherein he must have Occasion for many Resting-Places; some for greater Refreshments, and others for less. Accordingly, in every Reign I have prepar'd such a convenient Number of Stages, as I could judge best for that Purpose, by fixing the great Sections at such proper Periods of Time, and such natural Distinctions of Matter, as should be most advantageous for the Ease and Pleasure of the Reader, as well as for his apprehending and retaining the whole Subject. The Want of such periodical Distinctions, and such convenient Separations of the main Parts, have been a great Disadvantage to many of the best Historians. From hence oftentimes there appears a Cloudiness, when there is none in Reality, sometimes a Light too much confus'd, and for the most Part the Reader is reduc'd to an unnecessary Labour, by being oblig'd to digest and separate what the Author ought to have done for him. Perhaps I should offend, if I nam'd a late Writer, and one of the best in the English Tongue, who seems to have been too defective in this Case; and his excellent History has been thought by some to be too tedious and perplex'd, when a nice Method, a clear Division, and more Chronological Distinction of the Parts, would in a great measure have prevented that Objection.

As to the Materials, and the Authors from whence this Work was collected, for the most Part the Reader may see their Names in the inward Margin of the Book, which for above Half Way consists chiefly of the Roman, Saxon and English Monkish Historians, with some Foreigners. These are put in a small Print, and a little Compass, that they might not too much withdraw the Eyes of the Reader, who in History ought to meet with no Impediments nor Interruptions. Besides these Writers, I have made use of all those of

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a more modern Date, and more regular Design, such as Hall, Grafton, Polydore Virgil, Hollinghed, Stow, Speed, Baker, Daniel, Biondi, &c. But of the Moderns none more have been of greater use to me than the laborious Works of Dr. Howel, Dr. Brady and Mr. Tyrrell, besides the Celebrated History of the Reformation; by which I have been eas'd of much Trouble. I have also made use of Mr. Barns's Reign of King Edward III. Sir Robert Howard's Reign of Edward and Richard II. and Mr. Goodwin's Reign of Henry V. besides several other Writers of particular Lives and Reigns, such as Camden, Bacon, Herbert, Habington, Temple, &c. From all these several Writers, and many others, I have collected and formed this present History; always taking the Liberty either to copy or to imitate any Parts of them, if I found them really conducing to the Usefulness, or the Ornament of my Work. And from all these, I have compil'd an History as full, comprehensive and compleat, as I could bring into the Compass of the propos'd Size and Bigness. And that nothing might be wanting, I have all the way enrich'd it with the best and wisest Sayings of Great Men, that I could find in larger Volumes, and likewise with such short Moral Reflections, and such proper Characters of Men, as might give Life, as well as add Instruction to the History.

Notwithstanding all my Care and Caution, it cannot be expected, that a Work compos'd from such Variety of Materials, should be absolutely free from Errors, nor a History, so Comprehensive, from Omissions. As to this, I can only say, that I us'd my best Endeavours to follow the strict Rules of Sincerity and Judgment, the two superior Guides to an Historian. As to the Former, which includes or implies Impartiality, I may insist upon that without the Breach of Modesty, and declare that I am not conscious to my self of any Deviation from Truth, and real Fact; and if any such be found, I desire it may be charg'd upon the Latter, or upon Ignorance, or Inadvertency. I am sensible of the mighty Difficulties of discovering Truth in some Cases, and of knowing it when it is discover'd, therefore beg that some candid Allowances may be made: And a strict Impartiality is so rare a Quality in most Writers of History, that many are ready to think, that an impartial Historian is a Man not to be found in the World; and some carry it farther, and say, that considering Human Infirmities, it is impossible to be really impartial. I grant there are strong Propensities in all Mankind to join and adhere to one Side more than another, and that in the most trivial Cases; but while there are such things in the World, as Truth and Honesty, undoubtedly there may be an impartial Historian as well as an impartial Judge in a Court, who can certainly give Sentence according to his Conscience and Judgment, tho' contrary to his Desires and Inclinations. An Historian ought never to be of a Party but in one Respect; that is, he ought always to be of the same Side with Truth, and incline to the Cause that is most just and rightful, tho' it chance to be highly offensive to some, whose Thoughts are working a contrary way. Such a Writer I presume to declare my self; and I have carefully endeavour'd neither to exasperate, nor flatter any one Party of Men in the Nation, industriously avoiding all Expressions that had a Tendency either way. And if some Passages shall still displease, I must declare, that it was contrary to my Design and Intention. I have indeed taken more liberty as to Matters of unquestionable Morality and Justice, and have occasionally stigmatiz'd

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tix'd the flagrant Vices and Impieties of great Men; especially where I found a restless Ambition, treacherous and villanous Practices, and an insatiable Thirst after the Blood of others. Such Crimes as these ought not to be spar'd or palliated by an Historian of any Religion, and they seldom fail of signal Punishments in this World; which I have the more expos'd, by shewing the Hand of a just and retaliating Providence from above. And this, as well as other Histories, will afford us many Examples of the greatest Men, who have been arrested by the Vengeance of Heaven, after they have been able to break through all the Powers of Human Laws, and common Judicature.

As to any real Faults or Imperfections that may be found in this Book, while they are not contrary to the Fidelity of an Historian, I shall not shew much Concern, but leave them to the Judgment and Candour of the Reader. I shall only beg of him not to judge of the Work by a single Chapter or Reign, but consider the Nature and Series of the whole, before he passes Sentence. If it be found, that the Form of it is irregular and disproportionate; that the general Method is intricate and confus'd; that the Colourings are weak and unaffecting, and that the Stile is mean, flat and insipid; I must then submit with Patience and Silence. But if there be no great Failures as to these Essentials, I hope the rest of my Defects may more deserve a private Admonition, than a publick Animadversion.

Before I conclude this Preface, I am to inform the Reader, that this Volume was first design'd to have ended at the Death of Queen Elizabeth, as the most proper Period of Time: But afterwards the Importunities of several so far prevail'd upon me, that I added the Reign of King James I. to it: Of which, as I found the worst Writers, and met with the most Difficulties, so I am afraid I shall need the greatest Excuses. Notwithstanding which, I have a full Design of carrying this Work further, hoping I shall meet with due Assistance and Encouragement.

To come at last to the Errors of the Press, there are few but what the Reader may easily correct, and those are Names of Persons or Places, which I believe proceeded from the hasty writing of the Copy. But because there are two or three which may seem to be more the Fault of the Author, than the Printer, I shall just mention them.

E R R A T A.

IN all the Places of the Page and Margin, Page 59 and 60, instead of *Osfa*, read *Offa*. In the inward Margin of p. 139, 140, 142, and several others, where-ever is the Word *Vitales*, read *Vitalis*. In the inward Margin of p. 439, 440, 443, and several others, where-ever is the Word *Urjins*, read *Urjins*. In p. 959, in the inward Margin, for *Clarendus* read *Clarendon*.

21 MAY 60

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History

History of England.

T H E

INTRODUCTION.

*Containing a short Account of Ancient BRITAIN,
and its First INHABITANTS.*

I.  **H** E principal Design in this following History, is to give a full and regular Account of the Transactions of that Part of *Britain*, now call'd *England* and *Wales*, for the Space of about sixteen Centuries; that is from the first Entrance of *Julius Cæsar* and the *Romans*, 'till the Kingdom of *Scotland* was added to the Crown of *England*. And tho' there is frequent occasion to treat of the Affairs of *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and other Countries, yet the Reader is not

to expect any more than what have a necessary, or natural Dependance upon those of *England*. For nine or ten Centuries, which include the greatest Variety of Matters, our Accounts are very imperfect and defective, sometimes disjointed, broken and full of Chasmes, and other times confus'd, obscure and uncertain. So that the Reading of this History will, in a great measure, be like a Man's travelling first by Twi-light, and then in the Night, 'till the Morning Sun at length gives him a new and clear Light. But that the Account may be as perspicuous and as regular as the Materials will permit, we shall take some short Notice of *Britain* and its Inhabitants, as they were before the Arrival of *Cæsar*; first the Country, and next the People.

The Country, before the Entrance of the *Romans*, had two different Names, *Albion*, and *Britain*, concerning which there have been more Variety of Opinions. It was call'd *Albion*, either from a suppos'd Giant of that Name, the Son of *Neptune*, mention'd by many ancient Writers, it being proper that the greatest Island in the Ocean should receive its Name from a Son of the greatest Sea-God; or else from the old Word *Ἀλβόν*, which among the *Greeks* signifies *White*, by reason of the white chalky Cliffs, seen by the Mariners afar off, as they sail'd these Seas. Some think it comes from the *Hebrew* Word *Alben*, which also signifies *White*, and others from the *Phœnician* Word *Alp*, which signifies

ALBION.

BRITAIN.

signifies *High*; but of these there is but little Certainty. Nor is there much greater concerning the Name of *Britain*, which some former Writers confidently derive from *Brutus*, the third by Descent from the *Trojan Aeneas*; and others from the *British* Word *Pryd Cain*, that is *Forma Candida*, a white Form. Mr. *Camden* more probably derives it from *Brith*, which in the *English* Tongue signifies *Painted*, and the *Greek* Word *Ταυία*, signifying a *Nation*; agreeable to the Custom of the ancient *Britains*, who were wont to discolour and paint their naked Bodies; so that according to him, *Britain* is a Nation of *painted Men*, such as the *Romans* call'd *Picts* in succeeding Times. Mr. *Somner*, another great Antiquary, dislikes this Etymology, and proposes another plausible Conjecture, namely, that it comes from the Word *Brydio*, which in the *British* Tongue implies Heat and Fury; pointing out the hot and violent Motion of the Seas that surround this Isle, which have been particularly observ'd by many ancient Authors. Others think the Opinion of Mon. *Bochart* most probable, who derives it from the *Phœnicians*, who in their Language call'd this Island, and some others near it, *Barat-Anac*, or more contractedly *Bratanac*, that is a *Land of Tin*; which in Time might be mollify'd by the *Greeks* into *Bgetavía*. And they conclude it to be the more satisfactory, because the *Grecians* gave these Islands the Name of *Cassiterides*, which signifies the same with *Barat-Anac*, the *Land or Country of Tin*. Of these several Opinions, we must leave the Reader to chuse for himself; and therefore not to dwell upon these uncertain Subjects, we immediately proceed to some more material Account of the Country.

A general Description of the Country.

This Country, in its utmost Extent, was by the Ancients accounted the largest Island in the World; and notwithstanding the later Discoveries of *Madagascar* and *Japan*, which are brought in competition with it, we are not yet certain of the contrary. However all agree that it is far the most considerable of all others; especially if the sole Regard be had to that Part to which we are principally confin'd in this History. That Part has been celebrated by Writers in all Ages for the profuse Bounties of Nature, both in the excellent Temperature of the Air, and the valuable Products of the Soil. The Air, tho' thick and moist, is far more mild and temperate than any Part of the Continent under the same Climate, so that there is no need of Stoves in Winter, nor Grotto's in Summer; nor is it so frequently disturb'd with Tempests and Hurricanes, nor so infected with pestilential Distempers; nor is the Land so generally punish'd with Earthquakes and Famines, as many other Countries are. Tho' in its Products it may be said to be defective in some few Blessings, as Wine and Oil, yet in general it abounds and triumphs; and no Country exceeds it in the three main Necessaries of Human Life, Flesh and Corn for Food, Wool and other Conveniencies for Raiment, and Timber and Stone for Building; to which we may add Wood and Coals for Firing, and the most useful Metals for all Occasions. For Profit it has a double Advantage from its Situation in the Ocean, the Conveniency of a foreign Trade, and the Security from foreign Invasion; and for Pleasure and Beauty all Strangers take particular Notice of its excellent Verdure, in which it generally exceeds the most fruitful Parts of *Europe*. The happy Fertility and Pleasantness of *Britain*, gave occasion to some of the Ancients to imagine that these were the *Fortunate Islands*, and those *Seats of the Blessed*, where the Poets tell us, That the whole Face of Nature always smil'd with one perpetual Spring. For Plenty *Britain* was the Granary and Magazine of the Western Empire, from whence the *Romans* were wont every Year in eight hundred Vessels to transport vast Quantities of Corn, for their Armies upon the Frontiers of *Germany*. In short the Excellency of this Country is apparent from those transcendent Eulogies bestow'd both by ancient and modern Writers, who pronounce her 'happy above all other Countries, whom Nature 'has enrich'd with all the Blessings of Heaven and Earth, in whom nothing is 'hurtful, nor nothing desirable is wanting; a Master-Piece of Nature, per-
'form'd

‘ form’d when she was in the best and gayest Humour, which she plac’d as a little World by it self, upon the Side of the greater, merely for the Delight of Mankind; the most accurate Model which she propos’d to her self to beautify the other Parts of the Universe; whose Vallies are like *Eden*, whose Hills are as *Lebanon*, whose Springs are as *Pisga*, whose Rivers are as *Jordan*, whose Walls is the Ocean, and whose Defence is the Lord *Jehovah*.

II. A Country so enrich’d and beautify’d by Nature, could not long want Inhabitants, after the Dispersion of the Sons of *Noah*. The first of which are most probably believ’d to have proceeded from *Gomer*, the eldest Son of *Japhet*, whose immediate Posterity settl’d in *Gaul*, and other neighbouring Countries. So that *Britain* seems to have been inhabited Two Thousand Years before the *Romans* made any Conquest in it. But as to the Actions of the Inhabitants during that Space of Time, we have no other certain Knowledge, than that they had some Commerce and Intercourse both with the *Phœnicians* and *Gree-cians*, before they were known to the *Romans*. What these *Britains* were at the Time of the *Romans* Arrival, and for some considerable time after, we have some Account from several ancient Writers, as *Cæsar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, *Herodian*, *Solinus*, and some others; from all whom we shall describe their Persons, Manners, Customs, Government and Divisions.

The ancient Inhabitants of it.

The ancient *Britains* were a numerous and powerful People, and like the greatest Part of the World at that Time, barbarous and idolatrous: Yet they wanted not natural Generosity and Bravery, being fierce and courageous, courting all dangerous Enterprizes, passionate Opposers of Slavery, and exquisitely sensible of the Charms of Liberty. They in most Things resembled their Neighbours the *Gauls*, but were generally more rude and plain, as well as more warm and vigorous; yet *Tacitus* preferr’d their Wits and Ingenuities before them, and *Diodorus* their Honesty and Integrity much before those of the *Romans*. As to their Bodies, they were generally very tall, and their Constitution so strong, that several of them, according to *Plutarch*, would live a Hundred and twenty Years; the natural Heat of the Body, as he conceives, being preserv’d by the Coolness of the Country. They were frequently yellow-hair’d, and the Women fair and beautiful, and remarkable for their excellent Features. All the *Britains*, says *Cæsar*, dy’d their Bodies with *Woad*, which render’d them of a Sky Colour, and thereupon the more terrible in Battel; and they wore their Hair long upon their Head and upper Lip, but close and bare in all other Parts of the Body. *Herodian* tells us that they knew not the Use of Cloaths; but about their Necks and Wastes they wore Iron, accounting it an Ornament and a Sign of Riches, as other Nations did Gold: That they painted their Bodies with divers Colours, and with all Kinds of Animals there represented, wherefore they wore no Cloaths lest those beautiful Figures should be hid. In which Painting *Pliny* agrees, and describes the Herb *Woad* to be like the Plantain in *Gaul*, naming it *Glastum*, with the Juice of which, adds he, the Women of *Britain*, as well Wives as Virgins, anointed and dy’d their Bodies, resembling the *Æthiopians* by that Tincture, in which Manner they us’d at solemn Feasts and Scacrifices to go all naked. *Dion* says that it was the Custom of the Nation to abide in Tents, all naked, and without Shooes; tho’ *Cæsar* in another Place says, that they were clad with Skins, which probably is meant of the civiller Sort of them, and in Time of Battel. *Solinus* tells us that they painted themselves with the Shapes of several Beasts, artificially cut out in their Bodies in their Youth, so that these Prints in their Flesh might increase according to the Growth of their Bodies. Nor was any Thing reckon’d a greater Sign of Patience among these barbarous Nations, than to make such deep Scars in their Limbs, as might drink in great Quantities of Paint and Colour. These Scars are by *Tertullian* term’d *Britannorum Stigmata*, the *Britains* Marks.

Their Tempers and Dispositions.

Their Painting of their Bodies.

The usual Diet.

To proceed to their Diet and domestick Concerns, it was accounted a Crime to eat either Hen, Hare or Goose, which notwithstanding, as *Cæsar* observes, they bred for their Pleasures; nor did they live sumptuously at full and rich Tables, as *Diodorus* affirms, but rather in Necessity could feed upon Barks and Roots of Trees, and upon a Quantity of Meat no larger than a Bean, after which for a considerable Time they were neither hungry nor thirsty, as *Dion* assures us. He likewise tells us, that they till'd no Ground, nor eat any Fish, tho' their Rivers were plentifully stored with them, but liv'd upon Prey, Venison and Fruits, to which *Cæsar* adds Milk, of which, says *Strabo*, they had not then Skill to make Cheese. According to *Solinus* their usual Drink was made of Barley; and for Tillage *Pliny* seems to contradict *Dion*, affirming that they manur'd their Ground with Marl instead of Dung, which argu'd no such Simplicity in Gardning and Husbandry as *Strabo* charg'd upon them. Their Buildings and Houses were as mean as their Diet and Cloaths, for they gave the Name of Towns to certain cumbersome Woods, which having fortify'd with Rampiers and Ditches, they usually retreated to them, to avoid the Incursions of their Enemies, as *Cæsar* informs us. *Strabo* adds, that Woods among them were instead of Cities; for having cut down Trees, and enclos'd a large round Plat of Ground with them, they there built Huts to live in, and made Folds for their Cattle, which were not of any long Continuance. Their Houses were often thatch'd with Reed, poorly built, and dispers'd all over the Country without Observance of Order or Distance, by which Villages were compos'd: For the *Britains* were plac'd as every Man lik'd, at smaller or greater Distances, as they were invited by the Fertility of the Soil, or the Convenience of Wood or Water.

The Buildings and Towns.

Their Trade and Commodities.

Their best Towns were most upon their Coasts, and founded for the Advantage of Havens, and Recourse of Strangers from the Continent, to buy and sell, or exchange Wares with those of the Island. These Inhabitants were much more civiliz'd than those of the Inland Country, by the Commerce and Intercourse of other Nations, especially the *Gauls*, who long before had been civiliz'd by the *Roman* Colonies. The Commodities exported out of this Isle were chiefly Hides and Tin, with many inferior Things, such as Ivory Boxes, Sheers, Bits and Bridles, Wreathes and Chains, with some Trifles made of Amber and Glafs. They had some Metals, and also Pearl, tho' of no great Value; and as their Traffick was mean and inconsiderable, so was their Mony and their Shipping. The former was only Brass and Iron Rings, which being made to a certain Weight, serv'd for their current Coin: The latter were small Vessels, where Keels and Ribs were made of light Wood, and were cover'd over with Skins and Leather; and as long as they were sailing, so long they abstain'd from Meat; which shews that they were never us'd to long and dangerous Voyages. As they had a frequent Correspondence with the *Gauls*, so their Language, Customs and Religion were generally the same with theirs. Yet there was one Custom among the *Britains* which seems peculiar to themselves, and not found in the Histories of any other Nation, which was a Society of Wives among certain Numbers, and by common Consent. *Cæsar* tells us that they had ten or twelve of them Wives together in common, especially Brothers with each other, and Parents with their Children; but then if any of the Women brought forth, the Child was accounted only his, who first marry'd her. *Dion* confirms it, and adds, that the Children thus begotten were brought up in common amongst them; and *Eusebius* afterwards says that many *Britains* together kept one Wife in common to them all. This unusual Custom was much taken notice of at *Rome*, and *Severus's* Empress *Julia* greatly reproach'd a *British* Lady with it at Court, as a Custom infamous in the Women, as well as barbarous in the Men. To whom the Lady, having accidentally made some Discoveries among the *Romans*, briskly reply'd, *We do that openly with the best of our Men, which you do privately with the worst of yours.*

Their peculiar Marriages.

As

The INTRODUCTION.

5

As to the Religion of the *Britains*, it was as black and superstitious as any *Their Religion.* in those Times, and they proceeded so far as to the inhuman Offering of Mens Flesh in their Sacrifices. And besides their ancient Idols, such as *Dis, Jupiter, Apollo, Diana*, and the like, they worshipp'd *Andates* for their Goddess of Victory, unto whom they perform'd no small Adorations and Honours, erecting Temples whose Walls continu'd a considerable Space; upon which several of their prophane Portraits with deform'd Lineaments were seen by the mournful *Gildas*, who describes their grim and stern Visages, pronouncing them infernal in their Nature, and in Number almost exceeding those of *Aegypt*. *Tacitus* notes them for being extreamly addicted to inspecting the Entrails of Beasts, and of Men also; and that they honour'd the Altars of their Gods with the Sacrifice and Blood of such as they took Captive in Wars. And *Pliny* writing of Magick, declar'd that *Britain* honour'd it with so much Pomp and Ceremony, that a Man would imagine the *Persians* themselves had been taught it by them. In all Religious Matters they had their Priests and Instructors, the chief of which were call'd *Druids*, a sort of Men much celebrated in those Times, *The Druids* who, as *Cæsar* informs us, had the Management of all Sacrifices, were Interpreters of all Mysteries, and had the Education of the better Sort. By means of their seeming Learning, the Innocence and Simplicity of their Living, and long Custom, the People had them in such Veneration, that they were not only Priests, but the Judges too throughout the Nation. For generally they approv'd of all Laws, determin'd all Controversies, and appointed Rewards and Punishments at Discretion; the People believing that none were oblig'd to submit to any Punishment, unless inflict'd by a Divine Authority. If any refus'd to obey their Decree, they were forbidden the Sacrifices, which was accounted the most grievous Punishment; and those thus Excommunicated were reckon'd the most profligate of Mankind, all Persons avoided their Conversation as the Pest of the Nation, they were excluded the Benefit of the Law, and were render'd incapable of all Honours and Dignities. Among these *Druids* there was one Primate, who had supream Authority over the rest; upon whose Death, the most celebrated Person succeeded; but if several of equal Merit appear'd, the whole Body proceeded to an Election, tho' sometimes the Sword it self decided the Matter. These *Druids* once a Year had a general Assembly in the midst of all *Gaul*, at a certain Place consecrated to that purpose; to which Persons who had any Controversies depending resorted from all Parts. This sort of Religious Profession is thought to have been first in *Britain*, and from thence carry'd over into *Gaul*; and in *Cæsar's* Time those who desir'd to be thoroughly instructed in their Mysteries, for the most part travell'd into *Britain*. The same Author adds, That the *Druids* were exempted from all sorts of Military Duties, Taxes and Imposts; which great Privileges caus'd many to become their Disciples, and others to send their Sons and Relations to be admitted into their Order. These Disciples were taught a great Number of Verses by heart, continuing under this Discipline for several Years, not being allow'd to commit their Learning to Writing; both because they would not have the Vulgar acquainted with their mysterious Learning, and because their Scholars might the better exercise their Memories and other Faculties. One of the Principal Doctrines they taught was the Immortality and Transmigration of Souls; which removing the Fear of Death, they look'd upon as proper to excite their Courages. They also made Discourses to their Scholars concerning the Stars and their Motions, the Magnitude of the Heaven and Earth, the Nature of Things, and the Power and Majesty of the Immortal Gods. Among the Religious of the *Britains*, besides *and Bards.* these *Druids*, they had also a sort of People call'd *Bards*, whose Office it was to sing to the Harp those Songs they had made upon the great Exploits of famous Men; which sort of Men were known many Ages in this Island.

As the *Britains* were a fierce and warlike People, so they had frequent Encounters among themselves; and, as *Tacitus* observes, nothing contributed *The Wars of the Britains, and their Manner of Fighting.* so much

much to the *Romans* Advantage over them as their want of Union, and concerting their common Interest. *Cæsar* and others describe their Manner of Fighting, which was very much in Chariots, as the ancient Heroes of *Greece* are said to have done in the *Trojan Wars*; which with short Scythes fasten'd to the ends of the Axle-trees, gave cruel Wounds, great Terror, and made fierce Charges upon the Ranks of their Enemies. In the Beginning of a Battel, they generally scour'd the Plains with their Chariots, flung their Darts, and frequently disorder'd their Enemy's Ranks by the Terror of their Horses, and the furious Ratlings of their Chariot Wheels. Having wound themselves in among the Horse, they left their Chariots, and fought on Foot; their Charioteers in the mean time retiring, and placing themselves so that their Masters might readily find them, to mount again, if they were overpower'd by Numbers. Thus they maintain'd both the Speed of the Horse, and the Steadiness of the Foot in Battel; and by continual Practice were so expert, that upon the Side of a steep Hill, they could stop their Horse at full Speed, turn them in a short Compass, run along upon the Beam, rest upon the Yoke, and from thence in an Instant recover themselves in their Chariots. They often purposely gave ground and retreated, and being at a little Distance from their Enemies, dismounted from their Chariots, to fight them at Disadvantage. The Method of their Cavalry was such, that it prov'd equally dangerous to pursue, or to be pursu'd by them; and they never came to close Fights, but kept at considerable Distances, having others posted in such Order as they might succour one another, and the wearied be reliev'd by fresh Supplies; which argu'd no small Experience in Arms. *Dion* says, that their Horses were small and swift, and that they themselves ran at an extraordinary rate; and further, that when they stood an Ingagement, they were firm and immoveable. Their common Arms were small Shields, without Helmets, but very large Swords; which express'd a more eager Desire of wounding their Enemies, than defending themselves. They had also short Daggers, and their Spears were short, having at the lower end of each a Piece of Brass like an Apple, by shaking of which they endeavour'd to terrifie their Enemies. They could endure Hunger, Cold and all kinds of Labour, with admirable Patience; for in Bogs up to their Chins they would continue many Days without Food; and in Woods liv'd upon Barks of Trees and Roots. In short, they were a hardy, bold and strong People, till their Bodies came to be soften'd, and their Courage debas'd by the Luxury as well as Servitude which the *Romans* afterwards introduc'd among them.

Their civil Government.

To come at last to the civil Government of the *Britains*, we find that it was like that of the ancient *Gauls*, of several small Nations under as many petty Princes; of which *Cæsar* mentions Four in the small Compass of *Kent*. Whether these small *British* Principalities descended by Succession, or were elected by the Advantages of Age, Wisdom, or Valour in the Families of the Prince, is not recorded. But upon all great and imminent Dangers, the chief Commander of all their Forces was usually chosen by common Consent in general Assemblies; as *Casibelanus* was against *Cæsar's* Invasion. The same was done upon the *Britains* Revolt against the *Roman* Colonies under *Caractacus* and *Boadicea*; for among them Women were admitted to their Principalities and general Commands, either by the Right of Succession, Nobility of Birth, or eminent Qualifications. In common Cases every Province or Principality, only ow'd Service and Allegiance to their own particular Prince. And as their Governments were confin'd to certain Bounds and Limits, so were the Inhabitants divided and distinguish'd by several Denominations; of which we find the Names of Seventeen in that Part of *Britain* which now goes by the Name of *England* and *Wales*, which are as follows. 1. The *Cantii*, Inhabitants of the present County of *Kent*. 2. The *Regni*, Inhabitants of *Sussex* and *Surrey*. 3. The *Durotriges*, Inhabitants of *Dorsetshire*. 4. The *Danmonii*, Inhabitants of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*. 5. The *Belgæ*, Inhabitants of *Somersetshire*, *Wilt-*

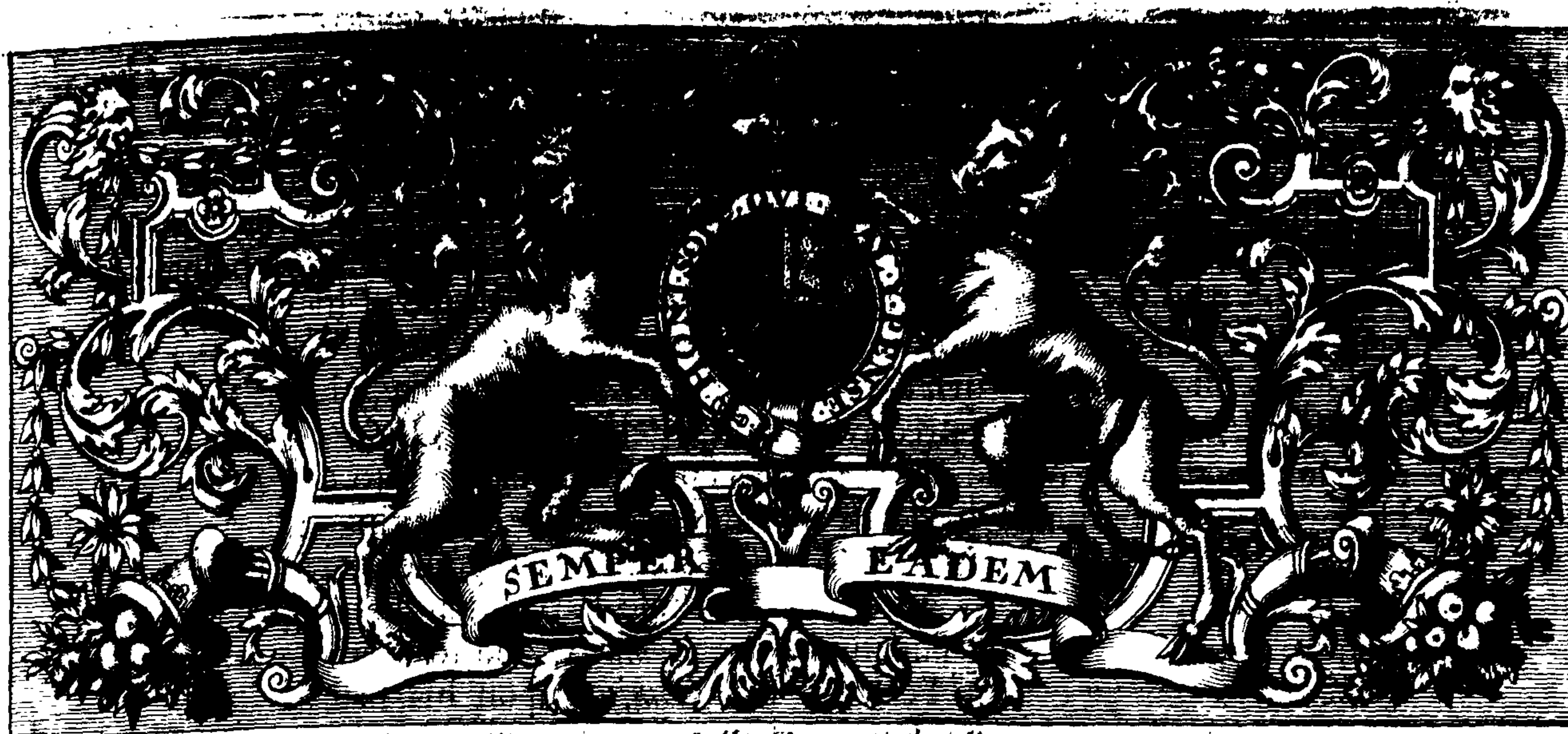
The Divisions of the People.

Wiltshire and *Hampshire*. 6. The *Atrebatii*, Inhabitants of *Barkshire*. 7. The *Dobuni*, Inhabitants of *Glostershire* and *Oxfordshire*. 8. The *Cattiuchlani*, Inhabitants of *Warwickshire*, *Buckinghamshire* and *Bedfordshire*. 9. The *Trinobantes*, Inhabitants of *Hertfordshire*, *Essex* and *Middlesex*. 10. The *Iceni*, Inhabitants of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire* and *Huntingtonshire*. 11. The *Coritani*, Inhabitants of *Lincolnshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Rutland*, *Darbyshire*, *Nottinghamshire* and *Northamptonshire*. 12. The *Cornavii*, Inhabitants of *Worcestershire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*. 13. The *Brigantes*, Inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Westmorland* and *Cumberland*. 14. The *Ottadini*, Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, with Four other Counties in *Scotland*. 15. The *Silures*, Inhabitants of *Herefordshire* with Four Counties in *Wales*, viz. *Radnorshire*, *Brecknockshire*, *Monmouthshire* and *Glamorganshire*. 16. The *Ordovices*, Inhabitants of Five Counties in *Wales*, viz. *Montgomeryshire*, *Merionethshire*, *Caernarvonshire*, *Flintshire* and *Denbighshire*. 17. The *Dimetæ*, Inhabitants of the rest of *Wales*, viz. *Caermarthenshire*, *Pembrookshire* and *Cardiganshire*.

This was the State of *Britain*, at the Time when the *Romans* first invaded it; and this is the real Substance of what we certainly know of the ancient *Britains* before *Cæsar's* Arrival. As to the formal History of *Brute*, and his long Race of succeeding Kings down to *Casibelanus*, it is too gross and improbable to be credited; and it has been of late so fairly detected, that we need not insist any longer upon it. Therefore, as the learned Mr. *Camden* well observes, here it is that the *English* Historian ought to begin his History, and no higher; that is, at the first Entrance of *Julius Cæsar* and the *Romans*. And at this Period of Time we shall begin ours, and shall endeavour to carry it on in a continu'd Series, with as much Regularity and Perspicuity as the Story it self, and the Materials will permit.

The End of the Introduction.





T H E
History of England.

B O O K I.

*From the First Invasion of Britain by the Romans
under Julius Cæsar, to the First Entrance of Wil-
liam, commonly call'd the Conqueror.*

Containing the Space of about 1120 Years.

C H A P. I.

*From the First Invasion of Britain by the Romans, to
their First quitting their Jurisdiction of the Isle.*

Containing the Space of about 463 Years.

I. **W**HEN Valour and Fortune had so conspir'd, or rather Providence had decreed, that the *Romans* should be Sovereigns of the Western World, the renown'd *Julius Cæsar*, having conquer'd the powerful *Gauls*, cast his Eyes towards the Ocean, as if the *Roman* Empire was not yet wide enough for his Ambition; so that subduing all, both by Sea and Land, he might join those Countries by Conquest, which had been separated by Nature. Accordingly being fir'd with a Prospect of new Glories, or provok'd by the Supplies sent from *Britain* into *Gaul* during his late Wars, in the 54th Year before *Christ*, he resolv'd upon an Expedition into this Isle; tho' *Suetonius* writes, that he was excited by

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Cæsar's first
Expedition in-
to Britain.

the Hopes of the *British* Pearls, the Weight and Largeness of which he often try'd in his Hands; an improbable Inducement, and more proper for common Soldiers than an Hero. The Places, Ports and Havens of *Britain* being not *Cæsar*, well known to *Cæsar*, he first sent *C. Volusenus*, a Tribune of his Army, with a Gally to make all convenient Discoveries upon the Coasts, who after five Days careful Search, return'd to him into *Gaul*. During which Time the *Britains* by the Merchants receiv'd secret Intelligence of *Cæsar's* design'd Expedition, and many of the private States sent Ambassadors into *Gaul*, offering Hostages, and promising Obedience to the *Romans*. *Cæsar* having exhorted them to persist in that Resolution, civilly dismiss'd them, together with *Comius Atrebatensis*, who had great Authority in those Parts, that he might persuade them to continue firm and faithful to the *Romans*, and to let them understand that he was coming over in Person: But *Comius* upon his first landing, was chcerously imprison'd by the *Britains*.

In the mean Time the victorious *Cæsar*, having drawn together about *Cæsar*, eighty Transport Ships for two Legions of Soldiers, and about eighteen more *Sec.* for his Horse, set Sail from the Country of the *Morini*, now the Province of *Picardy*, in *France*, at three in the Morning, and about four the Day following arriv'd on the Coasts of *Britain*, at a Place inconvenient for Landing, which was near *Dover*; for the Bay was narrow, and so pent in by the Mountains, that the Enemy could easily cast their Darts from thence to the Shore. Having therefore got a favourable Wind and Tide, he sail'd about eight Miles Northwards, where in a plain and open Shore, near *Deal*, he rod at Anchor. The *Britains* perceiving his Design, immediately dispatch'd their Horse and Chariots, to prevent his Landing. And here the *Romans* sustain'd great Difficulties, for their large Vessels could not ride close enough to the Shore in this shallow Sea, so that the Soldiers were oblig'd to leap down from their high Ships in unknown Places, under heavy Armour, and at once contend both with the Waves and Enemy. On the other side, the *Britains*, who knew the Nature of the Ground, were free and uncumber'd; and fought either on dry Land, or upon the Edges of the Water; so that the *Romans* were much dishearten'd, and exerted not their usual Spirit and Bravery. Whereupon *Cæsar* commanded the Transport Ships to be remov'd, and the Gallies to be row'd up just over against the *Britains*, and from thence to employ their Slings, Engines, and Arrows against them; which Vessels and Engines being strange and unusual to them, they soon gave Ground. But the *Romans* still delaying, the Standard-Bearer of the tenth Legion, first invoking the Gods, *That this Action might prove successful and glorious*, cry'd out, *Leap down, my brave Soldiers! unless you would betray the Roman Eagle to the Enemy; for I am resolv'd to perform my Duty to the Publick, and to the General*. Upon these Words he courageously threw himself into the Sea, and boldly advancing with his Eagle towards the Enemy, he was follow'd by the rest of the Soldiers to the Shore. *Eutropius* from *Suetonius* tells us, that *Scæva*, a valiant Soldier with four others were the first that landed, who being deserted by his Companions, defended himself to a Miracle against a whole Multitude, till being wearied and wounded, he swam back to the Fleet, begg'd pardon of *Cæsar* for his Rashness, and was rewarded with the Honour of a Centurion. The Landing of the Soldiers occasion'd an obstinate Fight on both Sides; but the *Romans* being cumber'd with Arms, toss'd with the Waves, and wanting sure footing, were put into Disorder and Confusion; till *Cæsar* with great Dexterity caus'd the Pinnaces and Ship-Boats to ply about with Recruits to succour them. At length they gradually got on dry Land, and so vigorously charg'd the *Britains*, that they soon put them to Flight; but could not pursue them, for want of their Horse, which were not yet arriv'd. The *Britains*, upon this Defeat, immediately sent Ambassadors, and with them *Comius*, whom they had imprison'd, to beg a Peace, charging all Misbehaviour upon the Multitude

titude, and their own Imprudence. *Cæsar*, whose Mercy was equal to his Valour, soon pardon'd them, receiv'd some Hostages at present, with a Promise of more; so a Peace was concluded on the fourth Day after his landing in *Britain*.

Shortly after the *Roman* Affairs began to be in a declining Condition; for their eighteen Ships, which transported the Horse, being come within View of *Britain*, were by a sudden Storm driven to the Westward, and found great Difficulty in recovering the Continent of *Gaul*. And what added to this Misfortune, the same Night, at the Full of the Moon, the Gallies which were drawn a-shore, were fill'd with Water by the Tide, and the Ships of Burden, which lay at Anchor, were so shatter'd by the Tempests, that they were render'd wholly unfit for Service. This Loss was so considerable, that *Suetonius* accounted it the first of the three great Misfortunes that ever befel *Cæsar* in all his Proceedings: And the *Britains* were so sensible of the *Romans* want of Horse, Ships and Provisions, that they immediately resolv'd upon a Revolt, and in a publick Council condemn'd all such as Impious as refus'd to join with the Heavens, whose Elements had thus far declar'd for their Liberties, assuring themselves, that if they succeeded this Time, they should be freed from all future Invasions. But *Cæsar* soon perceiv'd their Intentions, by their Carriage and slow Performance of Covenants; therefore took particular Care to bring in Corn daily, and with uncommon Diligence repair'd his Fleet with the Timber of those twelve which were most shatter'd. While Affairs stood in this Posture, the Seventh Legion, being sent out to Forage, and suspecting no Resistance, were suddenly set upon by the *Britains* Forces, and surrounded by their Horse and Chariots. Their Way of Fighting and their Numbers soon brought the *Romans* to the extreamest Difficulties, and almost to Despair; 'till *Cæsar* himself coming fortunately into their Relief, they reassum'd their Courage, and the *Britains* being astonish'd desisted, without any further Ingagement. But being still in hopes of freeing themselves for ever, by reason of the small Numbers of the *Romans*, and the Scarcity of Provisions amongst them, they afterwards assembled in greater Numbers, and march'd up to the *Roman* Camp; where *Cæsar* engag'd them, put them to flight with a great Slaughter, and burnt all their Country for many Miles together. Being thus vanquish'd, the *Britains* sent a third Embassy to *Cæsar*, begging Peace, and promising Subjection; to which *Cæsar* consented, after he had severely reprov'd their Behaviour, and impos'd double Hostages upon them. And shortly after, the Season being far advanc'd, he set Sail from *Britain*, and safely arriv'd with his whole Fleet on the Continent of *Gaul*; whither only two Cities in *Britain* sent their Hostages, the rest neglecting it. Upon *Cæsar*'s Letters and Account to the Senate of this Action, a famous Procession of twenty Days was decreed him, accompany'd with great Pomp and Ceremony; tho' he had gain'd nothing of Consequence, either to himself or *Rome*, besides the Glory of having made an uncommon Expedition.

Cæsar.

The Winter following, *Cæsar* according to his Custom went into *Italy*; but upon his Return, finding that the *Britains* had neglected to send their promis'd Hostages, he resolv'd to make a new Descent upon them, and with a much more powerful Fleet and Army than before. Accordingly with extraordinary Diligence he got together 800 Vessels, most of them new built, low and broad, both for the Conveniency of Landing, and of transporting Horses and Baggage. With these, and an Army consisting of Five Legions, and 2000 Horse, he set sail about Sun-set from *Portus Itius*, at or near *Buloign* in *France*, and landed his Army the next Day in the same Part of the Island as he had done the foregoing Summer; in which Action the Diligence of the Soldiers was particularly applauded, who by an unwearied Labour in Rowing, caus'd the heavier Ships to keep way with the long Boats and Gallies. At their Landing, no Enemy appear'd; for tho' the *Britains* had been there in great Numbers,

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Cæsar's second Expedition into Britain.

bers, yet being terrify'd with these mighty Preparations, and the Approach of so powerful a Navy, they were retir'd into the Midland Country. Here *Cæsar* encamp'd his Army as conveniently as he could, leaving ten Cohorts, and 300 Horse under the Command of *Q. Atrius*, to guard the Ships: And in the Night, he march'd himself twelve Miles up into the Country, discover'd the *Britains*, who had retreated as far as the River *Stoner* in *Kent*; and giving them Battel there, they were soon repuls'd by the *Roman* Cavalry, which oblig'd them to betake themselves to the Woods, which were strongly fortify'd both by Art and Nature. But the *Romans* resolving to pursue their Advantage, some lock'd their Shields together like a Roof over their Heads, and others raising a Mount, soon took the Place, and drove them from the Woods; but *Cæsar* forbade any long Pursuit, not well knowing the Country, and having his Camp to fortifie that Night.

The following Day, *Cæsar*, having divided his Army into three Parts in order to pursue the *Britains*, was hinder'd by the melancholy News he receiv'd from his Fleet, which being driven a-shore by a violent Storm, most of the Vessels were shattered'd, the Cables broken, and the Anchors lost. Upon which he hasten'd back with his Troops to the Sea side, where he was entertain'd with a sad and ruinous Prospect; forty of his Ships were destroy'd, and the rest so damag'd, as not to be refitted without extraordinary Labour. But being indefatigable in his Attempts, he immediately found Means to repair the greatest Part of his Navy by the Ruins of the rest, and wrot to his Lieutenant in *Gaul* for further Supplies; and having twice felt the Dangers of these Seas, he resolv'd upon a Prodigious Undertaking, which was to draw his whole Fleet to the Land, into the midst of the Fortifications of his Camp. This stupendious Work was compleated in ten Days, by the admirable Toil of his Soldiers, working Night and Day. Which Being finish'd, *Cæsar* return'd with his Army to the Wood where he had last defeated the *Britains*; where he found their Numbers encreas'd by a Confluence from many Parts, and that they had now by common Consent chosen *Casibellanus* for their General, who by Usurpation had made himself Head of the *Trinobantes*, and had made frequent Wars with his Neighbours; but being a Time of common Danger, they all made him a Commander in Chief. *Casibellanus*, with his Horse and Chariots, briskly encounter'd the *Romans* in their March, which occasion'd great Bloodshed on both Sides; and after some Cessation, as the *Romans* were fortifying their Camp, the *Britains* set upon the Centries with great Fierceness, and charg'd back again through two of *Cæsar's* best Cohorts, which he had sent to their Assistance, and retreated without the Loss of a Man. *Cæsar* himself could not but acknowledge that they had great Advantage over the *Romans*, by their swift Way of Fighting without Armour, and accordingly provided against them; so that the next Day, when they set upon three Legions that were foraging, they were repuls'd and pursu'd with great Slaughter. Upon which Overthrow most of the Auxiliaries fell off, and return'd to their own Countries; so that the *Britains* never after encounter'd the *Romans* with their full Power.

Upon these Misfortunes, *Casibellanus* withdrew into his own Territories, retaining to himself not above 4000 Chariots; and fearing the *Romans* farther Progress, fortify'd that Part of the River *Thames* which was fordable with sharp Stakes bound about with Lead, and driven so deep into the Bottom, that *Beda* and *Affer* report them to have remain'd in their Times; which was near *Coway-Stakes* in *Middlesex*. Notwithstanding this the *Romans* boldly press'd forwards, pass'd the River up to the Chin in Water, repuls'd the *Britains*, and march'd further up the Country. In their Progress, they were met with Ambassadors from the chiefest City of the *Trinobantes*, who dishonourably join'd with the Conqueror, and offer'd Subjection; at the same time petitioning, that *Mandubrace*, one of *Cæsar's* Followers, whose Father *Casibellanus* had depos'd and slain, might be Governor of their City. *Cæsar* readily agreed

to their Petition, and demanded Forty Hostages of them, and sufficient Provision for his Army, which they perform'd with all Expedition; preferring the poor Satisfaction of indulging their own Discontents, before the common Cause of their Native Country. From their Example many other inferior States yielded to *Cæsar's* Arms; and likewise treacherously discover'd to him the Power and Place of *Casibelanus's* Abode, who by this time was retreated to his own City *Verulam*, now *St. Albans*; a Place then well fortify'd with Woods and Morasses. *Cæsar* with all Expedition sat down before the City, and storming it on two sides, soon became Master of it, with the Slaughter of many of the miserable Defendents, and the taking of a rich Booty of Cattle. Upon this Loss, *Casibelanus*, as his last Refuge, procur'd four petty Kings of *Kent*, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, with their utmost Forces to set upon the *Roman* Camp that guarded their Ships; which Enterprize was accordingly attempted, but with such bad Success, that the *Britains* were on each side repuls'd, and *Cingetorix* taken Prisoner. *Casibelanus*, at length, seeing his Country wasted, his chief Designs blasted, and himself abandon'd by the traiterous Revolt of many Cities and States, sent *Comius* of *Arras* to mediate a Peace; which, upon the account of his own Valour, and the Lateness of the Season, was readily granted him. In the Conditions of the Treaty *Cæsar* impos'd a certain yearly Tribute upon the *Britains*, which some say amounted to three thousand Pounds, and moreover included the Security of *Mandubrace* with his *Trinobantes*, who were taken into Friendship with the *Romans*; and that these Conditions should be faithfully observ'd, he commanded a sufficient Number of Hostages to be immediately deliver'd. And here began the Fate of *Britain*, to make Way for foreign Conquests by their unhappy Divisions at home. These Things being adjusted, and the Season far advanc'd, *Cæsar* embark'd with his whole Army, and soon arriv'd in *Gaul*; having rather shewn *Britain* to the *Romans*, than given them Possession of it, as *Tacitus* observes, supposing it Glory sufficient to have attempted a thing so rare and difficult; and at his Return to *Rome* to have presented the *British* Captives, whose uncommon Attire and Behaviour fill'd the Peoples Eyes with Delight and Admiration. At the same Time he offer'd to *Venus*, the Patroness of his Family, a Breast-Plate embroider'd with *British* Pearls, as a Trophy and Spoil of the Ocean.

He leaves the
Isle.

This Account we have from *Cæsar's* own Writings of his two famous Expeditions into *Britain*, which rather encreas'd the Glory, than the Dominion of *Rome*, and gave this Country the Honour of being the last Triumph of that mighty Republick, which had before subdu'd so many Kingdoms and Commonwealths in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. Tho' *Cæsar's* Writings are as much to be admir'd, as his Valour and Conduct, yet it is very observable from others, that his Conquests in this Country were not so uninterrupted, nor the *Britains* Liberties so easily given up, as they seem from his own Account. For several ancient Writers have spoken more doubtfully of his Victories in *Britain*, and that in plain Terms he was driven away, as it appears from a noted Verse in *Lucan*, and divers Passages in *Tacitus*. *Orosius*, who took his Account as high as *Suetonius*, tells us, that *Cæsar* in his first Expedition, being entertain'd by a sharp Fight, lost no small Number of his Foot, and by a Tempest near all his Horse. *Dion* affirms that once in his second Expedition all his Foot were routed, and another time all his Horse; and further, that his Conquest was so inconsiderable, that for twenty Years after *Cæsar's* Departure, the *Britains* retain'd their own Kings, and their own Laws.

II. After the Departure of *Julius Cæsar*, we have but a very small Account of the Affairs of *Britain*, for near a Hundred Years together; only that the Inhabitants, tho' they became more and more known to the *Romans*, yet they continu'd in a great measure free from their Power. For *Julius's* Successor, *Augustus*, seems out of Wisdom to have neglected this Island, as a Country

AUGUSTUS.

D

where

where Amity or Enmity was of no Moment to the *Romans*; or out of a State Maxim was resolv'd to fet Bounds to the Empire in his Reign, to keep it from being too vast and unweildy. Yet, about twenty Years after his Uncle *Julius's* Departure, *Augustus* advanc'd as far as *Gaul* in order to reduce *Britain* to his Obedience; but was diverted by a Revolt in *Pannonia*. About seven Years after that he enter'd *Gaul* with the same Resolution; but was then stopp'd in his Progress by the unsettled State of that Province, and the Arrival of some Ambassadors from *Britain* to beg a Peace. The following Year he reassum'd the same Design, but still was prevented by Commotions in other Parts; so that of three design'd Expeditions none came to any Effect. Nevertheless some of the *British* Potentates omitted not to seek his Friendship by Presents offer'd in the Capitol, and other obsequious Addresses; insomuch that the Island in that Reign became well known to the *Romans*, tho' it paid no Tribute to them, except what easie Customs were levv'd on the slight Commodities with which they traded into

TIBERIUS. *Gaul*. His Successor *Tiberius* seems to have follow'd his Example, and being no ways ambitious of extending the Bounds of the Empire, never fought the *Britains*; and they as careful not to provoke him, courteously sent home the Soldiers of *Germanicus*, who by Shipwreck had been cast upon the *British* Shores.

CALIGULA. But *Caligula*, his Successor, a wild and dissolute Tyrant, having pass'd the *Alps* to rob and pillage the Empire, and being excited by *Adminius* the Son of *Cynobelinus* a *British* King, who being banish'd by his Father fled to him with a finall Party, he made a Shew of invading *Britain*; but being come to the Ocean, and shewing the utmost Marks of Extravagancy and Folly, he return'd the same Way: Yet he sent before him such boasting Letters to the Senate, as if he had made an entire Conquest of the whole Island.

A. D. 43. Thus, for about ninety five Years, under the Reigns of four Emperors, the *Britains* continu'd free from the *Roman* Yoke; but from the Reign of *Claudius*, and thence forwards, the inner Parts of the Isle, broken by Civil Wars and Factions, more than the Power of the *Romans*, by many Steps fell under the Subjection of that Empire. For while particular States singly oppos'd the common Enemy, they were soon conquer'd; the rest being so violently set upon each others Destruction, that 'till all were subdu'd, they were insensible of an universal Danger. Nay so powerful was the Ambition and Resentments of some, that they were thereby corrupted and drawn over to the Enemy's side, and made solicitous for the *Roman* Interest to the Ruin of their own Country. The principal of these was *Bericus*, who by many Arguments engag'd the Emperor *Claudius* to make a Descent upon *Britain*, which none had really attempted since *Julius Caesar*. *Claudius* was easily perswaded, and in the Second Year of his Reign order'd *A. Plautius* the Prator to pass over from *Gaul*; who making Preparation for this great Expedition, his mutinous Soldiers refus'd to march, declaring, *That they would not make War out of the Compass of the World*; for so they judg'd *Britain* to lye. But by means of *Narcissus*, the Emperor's Favourite, he prevail'd with them; and set Sail from three Ports, lest their Landing in one Place should prove inconvenient; but meeting with contrary Winds, they were driven back and dishearten'd; 'till in the Night a strange Meteor shooting Flames from the East, and as they imagin'd, directing their Course, they renew'd their Courage, put to Sea again, and landed in *Britain* without Opposition. For the Inhabitants having heard of their Backwardness, had been negligent in providing against them; and therefore retir'd to the Woods and Morasses, designing rather to weary out the *Romans* by Delays, than to encounter them in the Field. *Plautius* after much Difficulty discover'd them, and engaging first with *Caractacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them, and reduc'd Part of the *Dobuni* to his Power, who were subject to the *Catiuchlani*. Leaving a Garrison, he march'd towards a River, where the *Britains* thought themselves secure, imagining the *Romans* could not pass without a Bridge; but *Plautius* sending over the *German* Soldiers, who could swim the strongest

Plautius m-
rades Britain.

Diem.
Sec.

strongest Current in their Arms, he commanded them to strike directly at the Horses, by which means the Chariots, wherein consisted their chief Excellency, became unserviceable. To support them, he sent the famous *Vespasian* with his Brother *Sabinus*, who did great Service and Execution; but the *Britains*, not yet discourag'd, engag'd them so resolutely the next Day, that it continu'd doubtful which way the Victory inclin'd; till *Sidius Geta*, after he had been near taken Prisoner, gave them such an Overthrow, that the Honour of a Triumph was granted him at *Rome*, tho' he had never been Consul. Upon this the *Britains* retir'd to the Mouth of the *Thames*, and being acquainted with those Places, cross'd over, where the *Romans* following them through Bogs and dangerous Flats, were in perpetual Hazard. Yet the *Germans* by swimming, and others by a Bridge above got over, and falling in with the *Britains*, kill'd great Numbers; but in the Heat of their Pursuit they fell among new Bogs and Meres, and lost many of their own Men.

Diogen.
Sueton.

This Success not answering Expectation, *Plautius* began to consider his own Security; and finding the *Britains* so far from being discourag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, that they were making new Preparations to revenge it, he according to Order sent to the Emperor for Assistance. *Claudius*, ambitious of the Occasion, made extraordinary Preparations, and besides the Flower of the Nobility, like an Eastern Monarch with armed Elephants, march'd through *Gaul*, and in a short Time cross'd the Seas, and join'd *Plautius*. The *Britains*, who had the Courage, but not the Conduct of old *Casibelanus*, laying aside all Stratagem, in open Field ventur'd to meet almost the whole Power of the *Roman* Empire; but they were soon overthrown, with the Loss of *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Essex*, the Royal Seat of *Cynobelinus*, and many Prisoners were taken. Upon this *Claudius*, contrary to the *Roman* Custom, was several times saluted *Imperator*; *Camalodunum* was made a Military Colony, and Part of the Isle reduc'd to the Form of a Province; tho' *Suetonius* tells us, that what he obtain'd was without Battel or Bloodshed, which seems not very probable. His Stay in *Britain* was not above Sixteen Days; and in that Time he remitted to the *British* Nobility the Confiscation of their Goods, for which Favour they frequented his Temple, and ador'd him as a God. Having disarm'd the *Britains*, and committed the Government of these, as likewise the War with the others not subdu'd to *Plautius*, he hasten'd to *Rome* in the Sixth Month, sending his Sons-in-Law *Pompey* and *Silanus* before him, with the News of his Victories. At *Rome* it was esteem'd so great an Action to conquer but a small Part of *Britain*, that Anniversary Games, Triumphal Arches both at *Rome* and *Gessoriacum* in *Gaul*, and lastly a Glorious Triumph, was decreed by the Senate in Honour of *Claudius*. And that the Spectacle might be more Magnificent by the Confluence of People, he not only gave Leave to the Governors of Provinces to be present, but permitted several Exiles to return home, on purpose to behold it. The Chief Officers were munificently rewarded, the Provinces contributed Golden Crowns, and upon the Top of the Emperor's Palace was fix'd a Naval Crown, to imply the Emperor's Conquest and Sovereignty of the *British* Sea; and for the same Reason, he order'd that his Son *Germanicus*, should hereafter be call'd *Britannicus*, which Name he had obtain'd himself not long before. In the mean time *Plautius* carry'd on the War in *Britain*, with that Success, that *Claudius* decreed him an Ovation, and when he enter'd *Rome* he himself met him, honouring him with the Ceremony of the Right Hand. And now *Vespasian* began to appear in the World, who partly under *Claudius*, and partly under *Plautius*, fought thirty Battels with the *Britains*, according to *Suetonius*; he also subdu'd two mighty Nations, and above twenty Towns, together with the Isle of *Veſtis* or *Wight*. For which Exploits he obtain'd Triumphal Ornaments, two Sacerdotal Dignities, with the Consulship. Under him serv'd his Son *Titus* in quality of a Tribune, whose extraordinary Valour and Modesty, gain'd him great Reputation, as appears from the

His Successes.

The Emperor
Claudius enters
Britain.

He triumphs

The Successes of
Plautius and
Vespasian.

Number

Number of his Images, and their Inscriptions, throughout the Provinces of *Germany and Britain.*

A. D. 50. *Ostorius sent into Britain.* Some few Years after, *Plautius* was succeeded in *Britain* by *P. Ostorius*, in Quality of *Proprætor*, who found Affairs in great Disorder by the Inroads of the *Britains*; and the more, because they did not expect that a new General would take the Field in Winter to oppose them. But *Ostorius* well knowing that the first Action would either encourage or intimidate, vigorously attack'd such as were in Arms, and dispers'd them, proceeding to disarm all whom he had reason to suspect. And to prevent further Incursions, he plac'd several Garrisons upon the two Rivers *Severn* and *Avon*; which reduc'd all the Southern Parts of the Isle into the Form of a Province. For a farther Security and Convenience, *Camalodunum* or *Maldon* was made a Military Colony; and *London*, according to the Opinion of *B. Stillingfleet* and some others, was about that time founded by the *Romans*, and made a trading Colony. Several Cities were given to *Cogidunus*, a *British* King, to engage him to the *Roman* Interest; an ancient Policy which they us'd, to make Kings the Servile Agents to enslave others. These Proceedings were highly resented by the *Iceni*, the Inhabitants of *Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge* and *Huntington*, a powerful People, not yet weaken'd by War, who refusing all Submission, gain'd many others over to their Party, and encamping upon commodious Ground, engag'd with the *Romans*. After a brave Dispute, they were overthrown, but with the greater Bloodshed, by Reason of their Despair of Pardon. By the Overthrow of the *Iceni*, many others before undetermin'd, were reduc'd to Obedience, and *Ostorius* led his Army against the *Cangi*, a People about the *Irish* Sea; and waiting their Territories, he had pass'd almost to the Ocean, when he was recall'd by the Insurrections of the *Brigantes*, a People on the North of *England*; who would not be reduc'd, 'till they had lost their principal Revolver, and then the Commotion was soon extinguish'd. But the *Silures*, the Inhabitants of South-*Wales*, would by no Method be allur'd or discourag'd from prosecuting the War against the *Romans*, relying upon their own Courages, and the Valour and Bravery of their Commander *Caractacus*, who having waded through innumerable Deaths and Difficulties, had gain'd such a Reputation, that he was justly preferr'd before all the *British* Generals. This Man by his Policy and Conduct soon remov'd the Seat of the War into the Territories of the *Ordovices*, the Inhabitants of North-*Wales*, as more convenient for his Designs, by reason of the craggy Rocks, and high Mountains. Here being strongly intrench'd, at the near Approach of the *Romans*, *Caractacus* in a Speech to his Soldiers declar'd, *That that Battel should either establish their glorious Liberty, or confirm their perpetual Servitude; and that they ought to remember the Honour of their Ancestors, who had driven Julius Caesar from the Isle; by whose Valour they were happily deliver'd from Axes and Tributes, and to whom they ow'd the Enjoyment of their unviolated Wives and Children.* The Soldiers fir'd by this Speech, bound themselves by the most religious Vows, crying out, *That neither Wounds nor Weapons should make them yield.* Their resolute Behaviour, and the Difficulties that the *Romans* were to conquer, by means of Mountains, Rocks and Rampiers, at first was a great Discouragement to *Ostorius*. But as nothing could withstand the Power of the *Roman* Legions, the *Britains*, tho' they had great Advantages in the Beginning of the Battel, by Reason of their Encampment, were after an obstinate Fight intirely routed, and the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* taken Prisoners, his Brothers surrendering themselves shortly after. *Caractacus* himself flying to *Cartismandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*, was treacherously bound and deliver'd up to the Conqueror, after nine Years brave Resistance of the *Romans*, by which he had gain'd great Fame and Renown.

Caractacus defeated and taken.

Notwithstanding the Misfortune of *Caractacus*, his Fame spread throughout the Island, and reaching the adjacent Provinces, was celebrated in *Italy* it self. All coveted the Sight of that Man, who for so many Years had contemn'd the *Roman*

Roman Forces; infomuch that even in *Rome*, his Name was held in Veneration; and the Emperor while he extoll'd his own, made the Captive's Glory there the brighter. The People of *Rome* were summon'd as to the sight of some publick Games and Spectacles; the Emperor's Guards were plac'd in Order, and he himself seated on his Tribunal; the Captive Prince's Vassals and Retinue going first, the Caparisons and other Spoils of War follow'd after; then his Brothers, his Wife and Daughter; and last of all he himself was brought before the People in a very peculiar Habit. The Prayers which the rest made to the Emperor were mean and servile; but *Caractacus*, neither craving Mercy, nor casting down his Eyes, with a noble Bravery spoke thus before the Tribunal. *If my Moderation in Prosperity had been answerable to my Nobility and Fortune, I had come rather as a Friend into this City, than a Captive; nor would you have disdain'd to have receiv'd me with Articles of Alliance, being a Prince descended from illustrious Progenitors, and a Sovereign of many Nations. My present Fortune is to me low and dishonourable, but to you glorious and triumphant. I once had Horses, Men, Arms and Riches at my Command; what wonder is it that I should struggle hard before I lost them? But if Fate has allotted universal Empire to your Part, Subjection must be ours. If I had yielded without Opposition, neither my Fortune would have been remarkable, nor your Glory memorable; and Oblivion would have follow'd my Punishment. But if you spare my Life now, I shall be a perpetual Example of your Clemency.* *Claudius* mov'd at so sad a Spectacle of Fortune, and his generous Behaviour, freely pardon'd him, his Wife and Relations; and being all unbound, they made their Addresses both to him, and his Empress *Agrippina*. After this the Senate was assembled, where the Fathers made many pious Speeches concerning their Prisoner *Caractacus*; declaring, *That it was no less honourable than when the great Scipio expos'd Syphax, and Paulus brought Persius in Triumph.*

He is brought to Rome,

and pardon'd.

Valerius. *Ostorius*, tho' in *Britain*, was decreed the Honour of a Triumph; but now his Fortune began to change, either because *Caractacus*, the Object of his Valour was remov'd, or because the Enemy in Compassion to so great a Prince were more animated with Revenge. For they fell furiously upon the Legionary Cohorts, left to settle Garrisons among the *Silures*, cut off the Commander, eight Captains, with many brave Soldiers; and had not speedy Relief come from the neighbouring Forts, they had put all to the Sword. Shortly after they defeated the *Roman* Foragers, and the Troops sent to their Assistance; and *Ostorius* by his fresh Supplies could not stop their Flight, 'till the Legionary Soldiers came in, who restor'd the Battel, and brought the Advantage on their Side; but the *Britains* escap'd with little Loss, because the Day was spent. Next they proceeded to Skirmishes and smaller Actions, 'till the *Silures*, being exasperated with the General's Threatning to extinguish their Name and Nation, found means to intercept his Auxiliary Cohorts, who were sent out rashly by some greedy Officers to pillage; and they by distributing the Spoil and Prisoners drew other Nations to revolt. In this Posture of Affairs, *Ostorius* wasted with Fatigue and Trouble dy'd; the *Britains* rejoicing, that tho' no Battel had remov'd him, yet an adverse War had worn out so great a Commander. He was succeeded in his Place by *A. Didius*, who found all things in great Disorder, partly by the Inrodes of the *Silures*, and partly by *Valens's* encountering the *Britains* with ill Success. But civil Contests in a short Time gave the *Romans* new Advantages, which were occasion'd by *Cartismandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*, who after she had agrandiz'd her self by delivering *Caractacus*, rejected her Husband *Venutius*, marry'd his Servant *Vellocatus*, and made him King. This caus'd a War, which at first seem'd private among themselves, 'till *Cartismandua* had by a Stratagem taken *Venutius's* Brother, and some other of his Relations; who by the Assistance of his Neighbours, and the Defection of the *Brigantes*, now abhorring the Queen's Actions, soon reduc'd her to great

Ostorius declines,

and dies.

Didius succeeds him.

Extremities. But imploring Aid of the *Romans*, with much Difficulty, and a severe Conflict, she escap'd the Punishment she expected. *Venutius* thus debarr'd of his Rights, justly turn'd his Anger against the *Romans* themselves, retain'd his Kingdom against their utmost Opposition, and made them perceive that he was no despicable Soldier, first in a sharp Bartel of uncertain Event, and then against the Legion of *Cæsius Nasica*. Infomuch that *Didius* growing old, and fitter to direct than execute, us'd the Ministry of other Men, thinking it sufficient to keep what his Predecessors had gain'd, and only built some Castles and Places of Strength within the Land.

NERO. This was the State of Affairs in *Britain* when the Emperor *Claudius* dy'd, ^{Tacit} being succeeded by his adopted Son *Nero*, who had so little Hopes and Inclinations to proceed, that, had not Shame restrain'd him, he would have recall'd all his Forces from the Isle. Therefore, by the Advice of his Governors, he sent *Verannius* to succeed *Didius*, a Person ambitious and severe, but not able to perform any great Action before his Death. Under this Man's Government, or shortly after, it seems most probable that the *Christian* Religion was first planted in *Britain*; but by whom it was effected, and with what Success, is uncertain. The next Governor was *P. Suetonius*, a Person of celebrated Valour, who after two Years successful Establishment of what was gain'd by the *Romans*, proceeded to new Conquests, particularly the Isle of *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, which was peopled with stout Inhabitants, and was the usual Receptacle of all Fugitives. Upon his Landing there with flat-bottom'd Vessels, he was receiv'd by numerous Multitudes on the Shore, the Women running in dismal Habits, with their Hair dishevell'd, and Fire-Brands in their Hands like Infernal Furies; whilst the *Druids*, whose ancient Seats were in this Isle, lifted their Hands up to Heav'n, rending the Air with the most dreadful Execrations. The Horror of this Spectacle astonish'd the *Romans*, and made them stand like Men helpless and enchanted; but being animated by their General, and assur'd to fear a confus'd Herd of Women and Franticks, they soon broke through this furious Company, kill'd many, and beat others down, scorch'd and rowling in their own Fires. After this they cut down all their superstitious and magical Woods and Groves, plac'd Garrisons, and made an easie Conquest of the Island.

A. D. 61. While *Suetonius* was thus successful in outward Parts of the Nation, almost ^{Ta} the whole Body of the *Britains* made a violent and famous Struggle to regain ^{Di} their Liberties, and expel the *Romans*, being excited by many Provocations at once, which are enumerated by *Tacitus* and *Dion*. *Prasutagus*, King of the *Iceni*, famous for his Treachery, had made *Nero* Coheir with his two Daughters, hoping thereby to preserve his Kingdom and Family from Injury; instead of which, his Kingdom was seiz'd by the *Roman* Captains, his House pillag'd by Under-Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* was scourg'd, and his Daughters ravish'd, the chief of the *Iceni* depriv'd of their Estates, and the Blood-Royal treated as Slaves: *Seneca*, one of *Nero's* Counsellors, having oblig'd many of the *Britains* to take large Sums of Money at Interest, did now suddenly recall the Payment of it with horrible Extortion: *Calus*, the Procurator, renew'd the Confiscation of those Goods which *Claudius* had before remitted: The Colony at *Camalodunum* thrust the ancient Inhabitants out of their Possessions, terming them Vassals and Slaves: The Temple also erected to *Claudius* was a great Burden to them, while the Priests that attended there, under pretence of Religious Dues, seiz'd each Man's Goods. Upon these Insults, and to prevent more, the People began more to consider the Miseries of Slavery, to confer Injuries with one another, and to make such Declarations as these: *That their Patience had no other Effect than to cause one Injury to produce another: That formerly every State had its own King, but now they were subject both to a Lieutenant and a Procurator; the one preying upon their Blood, and the other upon their Estates. That the Enmity or the Friendship of their Governors prov'd equally pernicious; the first tormented them with Soldiers and Officers, the latter with Extortions and Affronts;*

The Christian Religion first planted in Britain.

Suetonius made Governor

The Britains oppress'd.

Their Consultations.

Affronts; so that they could be secure of nothing, that either Lust or Covetousness could recommend to the Romans. That tho' in War the Spoil ought to fall to the most Courageous, yet they were depriv'd of their Houses, and of their Children, by ignoble Cowards, and press'd for Foreign Service; as if the Britains were allow'd to fight for any Country but their own. The Germans shook off their Yoke, who had only a River, not an Ocean for their Defence; and the Britains were animated by as noble a Cause, their Country and Relations, while the Enemy were abandon'd to Luxury and Avarice. That Misfortunes often produce the bravest Actions; therefore if they would emulate the Glory of their Ancestors, and not be discourag'd at the Event of one or two Battels, they might as soon drive out their Enemies, as they did their first Invader Julius Cæsar. That now Heav'n seem'd to compassionate their Distress, in absenting the Roman General, and confining him to another Island; that they had conquer'd the greatest Difficulty, which was to Consult, since it was more dangerous to be found in the Contriving of a Plot, than in the Execution.

Tacitus.
Dion.

Being animated with these Motives, the *Iceni* unanimously took Arms, under the Conduct of injur'd *Boadicea*; drawing the *Trinobantes* to revolt with them, and such others as were not yet broken by the Weight of the *Roman* Yoke; who had all secretly conspir'd to free themselves, with the utmost Revenge against the Veterans. About the same Time divers Prodigies were observ'd to portend the Subversion of the *Roman* Colony, namely, the Image of *Victory* falling down revers'd at *Camalodunum*; unusual Noises heard in the Air; strange Apparitions seen on the Sea; the Ocean in shew bloody, and the Print of Mens Bodies upon the Sands, and certain Women in Extacy foretold a Destruction. These Things as they terrify'd the *Romans*, so they added Courage to the *Britains*; and because *Suetonius* was far absent, the Colony requir'd Aid of *Decianus* the Procurator, but he sent them no more than two hundred Men, and those ill armed. So that the Soldiers, who before had rely'd upon the Protection of their Temple, and had made no Preparations against a Siege, were soon defeated, and the whole Colony was destroy'd by Fire and Sword. The *Britains* being Conquerors, from hence march'd with great Fury against the ninth Legion, under the Command of *Petilius Cerealis*, and cut all the Infantry in Pieces, so that only the Horse escap'd with their Commander; which Misfortune caus'd *Catus*, the Intendant, whose Rapines had partly occasion'd this Insurrection, to fly into *Gaul*. The News of these Revolts rous'd *Suetonius* in the West; and he with admirable Constancy and Resolution march'd through the Midst of the Enemy's Country to *London*, which tho' not honour'd with the Title of a Colony, was then famous for Concourse of Merchants and Provisions. He debated for some time whether he shou'd expect the Enemy here; but reflecting upon the Weakness of his Forces, and the Rashness of *Petilius*, he resolv'd to quit the Place, without regarding the Cries of the Inhabitants who implor'd his Protection, preferring the Loss of one Town to save a Province. Those who wou'd follow him were receiv'd into his Troops; but the rest, whom Age or the Pleasantry of the Place had detain'd behind, were miserably destroy'd by the *Britains*. The Town of *Verulum* met with the same severe Fate, for passing by the Forts and Garrisons, they attack'd the most opulent and defenceless Places, loading themselves with the Spoils of their Enemies, whom they hang'd, burnt and crucify'd, with all the Cruelty and inhuman Outrage, that a barbarous Multitude, elevated with Success, cou'd imagine. They took no Prisoners, either to preserve them for Exchange or Ransom, according to the Law of Arms, but cut in pieces both *Romans*, and their Allies, to the Number of eighty thousand, as *Dion* assures us. The *Roman* Wives and Virgins were hung up naked, and had their Breasts cut off and sewn to their Mouths, that even dead they might seem to eat their own Flesh; whilst the *Britains* feasted in the Temple of *Andate*, their Goddess of Victory.

The Iceni and Trinobantes revolt, under Boadicea.

Their Successes.

and Cruelties.

Suetonius
marches a-
gainst them,

Suetonius having gather'd together a small Army of ten thousand well Disciplin'd Men, resolv'd to hazard a Battel with all Expedition; and for that End he chose an advantageous Post, a Place with a narrow Entrance, and a thick Wood for Defence behind him, and before him a large Plain. Here the *Britains* came down in a confus'd Manner, shouting and swarming in such vast Numbers as never were before seen, so fierce and confident of Victory, that their Wives were brought along with them, and plac'd in Carts in the utmost Part of the Plain, to see the Battel. Queen *Boadicea*, commanding in chief, mounted her Chariot with her two Daughters, and riding about us'd many Arguments to raise the Courage of her Army, which consisted of no less than two hundred and thirty thousand rude and undisciplin'd People. She told them, *That it had been usual before for the Britains to fight under the Conduct of Women, but she was now in different Capacity than her Ancestors, being not to fight for a Kingdom, but as one of the inferior Sort to revenge her lost Liberty, her own dishonourable Stripes, and the violated Chastity of her Daughters. That the Lusts of the Romans were now become so exorbitant, that they left no Virgin undefil'd. Therefore she her self was resolv'd to obtain Victory or Death, as she was a Woman; but the Men, if they pleas'd, might chuse Life and Slavery.* *Dion* places her upon a Heap of Turf, with a Spear in her Hand, and a Hare in her Bosom, which after a long Oration she let loose, as a Signification of a good Omen to her Army. On the other side *Suetonius* was not silent in so great a Danger, exhorting his Soldiers not to be terrify'd at the Enemy's Numbers, but to march on boldly, and continue a close Fight, which he judg'd could not be long after they had broken their Front, the rest being only a confus'd Multitude. The Legions kept the narrow Passage, as a Place of Defence, 'till the *Britains* had spent their Darts, and then advanc'd into the Plain, where the Auxiliaries and Cavalry making way, they as an irresistible Wedge, broke and dispers'd whatever oppos'd them; the rest fled, but could not easily escape, by reason of their own Carriages, which were plac'd round the Plain. The Soldiers gave no Quarter, not so much as to the Women, which with the Horses that were slain, increas'd the Heaps of Carcasses along the Field. This Victory was very signal, and was obtain'd with the Destruction of eighty Thousand *Britains*, and only the Loss of four hundred *Romans*, and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* resolving not to survive this fatal Defeat, poison'd her self, according to *Tacitus*, tho' others say she dy'd of Grief and Sickness.

and defeats
them.

Boadicea slain.

*Suetonius de-
clines.*

Suetonius drawing together his Army, kept the Field in order to finish the War, and was shortly after reinforc'd with two thousand Legionary Soldiers from *Germany*, eight Cohorts of Auxiliaries, and a thousand Horse, who being dispos'd into new Winter Quarters, they wasted with Fire and Sword all those Countries that were either Enemies or Neuters. But Famine was still the greatest Affliction to the *Britains*, who in Hopes of the Enemy's Provisions, had neglected all their Tillage. Nevertheless the unconquer'd Nations were averse to a Treaty, upon Notice of a Difference between *Suetonius* and the new Procurator *Classicianus*, who had spread a Report, *That a new Lieutenant was expected, who without the Severity and Haughtiness of a Conqueror, like Suetonius, would treat such as yielded with Favour and Clemency.* He wrote also to *Rome*, *That there could be no End of the War while Suetonius continu'd Governor, whose bad Success was owing to his ill Conduct, and his good only to the Fortune of the Common-wealth.* To compose this Difference, the Emperor sent his Freed-man *Polycletus*, in hopes of appeasing the Minds of the exasperated *Britains*. He appear'd in *Britain* with great State and Grandure, and was receiv'd by the Soldiers with Fear and Reverence; but it appear'd ridiculous in the Eyes of the *Britains*, That such a General and a victorious Army should be accountable to a Slave. All Things were represented favourably to the Emperor, and *Suetonius* kept his Command; but not long after he was oblig'd to resign all into the Hands of *Petronius Turpilianus*; which Governor without molesting

*Petronius Go-
vernor.*

molesting the Enemy, or being molested by them, gave the specious Name of Peace to his slothful unactive Life. And without performing any Thing memorable, he deliver'd his Province to *Trebellius Maximus*, a Person more lazy and negligent than himself; and as he wanted both Experience and Valour, so he was contemn'd and hated by his Army for his Avarice and Sordidness. This Dissatisfaction was continually fomented by *Cælius*, Commander of the twentieth Legion, who charg'd him with defrauding and impoverishing the Legions, as he did him with Sedition and Want of Discipline. At length the Disorder grew so great, that *Trebellius* being deserted by the Wings of his Army, who went over to *Cælius*, and lastly affronted by the Auxiliaries, he was forc'd to fly to *Vitellius* in *Germany*.

Trebellius Governor.

Tacitus.

In the mean Time the Emperor *Nero* put an End to his own Life, and during the short Reigns of *Galba* and *Otho*, *Britain* continu'd quiet and peaceable, tho' without a Consular Lieutenant; being govern'd by the Commanders of the particular Legions, all of equal Authority; only *Cælius* by his daring Boldness seem'd to have gain'd the greatest Command. When shortly after *Vitellius* came to the Empire, he sent *Vectius Bolanus* to succeed *Trebellius*, a Person as little troublesome to the Enemy as his Predecessor, and as careless of his Army; yet being of an innocent and obliging Temper, he gain'd the Affection of his Soldiers, tho' he wanted the Authority of a General. But when *Vespasian* had succeeded *Vitellius*, and with the rest of the World had gain'd *Britain* also, he sent thither brave Commanders and great Armies, which quite defeated the Hopes of their Enemies. He first sent *Petilius Cerealis* to be Governor, who boldly enter'd the Country of the *Brigantes*, the most northern and numerous People of the *Roman* Province; to whom he gave many and singular Overthrows, and either ravag'd or conquer'd the greatest Part of their Territories. So that *Cerealis* seem'd to have eclips'd the Fame and Conduct of any that could come after him; when *Julius Frontinus*, a great Man, and as eminent as cou'd be expected after such a Predecessor, succeeded by *Vespasian's* Order in the same Charge, with no less Glory. For he subdu'd the strong and warlike Nation of the *Silures*; where he had not only a potent Enemy to encounter, but likewise almost insuperable Difficulties from the Nature and Situation of the Country. In the latter End of *Vespasian's* Reign, *Frontinus* was succeeded by *Julius Agricola*, a Commander of the greatest Fame both for Valour and Conduct, who enter'd upon the most memorable Expedition that had ever been known in *Britain*, continuing seven or eight Years with great Reputation and Renown. Of this great Man's Actions in this Country, we have an excellent Account from his Son-in-Law *Tacitus*.

GALBA.
OTHO.

VITELLIUS.
Bolanus Governor.

VESPASIAN.

Cerealis Governor.

Frontinus Governor.

Agricola Governor.

Not long before the Arrival of *Agricola*, the *Ordovices*, the Inhabitants of *North-Wales*, had almost entirely destroy'd a Wing of the *Roman* Legions; by which means the rest of the conquer'd Nations were all ready for a Revolt, either out of Desire of Liberty, or to discover the Ability of the new Lieutenant. *Agricola*, tho' the Season was far advanc'd, with great Expedition gather'd together his dispers'd Troops and Auxiliaries, and march'd towards these formidable People, who kept themselves in Places of Advantage, and durst not descend into indifferent Ground. He therefore with uncommon Bravery, placing himself foremost, advanc'd towards them with his Army, and being seconded with the Skill and Courage of his Veteran Soldiers, put them all to Flight and Sword, so that the whole Nation was almost extirpated. Finding that all Things were like to succeed according to the Event of his first Actions, he immediately determin'd to make himself Master of the Isle of *Anglesey*, from whence *Suetonius* had been formerly recall'd; but this Design being suddenly laid, Ships were wanting for the Expedition, which Defect was notwithstanding supply'd by the great Policy and Resolution of the General. He commanded a choice Body of Auxiliaries, who were well acquainted with the Shallows of the Water, suddenly to pass over, and invade the Island; and these, by the Custom of their native

A. D.

78.

Agricola's first
Year's Expedition.

He conquers
the Isle of An-
glesey.

and reforms
many Abuses.

TITUS.
Agricola's se-
cond Year's Ex-
pedition.

His third Year's
Expedition.

native Country, being able in swimming to govern themselves, their Horses and Arms, perform'd it so effectually, that the Enemy, who at first expected a Fleet, were extremely surpriz'd and confounded, as supposing that nothing could be invincible to Men that begun a War with such Resolution. Whereupon they immediately desir'd Peace, and surrender'd the Isle to the Command of *Agricola*, who now became great and famous, as having upon his Entrance, a Time usually spent in Ceremony and Ostentation, encounter'd so much Toil and Hazard. In these prosperous Proceedings of his Fortunes, he sought not with any glorious Relations or Letters to magnifie his Honour; but rather in seeking to suppress the Fame of his Actions, he render'd them more conspicuous and splendid. And now knowing the Disposition of his Province, and being taught by others Experience, that Affairs would never be settled by Fighting, while Wrongs continu'd unredress'd, he resolv'd in the next Place to cut off all just Occasions of War and Revolts. Thereupon he began to regulate many Abuses, and reform many Corruptions, in his Family, in his Camp, and in the whole Province; especially such as afflicted the poorer sort, as Exactions, Encrease of Tributes, and Payments of Corn, which had been very burdensome to the *Britains*, all which he under-rated and levy'd in such Manner, as they became easie to the Inhabitants. By which Means *Agricola* brought the Nation to a more general Inclination to Peace, which partly by the Negligence, and partly by the Avarice of former Governors, had been no less odious than War it self.

About this Time the Emperor *Vespasian* dy'd, and was succeeded by his Son *Titus*, who continu'd *Agricola* in his Government; who drawing his Army together the next Summer, observ'd excellent Methods, and exact Discipline. He chose the Places for Encamping, and in Person try'd the Bogs and Woods; he gave the Enemy no Rest, and when he had sufficiently terrify'd them, he usually with-held his Hand, and forbore Acts of Hostility, to allure them to the Pleasures of Peace. These Methods of Proceeding so wrought upon many Cities, that laying aside Animosities, they voluntarily submitted, gave Hostages, and permitted Forts and Garrisons amongst them; all which were effected with that Care and Prudence, that they were the only new Forts in *Britain* that never were attack'd afterwards. All Persons began now to entertain an honourable Opinion of their new Governor; and as he was sufficiently careful in Summer, so he spent the next Winter in a wise Project. Whereas the *Britains*, hitherto harra's'd with Oppressions and Wars, had small Leisure or Inclination to apply themselves to the Ornaments of Peace and settled Societies; therefore they were ready for Revolts and Insurrections upon every slight Occasion. The better to induce them by Pleasures to Rest and Quietness, he exhorted them in private, and assisted them in publick to build Temples, Places of Resort, and stately Houses; and likewise provided, that the Sons of the Nobility should be carefully instructed in the liberal Arts and Sciences, applauding their Pains and Industry, and preferring their Parts and Ingenuities before those of the *Gauls*; so that they who but lately despis'd the *Roman* Language, did now affect and study the Graces of it. From that Time also the *Roman* Modes and Dresses became in request, and the *Gown* was commonly worn; and from thence they gradually proceeded to all their Softness and Incentives to Luxury, as beautiful Portico's, pleasant Baths, and exquisite Banquets, which by the Ignorant were term'd Civility and Politeness, when in Reality, as *Tacitus* tells us, they were but the Trappings of their Yoke and Bondage. In the third Summer *Agricola* discover'd new Countries and Parts of *Britain* yet untouch'd, or at least not fully subdu'd; and being ambitious of extending the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire, he march'd Northwards up to the very Frith of *Tans* or *Tweed*, wasting all as he pass'd, and without Resistance fortify'd the Passages with Castles and Fortresses, which he stor'd with sufficient Provisions. By which Means every wintering Garrison secur'd and guarded it self, and with the Summer Service ever repair'd the Winter's Miscarriages; which continually disappointed the
Enemy,

Enemy, so that *Agricola* had all the Success he could desire. The fourth Summer was spent in ordering and settling what he had over-ran; and with such Success, that if his Armies, and the Glory of the *Roman* Empire would have permitted it, they needed not to have fought any other Boundary in *Britain*. For the Friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, *Dunbrittaen* and *Edenburgh*, two Arms of two opposite Seas, shooting far into the Land, were only parted by a narrow Neck of Land, which *Agricola* had secur'd by Forts and Garrisons; so that the *Romans* were entire Masters of all the South Side, and had pent up the Country as it were within another Island.

*His fourth
Year's Expedi-
tion.*

For these great Successes and Exploits in *Britain*, *Agricola* not only purchas'd much Fame, but the Emperor *Titus* also receiv'd great Honours upon his Account, particularly to be saluted *Imperator* the fifteenth Time. But dying shortly after, he was succeeded by his Brother *Domitian*, who still kept *Agricola* in this Country, and still with new Success. For in the fifth Year of his Lieutenancy, he took Shipping, and sail'd over to certain Nations unknown to the *Romans*, probably the *Orcades* and other Northern Isles, which after many prosperous Encounters he subdu'd; and then plac'd Garrisons in those Parts of *Britain* which lye towards *Ireland*, having some Thoughts of attempting that Island. After this, suspecting a general Insurrection of the *Caledonians*, those fierce Northern Nations beyond *Bodotria*, in the following Year he mann'd out a Fleet to discover the Creeks and Harbours of that ample Region, and with his Army march'd for the North. Thus *Agricola* was the first who seconded his Land-Forces by a Navy, and brought War upon the *Britains* by Sea and Land at once. The *Britains* were extreamly amaz'd and confounded at this Sight, considering that if once their Seas were discover'd, all Hopes of retreating wou'd be lost. Nevertheless the *Caledonians* arming with great Power, hop'd to discourage the *Romans* by being Aggressors; which had so much Effect, that several advis'd *Agricola* not to proceed, but to retreat with Honour, rather than be repell'd with Shame. But he harken'd not to these Persuasions, and understanding that the Enemy would make their Irruptions in several Bodies, to prevent being surrounded by their Numbers, he march'd in three Divisions; which being known to the *Caledonians*, they chang'd their Resolution, and with united Forces set upon the ninth Legion in the Night, and broke into the Camp with great Slaughter; but *Agricola* having Intelligence of their March, follow'd them, and commanded his lightest Horse and Foot to charge them in the Rear, and the rest to make a loud Shout. The Day dawning, the Glittering of the *Roman* Ensigns dazzled the Eyes of the *Britains*, who after a sharp Fight at the Gates of the Camp, drew off to the Woods and Bogs, which secur'd them; otherwise the War had then been finish'd by a compleat Victory. Upon this Success the *Roman* Soldiers, presuming there was nothing able to withstand their Arms, cry'd out *to be led into Caledonia, that with a continual Course of Conquest they might find out the utmost Bounds of Britain*. They were further encourag'd by this remarkable Accident, which happen'd the same Summer: A Cohort of *Germans* having slain their Centurion, and other *Roman* Officers in a Mutiny, and to avoid Punishment fled on Shipboard, set sail in three light Gallies without a Pilot; and by Tide and Weather were carry'd round the Coasts, exercising Piracy wherever they landed, and after various Fortunes, were the first Discoverers to the *Romans* that *Britain* was an Island.

DOMITIAN:
*Agricola's fifth
Year's Expedi-
tion.*

*Britain first
discover'd to be
an Island.*

Notwithstanding these Successes, the *Britains*, attributing all to the good Fortune and Conduct of the General, and not to any Valour in his Soldiers, were not dejected, but proceeded to arm their Youth, to convey their Wives and Children into safe Places, and by Assemblies and Religious Rites to establish a Confederacy among themselves. And being intent upon nothing but Revenge or Slavery, the following Year by Leagues and Treaties they muster'd up their whole Power; being now sensible, tho' too late, that a common Danger must be repuls'd by Confederacy and Union. These, as their last Effort, had gather'd together

A. D.
84.

Dion.

The Britains
last Struggle
under Galgacus

together about thirty thousand armed Men, besides great Numbers of Youth, and vigorous old Men, who formerly had been excellent Soldiers, and still retain'd the Scars and Badges of their Bravery. On the other side, *Agricola* having sent his Fleet before, follow'd in Person shortly after with his whole Army, to which he had added some of the most valiant *Britains*, such as after the Test of a long Peace he had found faithful, and march'd to the Hill *Grampius*, now *Grantz-bain* in *Scotland*, where the Enemy had posted themselves. Upon the Approaches of both Armies, all Persons with great Eagerness and Impatience attended the Success of this deciding Battel; and *Galgacus*, both by Birth and Merit Commander of the *Britains*, with a furious Warmth and elevated Courage is said to have spoken after this Manner to his Soldiers. *When I consider the Cause of this War, and our present Urgency, I have reason to presume, that the future Happiness and Freedom of the whole Island will date their Birth from this important Day. For we are the most valiant Remains of the Britains, seated in the remotest Regions, beyond the Ken of those Nations enslav'd by the Enemy; so that our Eyes are yet unpolluted, and free from the Contagion of Foreign Tyranny; and this secret Recess, unknown to Fame, has hitherto preserv'd us in all the Blessings of Liberty. Beyond us is no Nation, nothing but Waves and Rocks; on that Side nothing but Bondage and Slavery, which is to be expected from the Romans; a People unsatiable in their Lusts, and unbounded in their Ambition. Those Robbers of the World, and Ravagers of the Universe, now the exhausted Land can no more furnish their Rapines, endeavour to rifle the wide Seas and Ocean. When they meet with opulent Enemies, their Cruelty proceeds from Avarice; when with Poor, it arises from Ambition. The East and West, vast as they are, cannot satiate their voracious Minds; they, and they alone, with equal Greediness grasp at the Riches and Poverty of all Nations. Devastations, Murders and Extirpations, pass with them under the false Names of Empire and Government; and they boast of establishing Peace in those Provinces they have render'd desolate. Our Goods are their Tribute, our Corn their Provisions, our Bodies their Tools for all Kinds of Drudgery; and if the Modesty of our Wives and Daughters has preserv'd them from open Violence, when they were Enemies, it cannot secure them from their lascivious Friendship, now they are Guests. Other Slaves, whom Nature and Fortune have destin'd to Servitude, are nourish'd by their Masters; but the Britains alone purchase their own Bondage, and maintain and support their Oppressors. Were our Enemies Courage in War, equal to their Debaucheries in Peace, we might justly dread their Arms; but their Glory is all owing to our Dissentions: Our Union will dissipate their Forces which are gather'd out of many Nations; so that one Miscarriage of theirs will dissolve their whole Power. In summ, there you see Tributes and Slavery, here Death or Liberty; therefore let us consider the Glory of our Ancestors, and the Fate of our Posterity.*

This Speech being deliver'd with the Fierceness of Lions and Tigers, and darting upon the Soldiers like Flashes of Lightning, was immediately seconded with the barbarous, and confus'd Acclamations of the whole Army. *Agricola* on the other side encourag'd his Men with all the Force and Charms of the *Roman* Eloquence; and fearing to be flank'd by reason of the Enemy's Numbers, he drew out his Front to the utmost Length, and advanc'd himself at the Head of his Foot. The Battel began at some Distance from the main Body, wherein the *Britains* show'd great Art and Courage, by means of their broad Swords, and short Bucklers, with which they bore off the Darts of their Enemies, and pour'd in upon them with Showers of their own. To prevent which Inconveniency, *Agricola* order'd the *Batavian* and *Tungrian* Cohorts to advance against them with their sharp-pointed Bucklers, which render'd their pointless Swords unserviceable, and so mangled their Faces, that they were oblig'd to retire with the greatest Precipitation. This Advantage being seconded by the Emulation of
the

the other Cohorts, who furiously bore down all before them; and being many Ways back'd and supported by the great Skill of their General, the *Britains* were at last dispers'd: Whilst many unarm'd ran desperately upon their Enemies Swords, others tho' arm'd betook themselves to Flight, leaving a Field dismally strew'd with Heaps of Arms, Carcasses, mangled Limbs and Blood, and many expiring Persons, who still retain'd their Courage and Fierceness. Night and Weariness put an end to the Chace, and Victory made it pleasant to the Conquerors; but the unfortunate *Britains*, both Men and Women, wandering in a deplorable Manner, spent the Night in calling their lost Friends, carrying off the Wounded, in burning their Houses out of Despair, and shifting from one Corner to another. Sometimes they consulted with each other, and conceiv'd some Hopes; then again they were broken with Pity and Compassion, and oftner with Rage and Madness at the Sight of their Wives and Children, several of whom they dispatch'd with their own, rather than they should suffer by their Enemies Swords. This signal Victory put a Stop to all future Resistance, and *Agricola* sending out his Fleet along the Coasts, they also discover'd *Britain* to be an Island, and subdu'd the *Orcades*, which had not been heard of 'till that Time. Thus after forty two Years Struggle of an unciviliz'd and disunited People, against the most powerful Nation in the Universe, the greatest Part of *Britain* was conquer'd and reduc'd into an intire and civiliz'd Province of the *Roman* Empire, the further Part being left to the Barbarians, as neither pleasant nor fruitful; the Government of which was ever annex'd and appropriated to the Emperors themselves, and no ways at the Disposal of the Senate, as several other Provinces were. This was compleated in the fourth Year of *Domitian's* Reign, about 138 Years after the first Entrance of *Julius Cæsar*, in the latter End of the Year 84, or the Beginning of 85, when *Agricola* was recall'd out of *Britain*.

They are de-
feated.

and Britain re-
duc'd to a Ro-
man Province.

III. From this Time forwards, for above 320 Years, the greatest and richest Part of *Britain* became subject to the *Romans*, who made great Advantages of the Country, and laid heavy Tributes upon the Inhabitants. Yet with their grievous Yoke they bore down Barbarism, and introduc'd Humanity and Civility, which daily made way and fitted Men for Christianity; and they wanted not the Arts of obliging a conquer'd People, allowing some Kings amongst them of their own Nation, which were commonly us'd for Instruments of enslaving their Neighbours, and bearing off the Odium from the Conquerors. Partly by such Arts, and partly through Necessity, the *Britains* began to love as well as fear their Masters the *Romans*, and follow'd their Modes, Dresses and Customs to as great an Excess as any Nation; and their Buildings and other Works were so very stately, that we cannot now look upon their Remains without Admiration, and the ordinary People think them to be of more than human Structure. But of the Transactions of *Britain* after *Agricola's* Departure, we have only short and broken Accounts, which are gather'd from several Parts of the *Roman* Historians. We are not certain who was *Agricola's* Successor, unless it be *Salustius Lucullus*, whom *Domitian* in a short time sacrific'd to his own suspicious Humour. At which Time flourish'd King *Arviragus* in this Island, according to *Juvenal*; and also at *Rome* a *British* Lady nam'd *Claudia Rufina*, celebrated by *Martial* for her extraordinary Beauty and Learning, whom many believe to have been a Christian, and the same mention'd by *St. Paul* in his second Epistle to *Timothy*, c. 4. v. 21. *Domitian* was succeeded by *Nerva*, in whose Time we have little concerning *Britain*, only that in his Reign, as also in that of *Trajan* his Successor, there were great Commotions in this Island, but they were soon suppress'd and ended. But *Hadrian* the next Emperor being proclaim'd, he receiv'd Intelligence, that the Northern *Britains* made Incursions into the *Roman* Part; whereupon he sent *Julius Severus*, who being suddenly recall'd upon the Account of other Insurrections, the Emperor himself

NERVA.
TRAJAN.
HADRIAN.

- himself came over with an Army, encounter'd the barbarous People of the North, recover'd such Forts as they had taken, and drove them into the Woods and Mountains. And for the better Establishment of future Peace, in the Year 121, he caus'd a mighty Wall to be made of Wood and Earth, extending from the River *Eden* in *Cumberland*, to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty Miles in Length; after which he return'd triumphantly to *Rome*, where he gain'd the Title of *RESTORE OF BRITAIN*, which as a Motto was stamp'd upon his Coin. And now the Provincial *Britains*, fearing as much the Cruelty of their Northern Countrymen, as formerly the Invasion of Strangers, readily conform'd themselves to the *Roman* Laws, as well Civil as Martial, under the Direction of *Priscus Licinius*, then *Pro-prætor*.
- A. D. 121.
Hadrian makes a Wall in Britain. The Emperor *Hadrian* was succeeded by *Antoninus Pius*, whose Lieutenant *Lollius Urbicus* defeated the *Brigantes*; and having driven back, and remov'd the barbarous Northern People, he built another Wall of Earth and Piles beyond the former, between *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton* Friths. For these two Expeditions, *Antoninus* obtain'd the Title of *Britannicus*, tho' he never saw *Britain* himself. Capin. Bida.
- ANT. PIUS. After him *Antoninus Philosophus* possess'd the Empire, who sent *Calphurnius Agricola* to be his Lieutenant in *Britain*, a Person who partly by his Prudence, and partly by Force, appeas'd the Northern Tumults, and settled the Minds of those People who were most uneasie under the *Roman* Authority. A second Wall in Britain.
- ANT. PHILOS. In the latter End of this Emperor's Reign, we are inform'd by *Beda*, That *Lucius*, one of the Kings allow'd by the *Romans* in *Britain*, having an Inclination for *Christianity*, which had been formerly planted, but not well water'd in this Nation, sent to *Eleutherus* Bishop of *Rome*, to signify his pious Intentions, and to desire his Assistance. *Eleutherus* sent *Fugatius* and *Damianus*, two eminent Men, to this Island; at which Time, not only *Lucius* himself receiv'd the Faith, but by his Example, and the Diligence of the first Preachers, it spread in a short Time through a great Part of the Nation, and *Christianity* continu'd unmolested 'till the Reign of *Diocletian*. So that *Lucius* is suppos'd to be the first *Christian* King in the World, and *Britain* the first Province that embrac'd the Gospel by publick Authority. This Story has receiv'd so many Additions and Corruptions by later Writers, that it has occasion'd many to disbelieve the whole, and to doubt whether there ever was such a King as *Lucius* in *Britain*; for which the Reader may please to consult B. *Stillingfleet's* elaborate Work, *The Antiquities of the British Churches*.
- A. D. 178.
Lucius, a King in Britain, receives Christianity with others In the Reign of *Commodus*, the next Emperor, the Northern *Britains* became more troublesome than ever; for having pass'd the great Wall, they cut off the *Roman* General, and most of his Army, and then made terrible Devastations in the Country. The Emperor affrighted at their Progress, immediately sent *Ulpius Marcellus* against them, a wise and magnanimous Governor, who soon put an end to this War that appear'd so formidable, severely chastis'd the *Britains* for their Revolt, and reviv'd the lost Discipline among the *Roman* Soldiers; for which Services, and his Virtues, the wicked Emperor design'd to have taken his Life, but upon second Reflexions only discharg'd him of his Office. After his Departure, the *Roman* Army began to mutiny, and to disown *Commodus* for their Emperor; which Disorders, *Pereunes* his great Favourite undertook to redress, by Threats, Removing of Officers, and placing inferior Persons in their Room; which had no better Effect than to bring the whole Storm upon himself. For the Soldiers, accusing him of Treason against his Sovereign, gain'd so much Credit, as to cause him to be executed. Upon his Death *Pertinax*, afterwards Emperor, undertook the Charge of *Britain*; and he, after he had suppress'd the Seditions with the utmost Hazard of his Life, got leave to be dismiss'd. After him, by the Command of *Commodus*, *Albinus* had the Government of this Province assign'd to him, and might have been honour'd with the Title of *Cæsar*, but he declin'd it: But afterwards, in a Speech to his Soldiers, upon a false Report of the Emperor's Death, declaring for the Senatorian against the
- COMMODUS. Dr. &c.

the Imperial Power, he was discharg'd, and *Junius Severus* was sent in his Place. *Commodus* not long after being slain, and the Reigns of *Pertinax* and *Julian* being short, *Albinus* was found again at the Head of his Army in *Britain*, in the Beginning of the Reign of *Severus*, which he afterwards transported against him into *Gaul*; where, near *Lyons*, he was encounter'd by *Severus*, his Forces defeated, and himself slain. *Severus* being settled in the Empire, divided *Britain* into two Governments or Prefectures; the South Part was committed to *Heracitus*, and the North, which was the most difficult to manage, to *Virius Lupus*, in Quality of *Pro-prætor*, where the *Caledonians* and others so infested him, that he was oblig'd to purchase a Truce with Money. This new Division was made in the fourth Year of *Severus's* Reign, A. D. 197.

In the fifteenth Year of this Prince's Reign, he receiv'd Advice that the Northern *Britains* were up in Arms, and had been so successful, that the standing Legions and the Province were in great Danger; which gave much Uneasiness to an Emperor who before had conquer'd the most powerful Enemies. But that the Empire should not be diminish'd in his Reign by the Loss of an Island of such great Importance, he resolv'd to come in Person, tho' very gouty and above sixty Years of Age; taking with him his two Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Britains* understanding the Emperor's Approach, offer'd him an honourable Peace; but he had such an insatiable Desire to add the glorious Name of *Britannicus* to his former Titles, that he refus'd their Proposals. Upon his Entrance, he left his Son *Geta* in the Southern Parts of the Province, which had continu'd in Obedience; and march'd with his Son *Caracalla* against the Northern *Britains* and *Caledonians*; where with the cutting down of Woods, making of Bridges, draining of Bogs and Meers, the Enemies Ambuscades, and Sickness, he lost no less than fifty thousand Men, according to *Dion*. The aged Emperor encounter'd these Miseries and Difficulties with a noble Bravery, and prosecuted his Attempts with such a vigorous Resolution, that he forc'd them to a Submission, with the Delivery of a considerable Part of their Country, and all their Arms. And for the better Security of the Province of *Britain*, he built, or rather repair'd that famous Wall begun by the Emperor *Hadrian*; which he made answerable to the Power and Grandure of the *Roman* Empire. For this, and his several Victories, he took upon him the Title of *Britannicus Maximus*, causing that Inscription to be stamp'd upon his own, and his Sons Coins. The Emperor after this retir'd to *Eboricum* or *York*, leaving the Work to be finish'd by his Son *Caracalla*, who by his Popularity to the Soldiers, and his excessive Looseness, gave an Occasion to the *Caledonians* to break their Articles, and revolt; which so irrag'd this old distemper'd Prince, that he gave Commands to make a general Massacre without Distinction, which was executed with great Severity. Having been nigh two Years in *Britain*, at *Eboricum* he grew weak, partly with Age and Travel, and partly with Grief for the ill Life of his eldest Son; and finding himself declining, he cry'd out, *I have been all that a Man can be, but it is of no Service to me now*. But at his Death shortly after, he seem'd to comfort himself by declaring, *That he had found the Empire disorder'd in all its Parts, but now had left it in Peace, even among the Britains*. His Son *Caracalla* having made Peace with the *Britains*, and receiv'd Hostages from them, return'd to *Rome* with his Brother *Geta*.

For about sixty Years, and the Reigns of twelve succeeding Emperors after *Caracalla*, namely *Macrinus*, *Elagabalus*, *Alexander*, *Maximinus*, *Pupienus*, *Gordian*, *Philip*, *Decius*, *Gallus*, *Valerian*, *Gallienus* and *Claudius*, we have no Account of the Affairs of *Britain*; only in the Reign of *Gallienus*, some of the thirty Tyrants, as *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Posthumus*, the *Tetrici*, and *Maximian*, are suppos'd to have usurp'd the Government here, since their Coins are found in such great Quantities in this Nation. Under *Claudius's* Successor *Aurelian*, *Bonofus*, an insatiable Vassal to *Bacchus*, and by Birth a *British*, together

TACITUS.
PROBUS.

Vandals and
Burgundians
settled in Britain

CARUS.

DIOCLETIAN.

A. D.

287.

Carausius in
Britain claims
the Empire.

He is slain by
Allectus, who
succeeds him.

Allectus slain.

gether with *Proculus*, endeavour'd to make himself Emperor, claiming all *Britain*, *Spain* and Part of *Gaul*, in the Time both of *Aurelian* and his Successor *Tacitus*; but being at last defeated by the next Emperor *Probus*, after a sharp Engagement, he hang'd himself, and gave the Occasion of the Jest, *That there hung a Bottle, not a Man*. After that, *Probus* prevented a new Rebellion in *Britain*, by the severe Loyalty of *Victorinus*, at whose Recommendation he had plac'd a Lieutenant here, who had set up for Emperor; for upbraiding *Victorinus* with the Disloyalty of the Person he had recommended, he undertook to rectifie the Mistake, by passing suddenly over into *Britain*, where by a Stratagem he found means to slay the Traitor, and save the Province. *Eutropius* also relates, that *Probus* was the first Emperor who gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Britains* to plant Vines, and to make Wine. This Emperor also ^{Zosim.} having subdu'd the *Vandals* and *Burgundians* in a great Battel, he sent great Numbers of them to inhabit *Britain*, where being well settled, they prov'd very serviceable to the Empire upon any Commotions or Insurrections. Most suppose them to have had their Camp upon those Hills near *Cambridge*, commonly call'd *Gogmagog-Hills*, where on the Top of one of them may be seen to this Day a Plain, surrounded with large double Trenches of a great Circumference. After *Probus*, *Carus* succeeded in the Empire, who put this Island with the Western Provinces into the Hands of his Son *Carenus*; but he in two Years Time was slain by *Diocletian*, who succeeded in the Empire, *A.D.* 284.

In the Reign of this noted Emperor, *Carausius*, a Man of mean Extract but ^{Vit. Euth. Oros.} great Courage, was employ'd to secure the *Belgick* and *Armorican* Coasts, then infested by the *Franks* and *Saxons*; and daily enriching himself with the Spoils of others, he became justly suspected by the Emperor, who order'd his Partner *Maximian* to procure his Death. *Carausius* finding his Crimes too great to hope for Safety, assum'd the Title of Emperor, and took Possession of *Britain*; whither he brought his Fleet, built more Ships after the *Roman* Manner, was join'd by the *Roman* Legions, kept out foreign Forces, press'd the *Gallick* Merchants to his Service, garrison'd *Bononia* in *Gaul*, and converted the Revenues of *Britain* and *Batavia* to his own Use. Moreover, by the Hopes of Booty in the Provinces, he drew no small Forces of the *Barbarians* to his Alliance, particularly the *Franks*, whom he had train'd to Sea-Service, and infested all the Sea-Coasts about him. *Maximian* with a brave Army march'd against him; being advanc'd to the Sea-Coast, the Want of Sea-Men, and the Danger of the *British* Seas, occasion'd him to make an Hault, and to come to a Treaty, in which it was concluded, That *Carausius* shou'd enjoy the Government of *Britain*, as the properest Person to defend the Inhabitants against all Invasions; and this he held with great Authority and in perfect Peace for seven Years together. But when *Constantius* was made *Cesar* by *Maximian*, and took the Town of *Bononia*, *Carausius* was treacherously slain by *Allectus*, his bosom Friend and prime Minister; who thereupon usurp'd the Government to himself, and retain'd it three Years longer. At length *Constantius* mann'd several distinct Fleets, so that *Allectus* not knowing what Course to take, or where to expect him, grew sensible that the Ocean was not so much his Defence, as his Prison. The *Roman* Fleet setting out in bad Weather, had the Fortune by reason of a Mist to escape the *British* Navy, which lay out by the Isle of *Wight* to observe its Motions; and as soon as the Soldiers were landed, *Constantius* set fire to all the Ships, that they might confide in nothing but their own Valour. *Allectus* perceiving this retir'd, and in his Flight was accidentally met and attack'd by *Asclepiadotus*, Captain of his Life-Guard; but his Confusion was such, that he ran desperately to his own Ruin; for without drawing up his Army, after he had thrown off his Robes, he with his barbarous Mercenaries rush'd on upon the Enemy, and in a tumultuary Skirmish was kill'd without Distinction. The *Franks* and other surviving Barbarians, upon this determin'd to plunder the City of *London*, and escape by Sea with the Booty; but a Party of the *Romans*, that

that were separated from the Fleet in foggy Weather, came fortunately into the Assistance of the City, set upon them, and pursu'd them through the Streets with great Slaughter, not only to the Safety, but also to the Pleasure of the Citizens, who were Eye-witnesses of their Deliverance. By this Victory the Province of *Britain* was recover'd to the *Romans*, after it had been ten Years under the Governments of *Carausius* and *Allectus*. Not long after, a dreadful Persecution breaking out under *Diocletian*, several are believ'd to have suffer'd in *Britain*, as *St. Alba*, *Julius*, *Aaron*, &c. but the Narratives of their Christian Zeal and Courage, are so obscur'd by the fictitious Fancies of after Ages, that we can scarce discover what Persons suffer'd, nor the Time, Place or Manner of their Martyrdoms.

A. D.

303.

A Persecution
in Britain.

Diocletian having resign'd the Empire, the Western Provinces with *Britain* fell to the Share of *Constantius*, who gave Liberty to the *Christians*, and came over into this Isle himself; where reinforcing the Garrisons towards the Borders, and establishing a general Peace, at *York* he fell sick of a languishing Disease, and dy'd. He was succeeded by his renowned Son *Constantine*, who was proclaim'd Emperor in *Britain*, and is by most Authors believ'd to have been a Native of this Country, tho' it is doubted by some others. This great Prince was the first who by Law establish'd *Christianity* in the *Roman* Empire; and in a few Years with great Fame he became Master of the whole, against the Power of all Usurpers and Opposers. But afterwards removing his Imperial Seat from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, and drawing many Forces from *Gaul*, *Germany* and *Britain*, towards the Eastern Parts, he open'd a Way for Invasions and Incursions into the Western Provinces, and laid the Foundation not only of the Loss of *Britain*, but also of the Ruin of the Empire. Yet for the better Security and Government of the Empire, he new modell'd the whole, dividing it into fourteen distinct Provinces call'd *Dioceses*, and those subject to four *Prætorian* *Præfects*. *Britain* was one of the fourteen, which was made subject to the *Prætorian* *Præfect* of *Gaul*, and instead of the two Divisions made by the Emperor *Severus*, he divided it into three Provinces, namely *Britannia Prima*, containing all the Southern Parts of *Britain*, the Metropolis of which was *London*; *Britannia Secunda*, containing that Part now call'd *Wales*, the Metropolis of which was *Isca*, now *Caer-leon*; and *Maxima Cæsariensis*, containing all the Northern Parts of *Britain*, the Metropolis of which was *Eboricum*, now *York*, which some say was the chief of the whole. This last Province was afterwards divided into two, viz. *Maxima Cæsariensis*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*; but whether by *Constantine*, or some succeeding Emperor, is uncertain. In the Reign of *Constantine*, or not long after, there were twenty eight Cities in *Britain*, as we are assur'd from *Gildas* and *Beda*; all which are reasonably believ'd to have been Bishopricks. But tho' we are not certain of the Number of the Bishopricks, yet we find the *British* Church was become so considerable in the Time of *Constantine*, that in the ninth Year of his Reign, A. D. 314, it sent three Bishops of the thirty three that compos'd the Council of *Arles*, namely *Eborius* Bishop of *York*, *Restitutus* Bishop of *London*, and *Adelphius* Bishop of *Colchester*, or perhaps *Caer-Leon*. And tho' in the famous Council of *Nice*, eleven Years after, we have not the Names of the *British* Bishops there, because the Subscriptions to that Council are lost; yet there are many convincing Circumstances to prove that they were there, and join'd in the Decrees of the Council.

CONSTANTIUS.

Constantius
dies at York.
CONSTANTINE.Constantine di-
vides Britain
into three Pro-
vinces.Zosimus.
Am. Mar.
Sub. Ser.

IV. After the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, the West being more naked and expos'd than formerly, the Affairs of *Britain* were in a declining Posture; yet the *Romans* held Possession of the Isle for near a hundred Years after, and took as great Care of it as their Circumstances would permit. *Constantine* dying, divided the Empire among his three Sons, *Constantinus*, *Constans* and *Constantius*; and to the Eldest he gave *Britain* and the West, who not satisfy'd with

A. D.

337.

CONSTANTIUS

Britain oppress'd
by severe
Governors.

and disturb'd
by Arianism.

JULIAN.
JOVIAN.
VALENTINIAN.
Britain invaded
by Barbarians.

A. D.
368.

Theodosius re-
pels them.

with his Division, invaded that of his Brother *Constans*, and was slain after three Years Reign. *Constans*, seizing on the West, after eight or nine Years Possession, was slain by the Treason of *Magnentius*, born of *British* Parents, who held those Parts three Years against all the Power of the surviving Brother *Constantius*, and then slaying himself, left the whole to his Government. *Constantius* being possess'd of *Britain*, sent over a Notary call'd *Paulus*, who coming into the Isle, under a Pretence of searching for the Friends and Assistants of *Magnentius*, committed horrible Extortions and Cruelties, and like a Torrent bore away the Estates and Fortunes of many innocent Persons, to the perpetual Infamy of his Master *Constantius*, who supported him in all his Outrages. *Martinus* was then Governor of the Province, who commiserating the Fates of such as he knew guiltless, interceded with *Paulus*, persuading him to withdraw his Hand, or otherwise he would depart the Isle; but he dreading the Effects of such a Resolution, accus'd the Governor himself as a Person guilty, and urg'd that he might be seiz'd, and carry'd bound to the Emperor. *Martinus*, provok'd at such an Injury, drew out his Sword, and struck at his Accuser; but failing in his Aim, he turn'd the Point against his own Breast, and slew himself; which still added to the Miseries and Punishments of those whom *Paulus* thought fit to pronounce guilty. *Constantius* in the latter End of his Reign committed the Government of *Britain* and the West to *Julian*, afterwards call'd *The Apostate*; who, residing then at *Paris*, upon the News of the Incursions and Ravages of the *Scots* from *Ireland*, and the *Picts* from *Caledonia* into the *Roman* Part of *Britain*, sent *Lupicinus* to repel them, and establish the Peace of the Island. *Lupicinus* pass'd over with a considerable Army into *Kent*; and marching to *London* in order to manage the War, he was shortly after recall'd by the same Commander. About the same Time, the *Arian* Heresie, which had infected Christendom, gave this Island no small Disturbance; a Land, says *Gildas*, greedy of every Thing new, stedfast in nothing. In favour of which Doctrine, the Emperor *Constantius* conven'd a Council of four hundred Bishops at *Ariminum*, allowing them all necessary Provisions. But all chose to live at their own Charges; only three out of *Britain*, by reason of their Poverty, accepted of the Emperor's Allowance, rather than be burdensom to their Brethren.

In the short Reigns of *Julian the Apostate*, and *Jovian*, we find nothing concerning *Britain*; after whom *Valentinian* succeeded in the Western Empire, who in his Passage through *Gaul*, receiv'd a sad and astonishing Account, That the *Scots* from *Ireland*, and the *Picts* and *Attacots* from the North, together with the *Saxons* and *Franks* from the East and South, had harass'd and ruin'd almost all *Britain*; That they had kill'd *Nectaridius* Governor of the Sea-Coasts, and surpriz'd *Buchobaudes* General of the Land Forces by a Stratagem. After *Valentinian* had with small Success sent *Severus*, and then *Jovinus*, to suppress their Fury, he at length deputed *Theodosius*, Father to the first Emperor of that Name, a Person of celebrated Valour and Conduct, who gathering together an Army of select young Men, with the *Herulian*, *Batavian* and other Troops, march'd directly to *London*. There dividing his Forces into several Parties, he successfully encounter'd the roving pillaging Enemy, laden with Spoils; from whom he recover'd the Prisoners and Plunder they had carry'd away; and having restor'd all to their respective Owners, except some small Portion bestow'd on the weary Soldiers, he enter'd *London* in a triumphant Manner, and restor'd it to its former Splendor. Having dispers'd the whole Force, he proclaim'd Impunity to such as wou'd immediately return to Obedience; but the Enemy being numerous, of many Nations, and in divers Parties, to finish all, he found it necessary to call in the Assistance of *Civiles* and *Dulcitius*, the former eminent for his Wisdom and Honesty, and the latter for his Military Abilities.

Theodosius having thus conquer'd and subdu'd these different Sorts of People, and being employ'd in repairing the ruin'd Cities and Castles, and in laying the

the Foundations of a lasting Peace, one *Valentinus* a *Pannonian*, a Person of a haughty Spirit, who for some notorious Crime was banish'd into *Britain*, with other Exiles and Soldiers, conspir'd against him, as the only Obstacle to his Design of gaining the Government of the Isle. This Man being discover'd, he with some of his principal Accomplices were deliver'd over to *Dulcitius*, and receiv'd their just Rewards; but *Theodosius* permitted others to escape, not making too severe an Inquisition into a Conspiracy where many were engag'd, lest such Methods of Proceeding might encrease the Danger. After which he proceeded to reform many Irregularities and Disorders with great Success, recover'd many Cities and Garrisons, and fortify'd the Borders with constant Watches and Guards, which had been formerly given up to the Enemy; so that the Northern Province being restor'd to its former Condition, he appointed a new Governor over it, and order'd it to be call'd *Valentia* for the future, in Honour of his Master *Valentinian*, and the City of *London* to be call'd *Augusta*. And now the *Roman Part* of *Britain* consisted of five distinct Provinces, viz. *Britannia Prima* in the South, *Britannia Secunda* in the West, *Flavia Cesariensis* in the East and middle Parts, *Maxima Cesariensis* towards the North, and *Valentia* beyond *Severus's* Wall to *Edenburgh* and *Dunbritton* Friths. All Things being happily executed, when *Theodosius* was recall'd, he left the Island in Peace, and being attended with the general Applause of all Men to the Sea Side, he pass'd over to wait upon the Emperor, who receiv'd him with the highest Commendations.

He restores Britain,

and divides it into five Provinces.

Maximus
kills.

But the Quiet and good Fortune of the *Britains* did not last long; for not many Years after, when *Valentinian* was succeeded in the Empire by his two Sons *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, and the latter had made *Theodosius* the Younger his Partner, one *Maximus* a *British* Commander, out of Hatred to *Gratian*, and Envy to *Theodosius*, assum'd the Purple, and was saluted Emperor; which prov'd the first great Step to the Ruin of *Britain*. The first Essays of his usurped Power were indeed employ'd to the Good and Preservation of this Island, driving back the *Scots* into *Ireland*, and the *Picts* beyond the Walls: But proceeding in his Ambition against the legal Emperors, he not only quit- ted the Isle, but drew over most of the *Roman* Forces from thence, and the best of the *British* Youth to his Assistance. These never return'd to *Britain* again, for most of them perish'd with their Commander not long after, or else settled themselves in that Part of *Gaul* call'd *Armorica*, which afterwards from them and other *Britains* had the Name of *Britain*, now *Bretaigne*. The Departure of so many Soldiers so extreamly weaken'd the Nation, that the *Scots* and *Picts* now found it an easie Prey, and made fresh Ravages and Devastations. For the Reduction of these, *Chrysanthus*, the Son of *Marcian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, was made Governor, who discharg'd his Office with great Reputation; but whether he fully subdu'd these Northern Enemies, or whether *Stilico*, Governor to the young Emperor *Honorius*, or some other sent by him, as *Claudian* seems to affirm, reduc'd them, it no where appears. Not long after, the Empire being in great Distress, the Legion sent for this purpose into *Britain* was recall'd, and the *Vandals*, *Sweves* and *Alans* having over-run many Countries, became formidable to the Forces in *Britain*, who fearing to be imaced, in a Sedition elected one *Marcus* to be their Emperor, a Man of great Power in this Island; but not answering their Expectations, they soon dispatch'd him, and set up one *Gratian*, who after four Months Reign, was also depriv'd of his Life and Empire. After this they proceeded to chuse *Constantine*, a Common Soldier, thinking his Name fortunate, and sufficient to preserve the Empire; who taking with him the Remainder of the *British* Forces and Strength that *Maximus* had left, pass'd over into *Gaul*, and never return'd again, but lost his Life and his Army four Years after.

A. D.
382.

GRATIAN.
Maximus in Britain claims the Empire.

He begins the Ruin of Britain.

Some Britains settle in Armorica.

The Picts and Scots grow troublesome.

HONORIUS.

The Britains set up several Emperors.

A. D.
407.

From this Time, the publick Affairs were in a wretched and declining Posture, in a great Part of *Europe* as well as *Britain*; the *Vandals* made Irruptions

Britain declines

Zosim.
&c.

The Britains
are discharg'd
of their Allegi-
ance to Rome.

ons and Devastations into *Spain*, the *Alans* into *Portugal*, and the *Goths* into *Italy* and *Rome* it self. At the same Time the miserable *Britains*, now destitute of the *Roman* Legions, and their best and noblest Inhabitants, became more expos'd than ever to the merciless Rage of the barbarous *Picts* and *Scots*, and other Northern People. And now they began to implore the Assistance of their old Masters the *Romans*, suing to those People as Patrons and Protectors, whom they anciently look'd upon as Tyrants and Usurpers. Accordingly they sent several Messages and Petitions to the Emperor *Honorius*, but he being in great Distress himself, and not able to defend *Rome* against *Alarick*, advis'd them by Letters to use their own Ways and Methods for their Safety, and freely acquitted them of all the *Roman* Jurisdiction. They being thus discharg'd and abandon'd, and having all the Right of Government in their own Hands, thence forward betook themselves to live after their own Laws and Institutions, and the *Armoricans*, who now obtain'd the Name of the *Britains* in *Gaul*, follow'd their Example. Thus fell the vast Empire of the *Romans*, first in *Britain*, and soon after in *Italy*; and with it all that was *Roman*, as Learning, Valour, Eloquence, History, Civility, and even Language it self, all equally diminishing and decaying. The first Discharge of the *Britains* from their Allegiance was about the Year 410, which was 463 Years after the first Entrance of *Julius Caesar* into this Island, 367 after the *Romans* first got Possession under the Emperor *Claudius*, and 326 after the full Conquest of it by *Agricola*, under *Domitian*.

The Roman
State of Britain

And here it will not be improper, before we finish this Chapter, to give some little Account of the *Roman* Government and Establishment in *Britain*, whether Civil or Military; which we have from the *Notitia* of the Empire, suppos'd to have been publish'd about the Year 410. *Britain* being one of the Dioceses belonging to the District of the *Praefectus Praetorio* of *Gaul*, it had a Governor of its own call'd a *Vicar*; whose Ensigns were a Book of Mandates, shut, cover'd with green, and mark'd on the Back, together with five Castles representing so many Provinces, with their several Names inscrib'd. According to the five Provinces, he had so many Magistrates under his Command, namely two *Consulars*, and three *Presidents*, the former of *Valentia*, and *Maxima Caesariensis*, and the other of *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Caesariensis*, who were to determine all Causes whether Criminal or Civil. By the *Vicar*, and these five Magistrates, with a great Number of inferior Officers, was the whole Civil Government of *Britain* administer'd. The Military Government was executed by three great Officers under the *Magistri Militum* of the West, namely the *Comes Britanniarum*, the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, and the *Dux Britanniarum*; the first of these having his Command in the inward and middle Parts of the Isle, and the two latter in the Eastern and Northern Coasts. The *Comes* or Count of *Britain*, was the Chief of the three, who had many Officers under him; but governing in the middle Parts of the Isle, we do not find any particular Garrisons belonging to him, only that the Forces which serv'd immediately under him were 3000 Foot, and 600 Horse. The *Comes* or Count of the *Saxon Shore*, is suppos'd to be an Admiral to prevent the Ravages of the *Saxons*, then very powerful, who had also nine maritime Garrisons under his Command, and in these 2200 Foot, and 200 Horse. The *Dux* or Duke of *Britain* commanded in the North, and had fourteen Garrisons under him, consisting of 6000 Foot and 300 Horse, besides twenty three Stations for Soldiers upon and about the Northern Walls, in which were 8000 Foot and 600 Horse. So that according to *Panicrolls* Account the whole *Roman* Force in *Britain*, after the Time of *Constantine* the Great, consisted of 19200 Foot, and 1700 Horse. But as for the Number of the *Romans* who were fixt in the Colonies, and in other Parts of the Nation, who mixt with the *Britains* in Marriage, and became in a manner Natives of the Land, we can make no Computation.

It was an usual Custom among the *Romans* to place their Garrisons and their Soldiers Quarters towards the outward Bounds of their Provinces, and fix their Colonies in the more inward Parts of their Conquests, as well to cultivate the People, as to keep them in Subjection, for they were all Places of Strength, tho' less exercis'd in War than those on the Frontiers; so we find it in *Britain*, where the Guards and Garrisons were chiefly on the Borders of *Caledonia*, and Sea-Coasts; not but that they had also their fix'd and standing Camps in the Fields and middle Parts of the Nation, such as *Gogmagog Hills* in *Cambridgeshire*, and several others. The *Romans* also, for the greater Conveniency of Passage from Garrison to Garrison, Station to Station, Colony to Colony, and from one *Municipium* or Corporation to another, had their publick High-ways, call'd the *Consulary*, *Prætorian*, *Regal* and *Military Ways*, &c. by *Beda*, and by the Moderns *Strates*, or *Streets*. In *Britain* there were many, but four were of principal Note, namely, *Via Vetelingiana*, since call'd *Watling-Street*, *Via Icenorum*, or *Ikenild-Street*, *Erming-Street*, and the *Foss-Way*; two whereof extended cross the Breadth of the Nation, and the other through the Length of it. These and other magnificent Works were perform'd by the Soldiers and People, as well to prevent the Mischiefs arising from Idleness, as for the Conveniency of the *Romans*, but not without the hard Labour of the *Provincials*, as the *Britains* grievously complain'd, That their Bodies were worn out and consum'd in clearing of Woods, and making Ways over Fens and Bogs; the Labour and Charge of which Ways may be conceiv'd from the Carriage of Gravel, Sand and Stones many Miles, where the Soil it self afforded no such Materials. And that there were more than these four fam'd High-Ways, that Part of the Itinerary which relates to *Britain*, is a sufficient Proof, where there are describ'd sixteen several Journeys in several Traverses and Windings in the Country, out of these Ways; yet it is not improbable, that wheresoever these Ways have appear'd, or however they have been described, they might be Branches, and terminate in the great Ways. These Ways had several Immunities and Privileges, where Strangers were protected from Arrests and other Troubles; and they had many Mansions where Travellers might rest themselves, Inns for Reception and Entertainment, and Mutations where they chang'd their Post-Horses, Waggons, and Chariots. These and other Works of the *Romans* were so stupendious, that in these latter Ages, they almost exceed the Belief of Human Performance, and have been thought impossible to have been done by Men. As for Edinces and Fortifications, *Beda* from *Gildas* tells us that there were in these Times twenty eight most noble Cities in *Britain*, besides innumerable Castles furnish'd and fortify'd with mighty Wall, Towers, Gates and Locks. But the Nation being now abandon'd by the *Romans*, enervated with Luxury, and exhausted of its bravest Youth, soon became a Prey to its Barbarian Neighbours, as shall be shewn in the following History.

C H A P. II.

From the Romans first quitting their Jurisdiction of the Island, to the Destruction of Britain, or the forcing up of the Inhabitants into the Mountainous Places by the Picts, Scots and Saxons.

Containing the Space of about 186 Years.

A. D.
410.

*The Miseries of
the Britains.*

I. **T**HE *Britains* for three or four hundred Years had been in a State of Subjection, but with a Mixture of many Conveniencies and Advantages; but being now acquitted of their Allegiance, and left to their own Laws and Government, they soon fell into greater Inconveniencies and Miseries than ever they found from the *Romans*. At first they proceeded in their Administration with some Vigour and Resolution; but as People more fond of the Name of Liberty, than apprehensive of the Difficulties of well governing, they grew heady and violent in what they understood not; none were more brave and daring in Council, and none so fearful and relenting in Action; all understanding the Scheme, yet all declining the Performance. Thus in a short time, when the Heat of Liberty was spent, and the Enemy daily increas'd, they soon found their own Temper returning upon them, a Slothfulness of Body, and a Slavishness of Mind; and then they perceiv'd that it was not a vehement Love of Freedom could protect them, but such Diligence, Wisdom and Bravery as they wanted, so that they shrunk more wretchedly under the Burden of their own Liberty, than before under a Foreign Yoak. For being no longer able to support themselves against the Incursions of the barbarous *Picts* and *Scots*, they a second Time sent mournful Letters to the Emperor *Honorius*, humbly imploring his Protection, and vowing perpetual Obedience to *Rome*, if their Enemies were once remov'd. *Honorius* being now more at Liberty than before, out of Compassion rather than Ambition, sent them a Legion, who coming suddenly over made great Slaughter of the *Picts*, soon drove them beyond the Borders, and having clear'd the Frontiers, caus'd a Wall or Rampier to be built cross the Island, from Sea to Sea, where *Agricola* and *Antoninus Pius* had formerly made theirs, namely between the Friths of *Edenborough* and *Dunbritton*, which might be a Terror to the Enemies, and a Defence to the Natives. But this Wall being cast up with Turf only, and not very strong, as soon as the *Romans* were departed in Triumph, the barbarous People broke it down and over-ran it, and pouring in upon the Province like a Torrent, made terrible Devastations, killing, burning and destroying wheresoever they came. The *Scots*, on the other side, out of their Carroughs, or Leather Vessels, wherein they us'd to pass the *Irish* Seas, landed in prodigious Swarms, and with no less Fury, Outrage and Cruelty, wasted all before them. So that the poor *Britains* were miserably bandied between two insolent and merciless Enemies, striving which should exceed the other in Spoil and Rapine.

A. D.
418.
*The Romans
assist them, and
return.*

*Their Miseries
increase.*

After many Miseries and Calamities, the *Britains* a third Time sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, after the humblest Manner, with their Garments rent, and Dust on their Heads, begging, *That the Emperor would not permit so ancient a Province, and serviceable to the Roman State, to become a Prey and Scorn to Barbarians.* *Valentinian* the Third then reigning, pity'd their Misfortunes,

and

and sent new Forces to their Relief, which coming unexpectedly upon these greedy Ravagers, whose Minds were intent upon Spoil and Plunder, made a vast Slaughter among them, rescu'd the distressed *Britains*, and clear'd the whole Province. Then partly at the publick Charges of the State, and partly by the Contributions of private Men, they built another Wall, not of Turf as the former, but of solid Stone, twelve Foot high, and eight in Breadth, with many Towers, crossing the Isle in a direct Line from East to West, where *Adrian* and *Severus* had built theirs, from *Eden* to *Tine*, eighty Miles in Length, of which there are famous Remains to this Day, vulgarly call'd by the Name of the *Picts Wall*. That Part of *Britain* call'd *Valentia* was left wholly to the Enemy, and in several Parts of the Sea-Coasts were built Towers, Forts and Block-Houses at convenient Distances, to prevent all future Incurfions. Having thus secur'd the Nation, the *Romans* who came not to govern, but charitably to assist, let them understand, *That they were not to expect that they should weary themselves with any more of such laborious Expeditions for their Security; exhorting them, for the future to stand up in their own Defence, and courageously to maintain their Country and Liberties against rude and barbarous People, not more powerful than themselves, if their own Fears had not made them so.* To which purpose they instructed them in the Arts of War, and left Patterns of their Arms and Weapons behind them, and after many encouraging Exhortations, and Lectures of Valour, to a dispirited Auditor, gave them a final Farewel, with Intention never to return again. This last friendly Expedition of the *Romans*, which was different from those in ancient Times, was under the Conduct of *Gallio* of *Ravenna*; not long before which, the *Romans* in the Isle, finding all Things declining, bury'd a great Part of their Treasure in the Earth, whereof much has been found, and more sought for. They took their last leave of *Britain* about the Year 435, which was 122 after the first Entrance of *Julius Caesar*; leaving a Province which was accounted the fairest Flower in their Triumphant Garlands, and which some of the Emperors thought worthy of the Residence of the Imperial Throne.

The Romans again assist them

and build the last Wall.

The Romans never return don the Island

II. The *Romans* having utterly abandon'd the Isle, the *Scots* and *Picts* with greater Confidence than ever, like Flies and Vermin in the Heat of Summer, in prodigious Swarms issu'd out of their narrow Holes and Caves, and immediately seiz'd on all the Country as far as the Wall, and without Resistance took Possession of it. In the mean Time, the Guards on the Wall, like idle Spectators with cowardly Hearts stood trembling upon the Battlements, as tho' they were plac'd there rather to view their Loiles than repulse them. Thus standing Day and Night with Weapons in their Hands, they tamely suffer'd the half-naked *Picts* from below with their Engines and long Hooks to pluck them down headlong, and dash them against the Ground. So that in a short Time, the Wall and frontier Towns being deserted, the Inhabitants betook themselves to Flight, which yet could not long secure them, for the Barbarians pursuing them, a fresh Slaughter immediately follow'd more bloody than the former, and what still added to their Misfortunes, being tormented with Famine, to get Substance they were constrain'd to rob and pillage each other; for those who had fled from the Enemy in the North, being unable to pay for their Quarters in the Southern Parts, seiz'd on what they could find. From whence arose new Mischiefs and Discords among themselves, and thence Civil Wars; for this Nation, as *Gildas* observes, tho' feeble in repelling foreign Enemies, yet in Domestick Contentts were very hardy and obdurate. And now when they wore themselves out with continual Acts of Hostility, the Famine became general, and rag'd to that degree, that those half-starv'd People that remain'd were forc'd to maintain their Lives by Hunting, and such like prey as the wild forests would afford. In the Time of these great Troubles and calamities in the same, there happen'd new Divisions in the Church, by means of *Agricola*, Disciple to

A. D

435.

The Picts and Scots invade the Britains.

The Nation is in great Distress.

The Church disturbed with Pelagianism.

Pelagius a Monk, sometime of *Bangor* in *Flintshire*, who propagated his Heresie here to the great Disturbance of the weak *Christians*, who not being able to withstand his Errors, call'd in to their Assistance *Germanns* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* Bishop of *Tryes* in *Gaul*. These two coming into *Britain*, by assiduous Preaching in Churches, Fields and Streets, and as some write by working of Miracles, confirm'd many in the Faith, regain'd many more, and lastly in publick Disputation at *Verulam* confuted the Chief of the Hereticks.

A. D.
446.

The Britains write doleful Letters to Ætius, in vain.

And now the miserable Remains of the *Britains* being harrafs'd by their Enemies, and afflicted with all sorts of Calamities, address'd themselves by doleful Letters to the renown'd *Ætius*, the *Roman* Lieutenant in *Gaul*, who had by several famous Successes, for a Time, repell'd the Violence of the *Gothick* Arms. They began in these Words, *To Ætius, thrice Consul; The Groans of the Britains*. After which, they thus complain'd: *The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians; between which we have only the Choice of these two Deaths, either to be slaughter'd by one, or drown'd by the other*. And the more to move Compassion they further urg'd, *We the poor Remnant of the Britains, and your Vassals, besides the Enemy, are punish'd by Famine and Mortality, which at this time violently rage in our Land*. Withal they us'd several Arguments to engage him to come over, particularly, *That it was the Romans Occasions, not their own, that had reduc'd them to these Extremities; since the Strength of the British Youth had been exhausted in their Service, and the Land left defenceless to support the Grandure of the Empire. And besides the Loss of their Men, their Wealth had been consum'd in maintaining so many Legions in foreign Service, and their Corn spent in supplying the Roman Provinces abroad*. They receiv'd no Answer to these urgent Petitions, for the Empire being grievously infested with *Huns, Goths* and *Vandals*, was not in any Condition to afford them Relief; insomuch that weary'd out with continual Complaints, and the Famine daily encreasing amongst them, like Men in a desperate Condition, to get Sustenance, some yielded themselves to the Disposal of the Enemy, whilst others more hardy and resolute, supported themselves with what the Woods and Forests would afford, and oftentimes as their Necessities urg'd, or Advantage united them, would make Sallies upon their Enemies, and that with good Success; led on, as may be conceiv'd, by some worthy Commander, who advis'd them not to confide in their own Power, but in the Divine Assistance.

Their Miseries encrease.

Their Enemies give them some Ease.

They become shamefully immoral.

The *Scots* and *Picts* finding such stout Resistance where they least expected it, for a while retir'd home, the former into *Ireland*, and the latter to their new Habitations about the Wall, and excepting a few Inroads about the Borders, were not very burdensom; so that the *Britains*, eas'd from their cruel Enemies, began again to cultivate the Land, which after a long Discontinuance, yielded such a vast Increase, as in no Age had been remember'd. But the Mischiefs of Famine being cured, others more virulent broke out, as Riot, Luxury and Wantonness, the usual Attendants of Plenty and Opulence, and with them all the Vices incident to human Nature. But what *Gildas* says principally conduc'd to the Corrupting of Affairs, and the Subversion of all Piety in the Land, was the Hatred of Truth, and the Maintainers of it, the Love of Lies, and the Forgers of them. Evil was call'd good, and Good evil; to be lewd was honourable, to be virtuous disgraceful; being blind themselves, they became Haters of the Light; and the Measures of their Actions were what was most pleasing to themselves. All Things were transacted directly contrary to the publick Welfare and Safety, not only of the Laity, but also the Clergy; and those who should have been Examples of Virtue, often prov'd the Ring-leaders of Vice. Many of them were Lovers of Wine and Drunkenness, wallowing in which Sea they became stupid and insensible; others swell'd with Pride became envious and litigious, indiscreet and incompetent Judges of what in the common Practice of Life was good or evil, lawful or unlawful. Thus wretchedly qualify'd

lisy'd both Priests and People, they resolv'd to chuse several Kings of their own; but, as *Gildas* proceeds in his mournful Story, Kings were anointed not according to Divine Approbation, but by the Voices and Suffrages of such as were more cruel than others, and again as suddenly depos'd and murder'd by their Electors, in order to set up others more fierce and tyrannical: But if any of their Princes appear'd milder, and more inclinable to good Counsel, the Hatred of all Men was levell'd against him, as the Subverter of his Country.

They chuse several Kings.

Thus Affairs proceeded in the State, and no less Commotions ensu'd in the Church; for *Pelagianism* spreading again in the Country, the *British* Clergy, unable to withstand it, a second Time begg'd the Assistance of *Germanus* out of *Gaul*. He with *Severus*, a Disciple of his former Associate *Lupus*, coming into the Island, and finding that the Generality was not infected with the Herefie, would not stand to dispute as formerly, but finding the Heads and Teachers of this new Doctrine, adjudg'd them to Exile; who being by the secular Power deliver'd over to him, were convey'd beyond Sea, where he dispos'd of them in such Places as they could neither infect others, nor consult with their Teachers to confirm themselves. This *Germanus* is said to have successfully assisted the *Britains* against their Enemies, and to have obtain'd an extraordinary Victory. But however, soon after his Departure, the *Britains* receiv'd News that the *Scots* and *Picts* were returning with greater Preparations than ever, that they threaten'd the Destruction of the whole Land, designing to plant themselves from one End to the other. But before their Arrival, as if the Instruments of Divine Vengeance were contending which should first destroy a wicked Nation, the Residue that had been left by the Sword and Famine, were now almost swept away by a dreadful Pestilence, insomuch that the Living were scarce sufficient to bury the Dead. But for the present, as one Evil drives off another, the destroying Plague preserv'd the Land from the more barbarous Invaders, who dreading the Contagion durst not engage too far in the Inland Countries; but as soon as the Infection ceas'd, the Enemy soon advanc'd with merciless Fury, and enter'd as far as *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*.

Pelagianism extirpated from the Island

The Picts and Scots afresh invade the Land.

Vortigern was then chief King of the *Britains*, a haughty and insolent Prince, neither wise in Counsel, nor experienc'd in War, yet doted on by the People, for his Vices so agreeable to their own; heedless of the common Danger, and esteeming the publick Treasury as a Fund only to satisfy his Lusts and Extravagancies. But being awaken'd with the Clamours of the People, he summon'd a grand Council, to provide against the frequent Incursions of the Enemy; where all being in a manner infatuated, they agreed upon such a Defence as afterwards prov'd the Destruction of their Country, which was that the Heathen *Saxons*, then hateful to God and Man, whom absent they dreaded like Death it self, should be sent for to repel the Northern Nations; which seems to have been ordain'd by Divine Providence, to take a full Vengeance on an impious Nation. At present the Expedient seem'd specious, to most Men, because the *Saxons* were then a powerful Nation, and terrible to all others; and Ambassadors were immediately dispatcht into *Germany*, representing the *Britains* Requests to the *Saxons*, and promising them very advantageous Conditions, if they would come over to their Assistance. The *Saxons* were highly pleas'd with the Proposal, and their Country being then over-charg'd with People, they immediately yielded to their Request; and being as is said chosen out by Lot, were put on board three long Ships or Vessels, call'd in their Language *Chiules*, under the Conduct of *Hengist* and *Horfa*, two Brothers, descended from that ancient *Woden*, from whom all the Royal Family of the *Saxons* derive their Pedigree. These Leaders, with about fifteen hundred Followers, arriving in *Britain*, were welcom'd with great Applauses both from the Prince and People, and had the Isle of *Thanet*, where they landed, allow'd them for their Habitation; and a League was immediately made with them, where the one Part stipulated to defend the *Britains* Country, the other that besides their

The Britains under Vortigern agree to invite the Saxons over.

The Saxons arrive under the Conduct of Hengist and Horfa.

Place

Place of Abode, they should receive sufficient Pay and Rewards for their Services done them. By this means a new and great Change happen'd in *Britain*, which now began in the Year 449, and twenty fourth of *Pharamond* the first King of *France*, which was 39 Years after the *Romans* first quitted the *Britains*, and 14 after they had totally abandon'd the Isle.

A. D.
449.

III. And now a new Race of People began to inhabit this Island, call'd *Saxons*, a fierce and barbarous Nation, one Branch of those *Gothick* Multitudes, which swarming from the Northern Hive, had under the Conduct of *Woden* possess'd themselves of all those vast Tracts that surround the *Baltick* Sea. These inhabited, or rather committed Piracies from all the Sea-Coasts of *Germany*, between the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elbe*, and also upon the Coasts of the *Cimbrian Chersonese* since call'd *Denmark*, and had the Name of *Saxons* from the *Gothick* or *Punick* Word *Seax*, which signifies a Falchion, or short hook'd Sword, or long Knife, which they wore as their usual Weapons. At first they came over in small Numbers under *Hengist* and *Horfa*, and joining with the *Britains*, prov'd very serviceable to them, in overthrowing the Forces of the *Picts* and *Scots*, that had made an Irruption into the Nation as far as *Stamford*. But in a short Time, finding the Island to be rich and fruitful, and the Inhabitants enervated with Vice and Luxury, they sent home to invite greater Numbers to be Sharers of their future Success and Expectations. Those glad of the Opportunity, readily comply'd with the Invitation, and in seventeen fresh Vessels, there came great Numbers of People of three Nations in *Germany*, namely *Saxons*, *Jutes* and *Angles*, which with those who were here before, made up a compleat Army. These two latter People are suppos'd to be Branches of the *Saxons*, both inhabiting the *Cimbrian Chersonese*, from whom we have still the Names of *Juteland* and *Anglen*; the former being call'd *Jutes* from the Word *Goth*, and the latter *Angles* from the Word *Angulus* a Corner, as some conjecture, tho' of the last there is not much Probability.

More Saxons
come over with
Jutes and An-
gles.

These last Supplies, according to *Nennius*, brought over with them *Rowena*, Daughter of *Hengist*, a Lady of admirable Beauty, who serving *Vortigern* with Wine at a splendid Entertainment *Hengist* had made for him, the *British* King was so captivated by her Charms, that he immediately offer'd to make her his Wife. *Hengist* with a subtle Modesty declin'd what he most desir'd, alledging it was too great an Honour; but finding the King urgent, and that he was willing to reward him with a considerable Share of his Dominions, after a private Consultation, he gave him his Daughter, and receiv'd all *Kent* for a Gratitude, which before had been well govern'd by one *Gorvagus*. *Vortigern* was so enamour'd with his new Bride, that he not only divorc'd his former Wife, by whom he had several worthy Sons, but also suffer'd himself to be so prevail'd upon by his Father-in-Law, as to send for more *Saxons* into the Northern Parts, under *Oëta* and *Ebusa*, Son and Nephew to *Hengist*, upon the specious Notion of securing those Parts, as *Hengist* did the Southern. Accordingly with forty Vessels they coasted about *Britain*, and arriving at the *Orcades*, suppress'd both the *Picts* and *Scots*, and in that Part of the Island afterwards call'd *Northumberland*, seated themselves, tho' without any Title or Name of Regality 'till near a hundred Years after, when *Ida* erected the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. *Hengist* still made the best use of the King's Imprudence, and by degrees sent for more Men and Ships, 'till at length the Countries from whence they came were almost left without Inhabitants; and now being sufficiently encreas'd in Number and Power, they wholly planted the Country of *Kent* with *Jutes*, as also they did some others with *Saxons* and *Angles*.

Vortigern
gives Kent to
Hengist.

and the Nor-
thern Parts to
Oëta and E-
busa.

The Confluence of such numerous Troops into the Isle soon became a Terror to those who invited them over, and now began to find Occasions of Quarrels with their Entertainers; and first they demanded larger Allowances of Corn and Provisions, declaring, *if they were not supply'd, they would break the League*,

Beda.
&c.

Nennius.
&c.

Gilda
Beda.

League, and waste the whole Country. The *Britains* civilly refusing their Demands, desir'd them to return home, since their Numbers were encreas'd beyond what they were able to maintain. Whereupon the *Saxon* Commanders, resolving to proceed to the Extremity, secretly made a Peace with the *Picts*, and suddenly turn'd their Arms against their Allies, wasting the Country with Fire and Sword, from the Eastern to the Western Sea, after a barbarous and unheard of Manner: The Stately Buildings, as well publick as private, were demolished; the *Christian* Priests were commonly slain at the very Altars, and the Bishops massacred without Respect, together with great Numbers of People, so that the Living were scarce sufficient to bury the Dead. Whilst some of the miserable Remains of the *Britains*, being taken among the Mountains, were slain in Heaps; others pinch'd by the Extremity of Famine, yielded themselves to their Enemies, exchanging their Liberties for their Subsistence; others were constrain'd to seek for Refuge among foreign Nations, particularly among their Country-men in *Armorica*; but such as remain'd at home, living in perpetual Fears, led a most hard and miserable Life among the Woods and Mountains.

The Saxons turn against the Britains, and make a miserable Destruction of them.

Nennius, &c.

In the midst of these Times of Confusion and Desolation, the *British* Writers tell us that *Vortimer*, the Son of *Vortigern*, a brave and valiant Youth, undertook to fight for his distressed Country, and that with great Success. He thrice straiten'd and besieg'd the *Saxons* in the Isle of *Thanet*; and when by reason of fresh Supplies from *Saxony*, they broke through and escap'd the Danger, he fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are specify'd by Place and Circumstance: The first on the River *Darwent* in *Kent*, the second at *Episford*, wherein *Horsa* the Brother of *Hengist*, fell together with *Katigern*, the other Son of *Vortigern*. The third was in a Field by *Stonar*, now *Folkstone* in *Kent*; where the *Britains* beat the *Saxons* into their Ships with such Execution and Consternation, that they ventur'd no more to land for the full space of five Years. This might seem wholly incredible, but that *Gildas* tells us how, after such vast Mischiefs and Devastations, the *Saxons* retir'd, and as some suppose return'd home, notwithstanding the seeming Easiness of the Conquest. After five Years Absence, they will have *Vortimer* to have dy'd, who desir'd the People, that he might be bury'd in the Port of *Stonar*, being persuaded that the secret Virtue of his Bones would keep off the *Saxons* from Landing near that Place; but they neglecting his Commands, bury'd him at *Lincoln*. The Transactions of these dark Times are uncertainly and variously related; but most agree that after the Death of *Vortimer*, in the Year 457, *Hengist* and his Son *Esk* fought against the *Britains* in a Place call'd *Crecaanford*; and overthrowing them with the Loss of four thousand Men, the *Britains* deserted *Kent*, and fled to *London* in a great Consternation. From which Victory, they generally date the Beginning of the *Kingdom* of *Kent* under *Hengist*, who began it about eight Years after his first Arrival in the Isle, and reign'd thirty one Years after. But *Vortigern* still maintaining the War against the *Saxons*, they took Counsel how they might intrap him and his Army, and accordingly sent Ambassadors to him to offer a Peace, and to desire that their former Amity might be renew'd. *Vortigern* too rashly consented to have an Interview without Arms, and to meet as at an Entertainment. But the treacherous *Hengist* commanded all his Followers to have their Daggers or Seaxes in readiness under their Garments, and that when he gave the Word *Pull out your Seaxes*, they should then set upon the *Britains* and kill them, only they should spare the King, and make him a Prisoner. And thus having met according to Agreement at a publick Feast, at first they convers'd after a friendly manner, till being heated with Wine, they proceeded to harder Expressions; when *Hengist* suddenly giving the Word, the *Saxons* rose up and immediately dispatch'd three hundred of the *British* Nobility. *Vortigern* alone being taken alive, and put in Chains, was constrain'd for his Ransom to surrender to the *Saxons* all those Countries which afterwards were call'd *Essex*, *Middlesex* and *Sussex*; which strengthen'd *Hengist*

Vortimer drives the Saxons back.

His Death.

The Saxons return.

The first Saxon Kingdom in Britain.
KENT.

Vortigern treacherously made Prisoner.

gift

gift and confirm'd him in his new Kingdom of *Kent*, and gave the *Saxons* such Footing in the Isle, that they never after could be repell'd by the *Britains*.

A. D.
457.

Aurelius Ambrosius relieves the Britains.

IV. From this Time forwards, there never wanted a *Saxon* Monarch in this Isle for many succeeding Centuries; yet the *Britains*, tho' weaken'd by all Kinds of Calamities, had several noble Struggles, and memorable Contests, before they were utterly driven from their Habitations. Having lost the Flower of their Nation by this last and other Misfortunes, they began to reflect upon their vicious Courses, and to betake themselves to the Divine Assistance. And they were further encourag'd by some Retreat of the *Saxons*, and by the great Hopes conceiv'd of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, who being descended of *Roman* Ancestors, and such as had born Regal Dignity in the Island, had with great Applause succeeded *Vortigern*; first as General, and afterwards as King. Under the Conduct of this eminent Man, the *Britains* in a short Time obtain'd a great Victory over the *Saxons*, as *Gildas* assures us, tho' he names not the Place. After this Victory, as others report, *Ambrosius* call'd the Princes and Nobility together at *York*, and gave Order for the repairing the Churches, which the *Saxons* had destroy'd; and that after due Care taken in other Places, he march'd to *London*, and then to *Winchester* and *Salisbury*, in all Places endeavouring to restore the declining State of the Church and Kingdom. He fill'd up the vacant Metropolitan Sees of *York* and *Caer-leon*, with two worthy Bishops call'd *Samptson* and *Dubricius*; and is suppos'd by some to have erected those famous Piles of Stones in *Salisbury* Plain call'd *Stonehenge*, in honour of those three hundred Noblemen massacred by *Hengist*. But of this, and many other Actions of *Ambrosius*, there is great Difference and Uncertainty.

A. D.
465.

More Saxons arrive in the South under the Conduct of Ella.

After the *Britains* had some little Respite from their Enemies, they fell into Civil Dissentions among themselves; and we are told that one of *Vortigern's* Sons nam'd *Pascentius*, rais'd a Rebellion in the North against *Ambrosius*, but was overcome by him, and put to flight; but what happen'd to the Father is uncertain, nor can the *British* Writers agree either about the Time or the Manner of his Death. After eight Years Intermission, we find that *Hengist* and his Son *Esk* again engag'd the *Britains* in Battel, worsted them, and took a great Booty; which Success gave Occasion to new Bodies of *Saxons* to come over under the Conduct of *Ella* and his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Wlencing* and *Cissa*. These arriving in three Ships, landed at a Place call'd *Cymen-shore* in *Sussex*, whereupon the Inhabitants in a great Consternation, gather'd together in vast Multitudes to oppose them. The *Saxons* being tall of Stature, strong and vigorous, receiv'd them sharply who came tumultuously upon them; and notwithstanding their great Numbers, put them to flight with such a Slaughter as might be expected from so unequal an Engagement, and drove them into a Wood, which the *Saxon* Chronicle calls *Andredes Leage*. They seiz'd upon all the Maritime Parts of *Sussex*, and still enlarg'd their Territories 'till the ninth Year after their Arrival, when the *Britains* found themselves so nearly concern'd, that they united their Forces and bravely engag'd them near a Place call'd *Mearcresdes* or *Burnamstede*. This Victory remain'd doubtful, both Parties drawing off with great Loss, which caus'd *Ella* to send for fresh Supplies out of his own Country, according to *H. of Huntington*. Not long after, *Hengist* King of *Kent* dy'd, in the Year 488, and was succeeded by his Son *Esk*, who reign'd twenty four Years, without endeavouring to enlarge his Dominions. In the mean Time *Ella* having increas'd his Forces, proceeded with Success against the *Britains*, and at length having laid Siege to a little City call'd *Andredes Cester*, he took it, and us'd his Conquest with such Severity that not one Person escap'd the Sword. Thus *Ella*, three Years after the Death of *Hengist*, began the second Kingdom in the Isle, call'd the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*; peopling it with new Inhabitants, from the Country which was then old *Saxony*, now *Holstein* in *Denmark*, and besides had at his Command all those Provinces, which

The second Saxon Kingdom in Britain.

SOUTH-SAXONS.

which the *Saxons* had won on this side the River *Humber*. This Kingdom consisted of those Parts of the Isle afterwards call'd *Sussex* and *Surrey*, and was began in the Year 491, about 34 Years after the Beginning of the Kingdom of *Kent*.

Britain being now the Field of Fortune, new Adventurers came daily from *Germany*; particularly Count *Cerdick*, the tenth in Lineage from *Woden*, an experienc'd Soldier, who with his Son *Cenrick*, and so many Men as he could transport in five Vessels, landed at a Place which from him was call'd *Cerdick's Shore*. Upon the first Appearance of their Vessels, the Inhabitants stood upon their Guard, and vigorously oppos'd their Landing; but the *Saxons* still advanced, and maintain'd their Ground, 'till at length, the *Britains* in vain resisting, *Cerdick* and his Son got Possession of all those Countries upon the Sea-Coasts, tho' not without divers Battels. About six Years after, one *Porta*, with his two Sons *Bleda* and *Magla*, with two Vessels arriv'd at a Place which from him is still call'd *Portsmouth*; and without much Difficulty repelling such as unadvisedly oppos'd them, and having slain a young *British* Prince, carved for himself and his Followers another Share out of the Country. Yet still the Successes of *Cerdick* made the *Britains* most apprehensive, therefore seven Years after the Arrival of *Porta*, they united their Forces under the Conduct of *Nazaleod*, one of the greatest of the *British* Kings, who is suppos'd to have succeeded *Ambrosius*, and to be the same with *Uther Pendragon*. *Cerdick* being sensible of his great Power, was oblig'd to send for Assistance to *Esk* King of *Kent*, *Ella* King of the South-*Saxons*, and to *Porta* and his Sons; which done, he divided his Army into two Bodies or Wings, whereof he led the Right himself, and committed the Left to the Conduct of his Son *Cenrick*. King *Nazaleod*, perceiving the Right to be the stronger of the two, turn'd his whole Strength against it with so much Fury and Execution, that after a great Slaughter he put *Cerdick* to flight; but pursuing with more Heat than Caution, the Left Wing commanded by *Cenrick* took the Advantage, and falling on his Rear renew'd the Battel with so much Vigour, that he recover'd all, slew *Nazaleod* on the Spot, with five thousand of his Soldiers. From which Time, the *Saxons* remain'd unmolested for a considerable Space.

After an Interregnum of about six Years *Nazaleod* or *Uther* was succeeded by the famous *Arthur*, suppos'd to be his Son, and reported to have been the most renowned Champion of the *British* Nation. So many fabulous and Romantick Things have been related of this Prince, that several have doubted whether there ever was such a Person. But yet the Generality of Writers agree that there was such a Man, and that he made a powerful Resistance against the *Pagan Saxons*; but whether he was King of the *Britains* in General, or only King of *Cornwall*, is uncertain. *Nennius*, who liv'd about three hundred Years after him, assures us that he overthrew the *Saxons* in no less than twelve Battels: The first was fought near the Mouth of a certain River call'd *Glenn*; the second, third, fourth and fifth, near another River call'd *Dug* or *Duc*; the sixth at a River's side call'd *Bassus*; the seventh in the Wood of *Chelidon*, which in *British* had the Name of *Cattoit Celidon*; the eighth near the Castle of *Suinnion*; the ninth in the City of *Lergis*, in *British* call'd *Caer-leon*; the tenth near a River call'd *Arderick*; the eleventh upon the Hill *Brenoin*; and the twelfth on the Hill of *Baden*, near *Bath*. The rest of the Acts of King *Arthur* are so improbable, that they are not worth the mentioning; nor are we certain how far the others are true. However we are told from *Higden* with great Probability, That King *Cerdick* fighting often with *Arthur*, tho' he was overcome, yet still he came on again with new Forces; 'till *Arthur* being weary'd out, at length gave him up *Hampshire* and *Somersetshire*, which Countries he then call'd *West-Sexa*. Whatever Opposition was made by *Arthur*, *Cerdick* at length prevail'd, and having got the Assistance of his Nephews *Stufe* and *Withgar*, who came over with three Ships, he gain'd several Advantages over

More Saxons
arrive under
Cerdick.
A. D.
495.

and under Porta

Nazaleod suc-
ceeds Ambrosi-
us in Britain.

His Death.

A. D.

514.
Arthur suc-
ceeds him.

He gains
twelve Battels
over the Sax-
ons.

The third Saxon Kingdom in Britain.
WEST-SAXONS.

the *Britains*, and after he had been twenty four Years in the Isle, he took upon him the Title of King, and founded the third Kingdom in the Nation, call'd the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*. This Kingdom contain'd all the Countries of *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire* and *Barkshire*, to which afterwards was added *Cornwall*. It was founded in the Year 519, about sixty one Years after the *Saxons* first Arrival in the Nation; and the Time of this Kingdom's Beginning is more observable, because at last it conquer'd all the other *Saxon* Kingdoms, and so obtain'd the sole Command of all *England*.

A. D.
519.

V. The *Britains* were now reduc'd to a smaller Compass of Land, yet still they wanted not Courage to oppose the common Enemy; and in the Year after *Cerdick* was made King, they fought a memorable Battel at *Badon Hill*, or *Banesdown* near *Bath*, where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in and entirely routed. This Battel is mention'd by *Gildas*, and is suppos'd to be the last of the twelve fought by King *Arthur*; which gave the *Saxons* such a Blow, that the *Britains* enjoy'd a long Peace after it. Yet still the *Saxons* daily encreasing in Numbers, continu'd to make new Incroachments, and in seven Years time founded a fourth Kingdom in *Britain*, call'd the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons*, consisting of the two Counties of *Essex* and *Middlesex*, with Part of *Hartfordshire*. It was begun in the Year 527, by *Erchenwin* the Son of *Osfa*, who seems to have been the only Prince who is deriv'd from one *Saxnat*, and not from *Woden*; tho' of this Prince they tell us nothing, except his Name and Pedigree, relating neither the Number of his Forces, the Place of his Landing, nor so much as the least Encounter he had with the *Britains*. This Kingdom being at first tributary to that of *Kent*, and afterwards to that of the *Mercians*, never came to be very considerable, tho' it had *London*, the Metropolis of *England*, under its Dominions. Nor did the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons* bear any great Sway after the Death of its first King *Ella*; but grew weaker and weaker 'till it became subject to other Kingdoms.

The fourth Saxon Kingdom in Britain.
EAST-SAXONS.

King Arthur dies: Constantine succeeds.

A. D.
547.
The fifth Saxon Kingdom in Britain.
NORTHUMB-
BERLAND.

The *Britains* had now Peace with their incroaching Neighbours; and we hear but little concerning them, but only about fifteen Years after the founding of the *East-Saxon* Kingdom, in the Year 542, the great King *Arthur* dy'd, and is suppos'd to have been succeeded by *Constantine*. About five Years after which, *Ida* the *Saxon*, sprung also from *Woden* in the tenth Descent, founded the fifth Kingdom in this Isle, call'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, as consisting of that Part of the *British* Province that was North of the River *Humber*. The *Saxons* had been fix'd in those Parts about ninety Years before, under *Oëta* and *Ebusa*, upon a Pretence of warring against the *Picts*; and tho' they were so far distant from *Kent*, and not without sufficient Power, yet they kept themselves within Moderation, and as inferior Governors, they and their Progeny paid Obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the elder Family: 'Till at length, following the Example of the Age, when no less than Kingdoms were the Prize of every fortunate Commander, they resolv'd to assume the Regal Title. Of whom *Ida* was the first, a Man who had a numerous Issue, and whose Virtues render'd him no less noble than his Birth; in War invincible, and in Peace continually tempering the Awe of Majesty, with his natural Affability. This prov'd a powerful Kingdom, and consisted of all *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and *Northumberland*, with Part of *Scotland* as far as *Edinburgh* Frith. Within twelve Years Time, this Kingdom was divided into two Parts, one call'd *Bernicia*, and the other *Deira*.

A. D.
561.

The first Civil Wars among the Saxons.

Shortly after this Division, *Ethelbert* began to reign in *Kent*, who was the fifth King of that Country, and the first who rais'd Civil Wars and Disturbances among the *Saxons* themselves. At his first Entrance he was young and ambitious, and claim'd from the Priority of Time in which *Hengist* erected his Kingdom, a Kind of a Right over the later Kingdoms; and thereupon gave great Disturbances

sturbances to his neighbouring Princes. But he was twice defeated by them, so that he who at first was formidable, in a short time became in a manner despicable; and *Keaulin* King of the *West-Saxons* pursu'd him into his own Territories, and at *Wibbandum* flew *Oslac* and *Cnebba*, two of his chief Commanders.

By means of these Civil Contests, but chiefly by the last Victory at *Badon-Hill*, the *Britains* for the Space of fifty Years receiv'd no considerable Annoyance from the *Saxons*; but this long Peace they enjoy'd, by the Abuse of Heaven's Favours, prov'd more destructive to them than War. For being suddenly rais'd from a miserable State of Slavery, by two signal Successes under *Ambrosius* and *Arthur*, they were taught by the Experience of either Fortune, to live in a reasonable Decency and Order: But when the next Age, forgetting past Misfortunes, and only sensible of present Ease, succeeded, immediately there follow'd an apparent Subversion of all Truth and Justice in the Minds of most Men; which in a short Space became not only manifest, but odious to all the neighbouring Nations. Scarce the least Footstep or Impression of Goodness was left remaining among all the Ranks and Degrees in the Land; except in so small a Number, as to be hardly visible in a general Corruption. Their Kings and Magistrates were guilty of all Kinds of tyrannous and oppressive Actions, and the Clergy had stain'd themselves by all manner of Vices and Corruptions, being rather more scandalous than when first the *Saxons* enter'd. This in a Word was the State of Government and Religion among the *Britains*, in that long Calm of Peace which *Badon-Hill* had produc'd; by which means the Fruits of that Victory were of no Advantage; Cities and Towns were not inhabited as formerly, but lay in a State of Ruin and Desolation; nor was it long before Civil Wars breaking out, brought all Things into the most miserable Condition. For *Britain*, as at other Times, had then several Kings; five of whom, *Gildas* then in *Armorica*, boldly reproves by Name. First *Constantine*, who reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, a tyrannical and bloody Prince, polluted also with many Adulteries. In another Part, but not mention'd where, *Aurelius Conan* was King, whom he charges with Adulteries and Parricide, and Cruelties worse than the former. The third reigning in *Demetia* or *South-Wales*, was *Vortipore*, a Man old not only in Years, but in Adulteries, and in Governing full of Falshood and barbarous Actions. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, suppos'd to be King of the Northern or *Cimbrian Britains*, a great Enemy to the Clergy, high minded, and trusting wholly to his Riches. The last but greatest of all in Power was *Maglocune*, and greatest also in Impiety, who had expell'd or slain many other Kings or Tyrants, and was call'd the *Island Dragon*, perhaps having his Seat in *Anglesey*; a profuse Giver, a great Warrior, and of a remarkable Stature. This is the Substance of what we can learn of all that pass'd among the *Britains* from the Time of their useless Victory at *Badon*, to the Time that *Gildas* wrot his Account, namely from the Year 520, to 571.

The horrid Corruptions of the Britains.

and of their Kings.

Sax. An. &c.

Not long after began the sixth Kingdom in this Isle, call'd the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, consisting of those Parts, since call'd *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, with the Isle of *Ely*. It was founded by *Usfa*, the eighth from *Woden*, tho' it seems there were before him divers other petty Princes in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; but *Usfa* in Strength and Policy over-pow'ring those Princes, made himself sole King, and govern'd with that Reputation, that *H. Huntington* tells us, the Kings descended from him were call'd *Usfings*; and the Subjects of this Kingdom are the more remarkable, because they afterwards gave Name to the whole Kingdom of *England*. And now the *Saxons*, who for a long Space had been out of Action, unless among themselves, began afresh to assault the *Britains*, and in a few Years Time drove them out of all they yet held on this Side of *Wales*. For *Cuthwulf*, the Brother of *Keaulin*, King of the *West-Saxons*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford* or *Bedford*, took from them

A. D. 575.

The sixth Saxon Kingdom in Britain. EAST-ANGLES.

The Britains decline.

them four good Towns, *Liganburgh*, now *Leighton* in *Bedfordshire*, *Eglef-burgh*, now *Ailesbury* in *Bucks*, with *Bennington* and *Ignesham*, now *Benson* and *Evesham* in *Oxfordshire*. And after six Years more, *Keaulin* and his Son *Cuthwin* gave them a great Overthrow at *Deorham* in *Glocestershire*, slew three of their Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan* and *Farinmaile*, and took three of their chief Cities, *Glocester*, *Cirencester* and *Badencester*, or *Bath*. The *Britains* notwithstanding, after some Space of Time, thinking to have outgrown their Losses, gather'd together and engag'd *Keaulin* and his Son *Cutha*, at *Fethamleage*, in which Battel *Cutha* was slain, and the *Saxons* oblig'd to retire; but *Keaulin* renewing the Fight, at length routed the *Britains*, and pursuing his Advantage, took many Towns, and return'd richly laden with Booty.

A. D. 585. The last of those *Saxons* who rais'd their own Atchievements to a Monarchy was *Crida*, who about this Time founded the seventh Kingdom in this Isle, call'd the Kingdom of *Mercia*; which tho' it was last erected, yet was one of the largest of the *English-Saxon* Kingdoms, and also one of the last that was conquer'd by the *West-Saxons*. It consisted of all the middle Parts of the Nation, which now compose seventeen Counties, namely, *Glocestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Rutland*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Darbyshire* and *Cheshire*, besides Part of *Hartfordshire*. And now the *Britains* were more press'd and confin'd than ever; yet before they quitted all on this Side of the Mountains, they shew'd some Remainers of their ancient Valour: For meeting with *Keaulin* at a Place call'd *Woden's Mount* in *Wiltshire*, whether it were by their own Forces, or assisted by some of the *Angles*, whose Hatred *Keaulin* had incurr'd, they destroy'd his Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, who flying from thence, dy'd the next Year in great Poverty, tho' but lately he had been most potent and indeed sole Monarch of all the *Saxons* on this side the River *Humber*. This Victory prov'd of little Advantage to the *Britains*; for in a very few Years, the miserable Inhabitants, partly by the *Picts* and *Scots*, but principally by the *Saxons*, were gradually forc'd out of their ancient Seats, and such as fled not beyond the Seas were driven to the craggy and mountainous Places in the West of the Island, now call'd *Wales*, naturally fenc'd with Hills, and the Inlets of the Sea, whither their ravenous Enemies could not easily follow them. Some were driven into that Part call'd *Cornwall*, and others fled to their Countrymen in *Armorica*; the poor Remains that were scatter'd among the *Saxons*, were in effect made Slaves by them, and kept to the most servile Offices; from whom began Villenage in *England*, which lasted to the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh.

Thus, omitting fabulous and improbable Relations, we have represented the main View of what was transacted in *Britain*, since the *Romans* abandon'd it. Wherein may be observ'd the Miseries and Desolations brought by Divine Providence on a vile and degenerate Nation; driven, when nothing else could reform them, out of a fair and rich Country, into a mountainous and barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tollerable is downright Infidelity in the Eye of Heav'n, than the dishonouring the *Christian* Faith by such Unchristian Works.

C H A P. III.

From the Destruction of Britain by the Saxons and other Nations, to the new Establishment made by King Egbert, who became the first supreme Monarch of England.

Containing the Space of about 232 Years.

I. **T**HE unfortunate *Britains* being driven out of their best and fairest Habitations, Foreigners gain'd a full and entire Possession of them, under the Names of *Saxons*, *Jutes* and *Angles*; tho' the most general Name was that of *Saxons*, which occasion'd the whole Nation to be call'd by some *New-Saxony*. The proper *Saxons* had for their Share most of the Southern Parts of the Nation, with a little of the Eastern, after this distinguished by the Names of *West-Sex*, *South-Sex*, and *East-Sex*; the *Jutes* had the South-Eastern Parts, namely *Kent*, the Isle of *Wight*, and Part of *Hampshire*; and the *Angles* had the greatest Share, viz. all the Midland and Northern Parts, with Part of the Eastern, distinguish'd by the Names of *East-Angles*, *Mercian-Angles* and *Northumbrian-Angles*. These were not only sufficient to conquer and waste the whole Province, but even to plant and people it in a short Time with numerous and new Inhabitants. So that we are now to begin with a new Body of People, and with a new State and Government of the Land; which introduc'd a general Change of Names, of Language, of Customs, of Laws, of Arms, of Discipline, of Possessions, of Titles, of Religion, and even of the whole Face of Nature, throughout the Nation. Upon which account we may justly date the Original of all these among us, as well as our Nation it self, from these our *Saxon* Ancestors: *Britain*, which was before a *Roman* Province, was now a *Saxon* Nation: The Language, which was either *Latin* or *British*, was now grown wholly *Saxon* or *English*: The Habits in Peace, and Arms in War, the Titles of Officers, and Proprietors of Lands, came to be all according to the *Saxon* Forms and Usage: The Laws of this Country, which before were *Roman*, were chang'd now into old *Saxon* Customs or Constitutions: The Religion, which before was *Christian*, became now *Pagan*, introducing the Worship of several Gods, particularly *Woden*, *Thor*, and *Frea*, whose Memory are still preserv'd by the common Names of three Days in the Week: And lastly the Land it self, which before had been divided into *Roman* Provinces, was now divided into seven *Saxon* Kingdoms, govern'd by their own proper Kings. The Foundation of these Kingdoms have been already mention'd; but for the Reader's Ease, and the better clearing of the Story, it will be convenient to say something of all in one Place, and to give a general Account of each 'till the Time of *Egbert*, the first supreme Monarch of this Nation.

A. D.
596.

*The Distribution
of the Sax-
ons.*

The first of the seven Kingdoms was that of *KENT*, which consisted of *Jutes* of the County of *Kent*, and probably some of *Hampshire*, and had a Succession of seventeen Kings, four *Pagans*, and thirteen *Christians*, viz. *Hengist*, *Esk*, *Octa*, *Ermiric*, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbald*, *Ercombert*, *Egbert*, *Lothair*, *E-dric*, *Withred*, *Edbert*, *Edilbert*, *Alric*, *Edilbert*, *Cuthred*, and *Baldred*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 457, and ended in 823, continuing 366 Years; its Royal Seat being *Canterbury*, and sometimes *Reculver*, near the

1. KENT.

Sea-

2. SOUTH-SAX-
ONY. Sea-Shore. The second Kingdom was that of the SOUTH-SAXONS, which consisted of the two Counties of *Sussex* and *Surry*; and this being mostly under the Power of the Kings of *Kent* and the *West-Saxons*, we find but five Kings, two *Pagans*, and three *Christians*, viz. *Ella*, *Cissa*, *Ethelwolf*, *Berthrum* and *Authum*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 491, and ended in 600, continuing 109 Years; its Royal Seat being *Cissancester*, now *Chichester*.
3. WEST-SAX-
ONY. The third Kingdom was that of the WEST-SAXONS, consisting of six Counties, viz. *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire* and *Barkshire*, besides *Cornwall*, which was afterwards added to it, and had a Succession of sixteen Kings before *Egbert*, five *Pagans*, and eleven *Christians*, viz. *Cerdic*, *Kenric*, *Ceaulin*, *Ceolric*, *Ceolwulf*, *Cynegils* cum *Quinceom*, *Kenewalch* cum *Sexborge*, *Eskwine*, *Kentwine*, *Cedwalla*, *Ina*, *Ethelheard*, *Cuthred*, *Sigebert*, *Cynewulf*, and *Birhtric*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 519, and continu'd till the Time of *Egbert*, 283 Years; its Royal Seat being *Ventceaster*, now *Winchester*.
4. EAST-SAX-
ONY. The fourth Kingdom was that of the EAST-SAXONS, which consisted of the two Counties of *Essex* and *Middlesex*, with the South Part of *Hartforashire*, being generally tributary to *Kent* and *Mercia*, and had a Succession of twelve Kings, two *Pagans*, and ten *Christians*, viz. *Erchenwin*, *Sledda*, *Sexred* cum *Fratris Sigebert* the little, *Sigebert* the good, *Swithelm*, *Sigher* cum *Seba*, *Sigehard* cum *Swanfred*, *Osfa*, *Selred* and *Swithred*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 527, and ended in 747, continuing 220 Years; its Royal Seat being *London*.
5. NORTHUM-
BERLAND. The fifth Kingdom was that of NORTHUMBERLAND, which consisted of *Angles*, and of six Counties, viz. *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland* and *Northumberland*, with Part of *Scotland* as far as *Edinburgh* Frith. For above a hundred Years this Kingdom was divided into two, namely *Bernicia* in the North, and *Deira* in the South, and had a Succession of twenty one Kings, besides five in *Deira*, four *Pagans*, and seventeen *Christians*, viz. *Ida*, *Ella*, *Edelric*, *Edelfrid*, *Edwin*, *Oswald*, *Osmy*, *Egfrid*, *Alfrid*, *Ofred*, *Kenred*, *Ofric*, *Ceolwulf*, *Eadbert*, *Osulf*, *Ethelwald*, *Alured*, *Ethelred*, *Alfwold*, *Ofred* and *Ethelred*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 547, and ended in 792, continuing 245 Years, besides an Interregnum of 33 Years after; its Royal Seat being the City of *York*.
6. EAST-EN-
GLAND. The sixth Kingdom was that of the EAST-ANGLES, which consisted of the three Counties of *Cambridge*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and had a Succession of fourteen Kings, four *Pagans*, and ten *Christians*, viz. *Usfa*, *Titylus*, *Redwald*, *Eorprwald*, *Sigebert*, *Egric*, *Anna*, *Ethelherd*, *Ethelwald*, *Aldulf*, *Elfwald*, *Beorne*, *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 575, and ended in 792, continuing 218 Years; its Royal Seat being *Domoc* or *Dummoc*, now *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*, and sometimes *St. Edmund's Bury*.
7. MERCIA. The seventh and last Kingdom was that of MERCIA, which consisted of *Angles*, and of sixteen Counties, viz. *Glocestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Rutland*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Darbyshire* and *Cheshire*, besides Part of *Hartfordshire*, and had a Succession of fifteen Kings before the Reign of *Egbert*, and six after, four *Pagans*, and seventeen *Christians*, viz. *Crida*, *Wibba*, *Ceorl*, *Penda*, *Peada*, *Wulfer*, *Ethelred*, *Kenred*, *Ceorlred*, *Ethelbald*, *Beornred*, *Osfa*, *Egfrid*, *Kenulf*, *Kenelm*, *Beornwulf*, *Ludecom*, *Withlaf*, *Bertulf*, *Burtred* and *Ceolwulf*. This Kingdom was founded in the Year 585, and ended in 874, continuing 289 Years; its Royal Seat being *Lincoln*. The whole Number of the *Saxon* Kings before the Reign of *Egbert*, and a little after, was a hundred and eleven, of which twenty five were *Pagans*, and eighty six *Christians*. This Establishment of the seven Kingdoms is generally call'd by the Name of the HEPTARCHY.

As to the Lives and Actions of these several Monarchs, during the Heptarchy, they have been so exceeding lamely and confus'dly transmitt'd to us, that we can give but little Satisfaction to a curious Reader. We find a short and broken Account of many of them, and that after they had dispossest the miserable *Britains*, having leisure to survey each others Greatness, they fell into mutual Emulations and Wars among themselves; so that in the Consequence whosoever had most Power, was generally reputed and acknowledg'd King of most if not all the rest. Of these, *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, in the Beginning of this Period, was the most considerable and powerful Monarch, who tho' he had been unsuccessful in his juvenile Attempts, had now by his Conduct and Policy reduc'd all the Kingdoms on the South Side the *Humber* to his Devotion. And tho' he was a *Pagan*, to advance his Grandure, he marry'd *Bertha*, the King of *France's* Daughter, with this Article, that she should have the free Exercise of the Christian Religion, under the Care and Instruction of *Lethard* a Bishop, who was sent by her Parents along with her. This prov'd one Step towards the displaying the Light of the Gospel to a rude and Heathen People; and about the same Time there happen'd a remarkable Transaction in Foreign Parts, which being pursu'd, by Degrees brought this great Work to the full Perfection. But before we mention this happy Change of Religion among the *Saxons*, it may not be amiss to observe, That there were yet remaining among the *Britains* in *Wales*, many Bishops, Abbots, Priests, Religious Persons and Monasteries; and at the Command of *Oudocus* Bishop of *Landaf*, there were at that Place three Synods conven'd, in which three *British* Princes, *Mouric*, *Morcant* and *Guidnirth*, were excommunicated for Murders, and compell'd to expiate these Scandals by Alms, Prayers and Fastings.

I.
ETHELBERT of
Kent chief
Monarch.

The first Beginning of Christianity among the *Saxons*, as we are inform'd from *Beda*, was occasion'd by this Accident: The *Northumbrians* had now a Custom among them of long Continuance of selling their Children and other Relations into foreign Lands; of which Number some beautiful Youths were expos'd to sale at *Rome*, whose fair and graceful Countenances invited *Gregory* Arch-Deacon of that City, among others, to demand who and what they were. Being inform'd that they were *Angles* of *Deira*, and Pagans by Education, pitying their Condition, he with a deep Sigh cry'd out *What a deplorable Thing it was that the Father of Darkness should be Master of such Angelick Faces!* and immediately obtaining Licence of Pope *Benedict*, he began his Journey towards *Britain*; but the Citizens of *Rome*, who could not suffer the Absence of so vigilant a Pastor, caus'd him to be recall'd. But *Gregory* not long after being advanc'd to the Papacy, in his fourth Year, being mov'd, as *Beda* tells us, by a divine Impulse, he sent *Austin* a Monk, whom he design'd for Bishop of the *English* Nation, with other zealous Monks along with him, to preach the Gospel in *Britain*. These being on their Journey, discourag'd by some Reports, or their own carnal Fears, dispatch'd *Austin* in the Name of all the rest, beseeching *Gregory* that they might return home, and not be sent on an Expedition so full of Hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whose Language they understood not. But the Pope immediately sent back their Messenger with pious exhortary Letters to them, 'not to be discourag'd by vain Reports, but 'vigorously to pursue the great Work they had undertaken, since their Labours 'would be attended with perpetual Glory; and that they should obey *Austin*, 'whom he had appointed for their Abbot. Besides which Letters the Pope also wrote to *Eutherius*, Arch-Bishop of *Arles*, wherein he recommended them to his Care and Protection, and that he would furnish them with all Necessaries; also recommending to him *Candidus* a Presbiter, whom he had sent to receive and dispose of the Church's Revenues in *France*.

The Beginning
of Christianity
among the
Saxons.

Austin the
Monk sent in-
to England.

Austin and his Companions being thus confirm'd by the Pope's Exhortations, proceeded in their Voyage, and landed at the Isle of *Thanet* near *Kent*, with about forty Persons, together with some Interpreters of the *French* Nation. At their

A. D.
597.

He arrives in
Kent.

He is civilly re-
ceived by Ethel-
bert.

first Arrival, *Austin* sent a surprising Message to King *Ethelbert*, informing him, *That he came from Rome, and had brought the Promise of Eternal Felicity to all that would receive it*; which when the King heard, he civilly order'd them to remain in the Place where they landed, and that they should be plentifully supply'd with all Necessaries, 'till he had determin'd how to receive them. After a few Days, passing into the Island, the King chose a Place to meet them under the open Sky, possess'd with an old Persuasion, that all Spells and Incantments, if they should use any, would be unavailable, if they were not within Doors. But *Austin* and his Companions, arm'd with the Divine Power, and bearing for his Banner a silver Cross, with the painted Image of our Saviour, advanc'd slowly, singing their solemn Litanies, and praying for the Salvation of those to whom they were sent. Then sitting down with the King, and preaching the Word of Life to him and his Nobles, the King with no small Courtesie told them, *That the Doctrines and Promises they brought were indeed specious and inviting, but being new and uncertain, he could not suddenly consent to quit the Religion of his Ancestors; but because they were Strangers, and came from far Countries purely to communicate such Things as they believ'd to be most valuable, they should receive all Protection and necessary Accommodations; nor would he prohibit them from gaining what Persons they could, to the Belief of their Religion.* And accordingly he allotted them their Residence in his Royal City of *Daroverne* or *Canterbury*, made provision for their Maintenance, and gave them free Liberty to preach their Doctrine where they pleas'd.

He and his
Followers con-
vert great
Numbers.

and Ethelbert
himself.

Being settled in the Place provided for them, they began to imitate the Lives ^{Beda.} of the Primitive Christians, applying themselves to constant Prayers and Fasting especially to Preaching to all that would hear them, despising the Riches of this World, being content with the bare Necessaries of Life, and carefully living up to the Rules they taught others. The Success of which was, That many believ'd, and were baptiz'd, admiring the Simplicity of their Lives, as well as the Purity of their Doctrine. They first held their Religious Assemblies at an old ruinous Church on East-side of the City, built in Honour of *St. Martin*, when the *Romans* inhabited *Britain*, in which the Queen usually perform'd her Devotions; 'till the King himself, being convinc'd by the Purity of their Lives, and by their Miracles, as our Author assures us, they obtain'd a full Liberty of Preaching and Building of Churches. The Conversion and Baptism of this Prince caus'd great Numbers to repair from all Parts to hear the Gospel, and leaving their Heathenism, join'd themselves to the Church of Christ; so powerful a Motive is the Example of a Prince to his Subjects. The King shew'd a great Satisfaction at the Faith and Conversion of any of his Subjects, and cherish'd all such as believ'd with a more tender Regard; yet nevertheless he would not compel any to receive Christianity, being taught by the Authors of his Salvation, *That the Service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not constrain'd*: Nor was it long before he granted his Teachers Places fitting for their Function, in his City of *Canterbury*, and conferr'd upon them large Immunities and Possessions.

A. D.
598.
Austin made
Arch Bishop of
the English.

In the following Year, when *Austin* had converted the greatest Part of the ^{Beda.} *Kentish* Nation, he pass'd over into *France*, where according to the Commands of Pope *Gregory*, he was ordain'd Arch-Bishop of the whole *English* Nation, by *Eutherius* Arch-Bishop of *Arles*. Then returning to *Kent*, he sent two of his Associates nam'd *Laurence* and *Peter* to *Rome*, acquainting the Pope of his good Success in this Isle, and desiring to be resolv'd in certain Theological, or rather Levitical Questions, some of which were very peculiar, and the Answers no less. And now being exalted to Archiepiscopal Authority he recover'd from the Ruins and other profane Uses a Christian Church in *Canterbury*, anciently built by the *Romans*; which he dedicated by the Name of *Christ's Church*, and appointed it as a See for himself and his Successors. He likewise founded a Monastery

Monastery towards the East, not far from the City, where also King *Ethelbert* by his Persuasion built and endow'd the Church of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*; in which the Bodies of *St. Austin* himself, and all the succeeding Bishops of *Canterbury*, as also of the Kings of *Kent*, should be interr'd. Within a Year or two after, *Austin* informing the Pope that there was a Want of Preachers in this Isle, *Gregory* sent over several, particularly *Mellitus*, *Justus*, *Paulinus* and *Rufinian*, and with them an Archiepiscopal Pall, Altar Cloaths, Sacerdotal Vestments, Holy Vessels, divers Relicks, and a great many Books; and gave *Austin* Power to ordain twelve Suffragan Bishops under him, and an Archbishop of *York*, when that City and Country adjoining should receive Christianity; so that he also should be a Metropolitan, and have twelve Bishops under him, to whom he should likewise send a Pall, but so as to be under the Direction of *Austin*. With these also he sent Letters both to *Austin* and to King *Ethelbert*, containing many pious Instructions; which shews that the primitive Christian Temper had not yet left the Bishops of *Rome*, tho' infected with some Superstitions. As the Number of Christians encreas'd, *Austin* ordain'd two of his Assistants for Bishops, *Mellitus* and *Justus*, and sent them both to distant Parts. The former by Preaching, converted the *East-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by Permission of *Ethelbert*, being born of his Sister *Bicula*, then reign'd. To congratulate whole Conversion, *Ethelbert* built them the great Church of *St. Paul's* in *London* to be their Bishop's Cathedral; and *Justus* also had another built at *Rocheſter*, dedicated to *St. Andrew*, and endow'd by the same King with large Possessions.

New Preachers
sent over.

The East Saxons
converted.

II. Hitherto *Austin* had labour'd only to convert Pagans and Infidels; but now by vertue of his Archiepiscopal, or rather Legatine Authority conferr'd on him by the Pope, he took upon him to make a general Visitation of his Province: And coming near the Borders of *Wales*, and assisted by the Power of King *Ethelbert*, he summon'd all the *British* Bishops of the adjoining Province to a Synod, at a Place on the Borders of *Worcestershire*, in *Beda's* Time call'd *Austin's Oak*; and began to persuade them by brotherly Admonitions to conform with the *Romish* Church in celebrating of *Easter*, and some other particular Points. But not prevailing with them either by Promises or Threats, he appeal'd to a Miracle, as *Beda* assures us, and restor'd a blind Man to Sight, to whom the *Britains* could give no Relief. Being somewhat mov'd at this, tho' not inclinable to recede from their ancient Usages, without further Consultation, they requested a second Meeting; to which repair'd seven *British* Bishops, with many other learned Men, especially from the famous Monastery of *Bangor*, where *Dincoth* was Abbot, in which were said to be so many Monks living by their own Labour, that being divided under seven Rectors, each Division had no less than three hundred. One who led an Anchoret's Life amongst them, staid behind, and by his Wisdom effected more than those who went: For being reputed as an Oracle, and demanded how they might know whether *Austin* was a Man from God, he answer'd, *That if they found him meek and humble, they should earnestly hearken to him, as having the truest Marks of Christ's Disciple; but if he carry'd himself with Pride and Haughtiness, they should not regard him, for he could not be then a Man from God*: Adding also some Marks by which they might know whether he was a meek or a proud Person.

A. D.
604.

*Austin is oppos'd
by the British
Bishops in
Wales.*

With this Advice they hasted to the Place of Meeting; where *Austin* carrying himself as the Pope's Legate, and their Metropolitan, as they drew near sat still and pontifically in his Chair. This gave immediate Offence to the *Britains*, who according to Advice rejected his Proposals; and tho' he demanded their Obedience in only three Particulars, namely in the Time of the Celebration of *Easter*, in the Manner of Baptism according to the *Romish Church*, and in assisting them to preach to the English Saxons, promising them to forbear them

Who refuse the
Authority of
the Pope.

them in other Things, tho' contrary to the Customs us'd by him; yet they utterly refus'd to comply in any Thing, or to acknowledge him for their Archbishop; declaring among themselves, *That if he will not rise to us now, how haughtily will he treat us, if we were under his Power and Subjection?* And for a final Answer to him *Dinooth* of Bangor in the Name of all the rest, declar'd, *That as to the Subjection he requir'd, he might be assur'd, That in the Bond of Love and Charity, they were all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, to the Pope of Rome, and every good Christian by Word and Deed to help them forward in the Way to Life. But other Obedience than this they did not know to be due to him whom he term'd The Pope; which Obedience they were always ready to pay to him and every Christian: Besides they were govern'd under God by the Bishop of Caer-leon, who was to oversee them in all spiritual Matters.* To whom *Austin* is reported thus threateningly to have denounc'd against them; *Since ye refuse to accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye shall have War from your Enemies; and since ye will not preach the Word of Life to whom ye ought, from their Hands ye shall meet with Death.* *Austin* liv'd not to see the Issue of his Prediction, but dy'd in the following Year 605, being succeeded in his Archbishoprick by *Laurentius*, a Roman whom he had ordain'd in his Life Time, to support the weak Estate of a new establish'd Church. Two Years after the poor *Britains* met with the Punishment suppos'd to have been foretold by *Austin*, from *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, who meeting them with an Army near *Chester*, not only destroy'd great Numbers of them, but of twelve hundred Monks, who stood near to pray for the Success of the *British* Arms, scarce fifty escap'd.

Austin dies.

Ethelbert's
Care.

Not long after the Death of *Austin*, King *Ethelbert* summon'd a *Mycel Synod*, or great Council, as well of the Clergy as Laity, wherein by their common Consent and Approbation, all the Grants and Charters of this King, whereby he had settled great Endowments on the Church of *Canterbury* and others, were confirm'd, with heavy Imprecations against any who should afterwards dare to infringe them. This Prince also gave his People several Laws and Statutes, by the Advice of his wife Men, according to the Example of the *Romans*, written in the *Saxon* Tongue, and observ'd in *Beda's* Time; wherein his great Care was to punish such as had stolen any Thing from the Church or Church-Men, thereby shewing how gratefully he receiv'd from them the *Christian* Faith. In his Reign Christianity daily encreas'd in this Island; and in the Year 608, *Laurence* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* brought the *Scots* to some Conformity with him, especially in the Observation of *Easter*. In 611, this King's Nephew *Sebert* King of the *East-Saxons*, founded the Church and Abby of *Westminster*, and *Melleus* the Bishop of *London* dedicated it to St. *Peter*. *Ethelbert* omitted nothing that might advance the glorious Cause of Christ, and encreasing in Piety, he dy'd in the Year 616, after he had been near twenty Years a *Christian*, twenty three chief Monarch of *England*, and fifty six King of *Kent*.

Christianity en-
creases.

Ethelbert dies.

Christianity de-
clines again.

Ethelbert was succeeded in his Kingdom by his Son *Eadbald*, who at first us'd his Endeavours to extinguish Christianity; not only relapsing to Paganism, but also that which Paganism was wont to abhor, marrying his Father's second Wife. This Wickedness soon discover'd what Multitudes, who for Fear or Countenance of the former King had profess'd Christianity, now returning as eagerly to their old Idolatry. Nor was this Apostacy confin'd to this Province, but soon spread it self over to the *East-Saxons*; occasion'd and promoted by the Death of their Christian King *Sebert*; whose three Sons not being in his Life Time brought to Baptism, now after his Decease establish'd the free Exercise of Idolatry; and not so satisfy'd, they set themselves to some open Profanation of the other Sacrament. Coming therefore into the Church where *Melleus* was administering, they in Scorn requir'd him to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the Consecrated Bread, as he had done to their Father; and upon Refusal, drove him

him disgracefully out of their Dominions. *Mellitus* repair'd immediately to *Kent*, where finding Christianity in much the same Condition, with *Justus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, left the Nation and paſſ'd over into *France*. But the Divine Vengeance ſoon overtook theſe impious Men; For *Eadbald* tormented with an evil Spirit, often fell into Fits of Diſtraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a Battel againſt the *West-Saxons* periſh'd, with their whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within a Year, became penitent, by Means of an extraordinary Accident that *Beda* relates. When *Laurence* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was preparing to follow *Justus* and *Mellitus* into *France*, we are told that St. *Peter*, in whoſe Church he ſpent the Night before in Watching and Praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Viſion more ſenſible, gave him many Stripes for endeavouring to deſert his Flock: Which being ſhown to the King the next Morning, and the Cauſe of them related, *Eadbald* repented, in great Fear diſſolv'd his inceſtuous Marriage, and apply'd himſelf to the Chriſtian Faith more ſincerely than before, together with all his Subjects. But the *Londoners* reſuſing again to receive their Biſhop *Mellitus*, this King had not ſo much Power as his Father to compel them to it; yet nevertheleſs he and his Nation endeavour'd wholly to ſubmit to the Divine Precepts, and built a new Church to the Honour of the bleſſed Virgin, which was conſecrated by *Mellitus*.

III. Upon the Death of *Ethelbert*, by the Miſmanagement of his Son *E-*
adbald, and other Accidents, the chief Monarchy of the *Engliſh* was loſt whol-
 ly to the Kingdom of *Kent*, and fell next upon *Redwald* the third King of
 the *East-Angles*, who for above twenty Years had been Vice-Roy to *Ethelbert*.
 This Prince had formerly receiv'd Baptiſm in *Kent*, but returning into his
 Country, through the powerful Perſuaſion of his Queen he relaps'd to his old
 Superſtition; and thinking to be ſafe, he in the ſame Temple erected one Al-
 tar to Chriſt, and another to his Idols, which ſtood in the Days of *Beda*. But as
 ſhe was an Inſtigatour to the Nation's Idolatry, ſo ſhe was an accidental Inſtru-
 ment to the further ſpreading of Chriſtianity in ſaving the Life of *Edwin*, of
 the Royal Blood of *Northumberland*; who flying from the Rage of *Ethelfrid*,
 King of that Country, receiv'd Protection in the Court of her Husband *Red-*
wald. The *Northumbrians* us'd both Threats and Rewards to procure him to
 be deliver'd up, or put to Death; but his Queen alledging the Laws of Huma-
 nity, the Truſt of a Friend, and the Word of a Prince, prevail'd ſo far, that
Redwald did not only ſave his Life, but aſſiſted him in Battel, to the Deſtru-
 ction of his Enemies, and the regaining of the Crown of *Northumberland*. For
 upon the Return of *Ethelfrid*'s Ambaſſadors, who were ſent for *Edwin*'s Ruin,
 he with the whole Power of the *East-Angles*, as an Enemy march'd towards
Northumberland. Whereupon *Ethelfrid* with what ſudden Preparations he
 could make, met the *East-Angles* almoſt at *Nottingham*, and near the River
Idle, where boldly encountering the unequal Enemy, at the firſt Onſet ſlew
 King *Redwald*'s Son *Reynhere*, to the great Grief of the whole Army; who
 purſu'd his Revenge ſo warmly, that they ſlew King *Ethelfrid* in the Field,
 and eſtabliſh'd *Edwin* in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. By this Victory
Redwald became far ſuperior to the other *Saxon* Kings; and beſides this Con-
 queſt of the North, had likewiſe all on this Side *Humber* at his Obedience. He
 reign'd ſucceſſfully about ſix Years after, and dy'd in the Year 624, after he had
 been forty four Years King of the *East-Angles*, and eight chief Monarch of the
Engliſh.

A. D.

616.

The chief Mo-
narchy falls to
the East-Angles2.
REDWALD chief
Monarch.

His Death.

Upon the Death of *Redwald*, the Monarchy reverted from the *East-Angles*,
 and was next poſſeſs'd by the *Northumbrians*, where it was retain'd with great-
 er and larger Glory. For *Edwin*, grown potent in the Life of *Redwald*, after
 his Death became his Succeſſor in the *Engliſh* Monarchy, and was the greateſt
 King of all the *Saxons*; ſubduing all the Coaſts of *Britain*, with the Iſles of
Angleſey and *Man*. His firſt Wife being dead, he became a Suiter for the
 Lady

A. D.

624.

The chief Mo-
narchy remov'd
to the Nor-
thumbrians.3.
EDWIN chief
Monarch.

Lady *Edelburga*, Daughter of the great *Ethelbert*; to whose Ambassadors her Brother *Eadbald* return'd Answer, *That a Christian Virgin ought not to marry a Pagan*. *Edwin* in Love with the Lady's Fame, insisted, *That her Religion need not be any Impediment, since she and her Attendants should have the free Exercise of it; and further, if upon Examination he found it more excellent than his own, he himself would embrace it*. These ingenuous Offers, opening so fair a Way to the Advancement of Truth, were readily accepted; and *Paulinus* a Roman, was consecrated Bishop of the *Northumbers* by *Iustus*, and sent as a spiritual Guardian along with the Lady. *Paulinus* omitted no Occasion to plant the Gospel in those Parts, but with small Success, 'till the next Year this uncommon Accident made way for it: *Quincelm*, one of the *West-Saxon* Kings, jealous and envious of *Edwin's* Greatness, sent *Eumerus* a desperate Assassinator to stab him; who, under Pretence of delivering a Message, with a poison'd Weapon struck at *Edwin*, whilst he was discoursing with him in his House, by the River *Derwent* in *Yorshire*; which being perceiv'd by *Lilla*, one of the King's Attendants, with a noble Loyalty he interpos'd his own Body to receive the Blow, through which also it reach'd the King's Person, with a dangerous Wound. The Murderer being now encompass'd with Swords, and made more desperate by his own Danger, slew another of the King's Servants in the same Manner. *Paulinus* improv'd this Opportunity, and at length obtain'd this Promise from him, *That if Christ, whom he so magnify'd, would grant him his Recovery, and Victory over his Enemies who had thus basely assaulted him, he would then become a Christian*; as a Pledge of which he order'd his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in that Religion, who with twelve others of his Family was baptis'd on *Whitsunday*. Being well recover'd of his Wound, to punish the Authors of so dishonourable an Action, he march'd against the *West-Saxons*; whom he subdu'd, put some to Death, pardon'd others, and return'd home Victorious.

From this Time King *Edwin* forsook his Idols; yet ventur'd not rashly on ^{Beal.} Baptism, but still consulted with himself and others, who were Men of the greatest Wisdom; tho' *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his Belief. But while he was long delaying and deferring to compleat his Christianity, *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was believ'd, coming to the Knowledge of a Secret which strangely besel him in the Time of his Troubles, on a certain Day went in boldly to him, and laying his right Hand on the Head of the King, ask'd him, *If he remember'd what that Sign meant*. The King trembling, with great Astonishment fell at his Feet: *Behold*, said *Paulinus*, raising him from the Ground, *God has deliver'd you from your Enemies, and given you what you request-ed; perform now what you long since promis'd him, to receive his Doctrine, which if you do, he shall to your temporal Grandeur add eternal Felicity*. *Edwin* being much mov'd, immediately consulted his great Men, and propounded the Reasons to them, that naturally might induce them to embrace Christianity; to which they with no great Difficulty comply'd, and first of all *Coifi* his chief Pagan Priest, who also offer'd himself to destroy the Altars and Temples of their Gods, which he immediately effected, making some Amends for his teaching Men to adore them. Then *Edwin*, with the chief Nobility of his Nation, and many of the common People, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, were baptiz'd; after which vast Numbers of the Vulgar daily flock'd in to be instructed in the Christian Religion, and to be baptiz'd, the next Rivers serving instead of Fonts, which at that Time were wanting, nor were then scarce any Churches built, unless one small one at *Tork*, which *Edwin* caus'd to be erected of Wood, for the Solemnity of his own Baptism, where he fix'd *Paulinus's* Episcopal See, in the Year 627.

The Northumbrians embrace the Christian Religion.

A. D.
628.

Paulinus, having made so happy a Progress in the Kingdom of *Northum-*^{Beal.}
berland, cross'd the *Humber*, and converted also the Province of *Lindsey*, and ^{San. An.}
Blecca

Blecca the Governor of *Lincoln*, with his Family, and most of that great City : In which he built a Church of Stone of curious Workmanship, whose Roof being fallen down, either by Neglect, or hostile Incurfions, the Walls were only standing in *Beda's* Time. *Edwin* also seeking every way to propagate the Faith which with so much Deliberation he had receiv'd, perswaded *Eorpwald*, King of the *East-Angles*, and Son of his Friend *Redwald*, to embrace the same Belief; who under *Edwin* retain'd only the Name of a King. But *Eorpwald* did not long survive his Conversion, being slain in Battel by *Ricbert* a Pagan; whereby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of their King, as lightly relaps'd to their old Superstition, for above three Years after. *Edwin* in the mean Time, to his Faith adding Virtue, by the due Administration of Justice, brought such a Peace and Security over all his Territories, that *Beda* tells us, in his Reign a Woman with a Child in her Hand might have safely travell'd from Sea to Sea. His Care extended to Fountains near the High-ways, where he caus'd drinking Vessels of Brass to be set upon Posts, for the Refreshment of Travellers, which none either out of Love or Fear would presume to remove; and not unmindful of Regal State, either in Peace or War, he had a Royal Banner, which the *Romans* call'd *Tufa*, constantly carry'd before him. But his Glory declin'd on a sudden, after he had reign'd with great Honour and Reputation, being at length slain in Battel with his Son *Osfrid*, at a Place call'd *Hethfeild*, now *Hatfeild* in *Yorkshire*, and his whole Army routed, by *Cadwallon* King of the *Britains*, and *Penda* the *Mercian*, who rebelled against him. This happen'd in the Year 633, in the sixth Year of his Christianity, the ninth of his Monarchy, and the seventeenth of his Reign; his Head being carry'd to *York*, was there deposited in the Church of *St. Peter*, which he himself had began to build with Stone.

And also the
East-Angles
with some
others.

Edwin's happy
Reign.

His Death.

Beda.

This Overthrow prov'd pernicious both to the Church and State of the *Northumbrians*; for *Penda* being a Heathen, and the *British* King of a barbarous Disposition, no Cruelties were omitted in the Slaughter of either Sex or Age; *Cadwallon* threatening to extirpate the whole Nation, tho' then made Christian. For *Beda* tells us, that even to his Days, the *Britains* accounted *Saxon* Christianity no better than Paganism, and held as little Communion with the one as the other. In these calamitous Times *Paulinus* was constrain'd to fly with Queen *Ethelburga* and her Children to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, who kindly receiv'd them, and made *Paulinus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, where he ended his Days. And now the Kingdom of *Northumberland* became divided as formerly, *Osric* seizing *Deira*, and *Eanfrid* taking *Bernicia*; both of whom from Christians became suddenly Pagans. But being overtaken by God's Vengeance, neither their Lives nor this Division lasted long; for *Cadwallon* and *Penda*, in the first Year of their Reign, found Means to cut off the one in Battel, and the other by Treachery. *Cadwallon* now ranging at pleasure through both the Provinces, was at length met by the pious *Oswald*, Brother to *Eanfrid*, who with a small Christian Army, unexpectedly charg'd him, and destroy'd both him and his suppos'd invincible Forces, by a little River near the ancient *Picts* Wall, the Place being afterwards call'd *Heav'n-feild*, from a Cross reported miraculous for Cures, which *Oswald* there erected before the Battel, in Token of his Faith against the great Numbers of his Enemies. *Oswald* being the Son of *Ethelfrid*, by the Sister of *Edwin*, easily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor did he lose any Part of *Edwin's* Dominions, but rather enlarg'd them over several Nations; so that he became the next chief Monarch of the *English*.

A. D.
633.

4.
OSWALD of
Northumber-
land chief Mo-
narch.

Beda.

un. An.

This Prince obtaining the Kingdom, took particular Care to instruct his People in Christianity; sending to the *Scots*, among whom he had been baptiz'd, he desir'd some faithful Teacher, who might restore Religion in his Dominions, which the late Troubles had much impair'd; and they, ready to assist, sent *Adian* a Monk and Bishop of singular Zeal and Humility, with several others,

His excellent
Reign.

The West-Sax-
ons converted.

The University
of Cambridge
founded.

Oswald's
Death.

A. D.
645.

Os-
wald's
Case of North-
umbria.

The story of
Oswin.

A. D.

others, whom at their own Desire he seated at *Lindesfarne*, now *Holy Island*. *Beda* says much of the Devotion, Meekness and Charity of this Prince; that he disdain'd not to be the Interpreter of *Aidan*, while in *Scotch* or bad *English* he preach'd to his Nobles and Servants; and that he had the Poor continually serv'd at his Gate: Particularly at a Festival, he not only sent them his best Meats in a Silver Charger, but also order'd the Charger to be broken in Pieces and divided amongst them; which caus'd Bishop *Aidan* to take him by the right Hand, and to pray that *That Hand might never corrupt*. In the second Year of his Reign, the *West-Saxons*, by the Preaching of *Berinus*, a Bishop whom Pope *Honorius* had sent, were converted to the Faith with *Cynegils* their King; whom *Oswald* receiv'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in Marriage. The following Year the *East-Angles* were recover'd to Christianity, which for some Years past had been thrown off. But *Sigebert*, the Brother of *Eorpwald*, a most learned and pious Man, who had been taught the Christian Religion during his Exile in *France*, now succeeding in this Kingdom, he instructed his People in the Faith by the Preaching and Labours of *Fælix* a *Burgundian* Bishop, who fixt his See at *Domoc*, or *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*. In a few Years after, with the Assistance of some Teachers out of *Kent*, he erected a famous School, which is generally thought to be the University of *Cambridge* then first founded. In the Year 640, *Eadbald* was succeeded by his Son *Ercombert* in *Kent*, who was the first of the *English* Kings who commanded the destroying of Idols in all his Dominions, and the first who establish'd the Observation of *Lent* by an human Law and Penalty. In the mean Time *Oswald*, having happily reign'd eight Years, and worthy of a longer Life, met with the same Fate with *Edwin*, and by the same Hand; being in a great Battel defeated and slain by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, at a Place call'd *Maserfield*, now *Oswestree* in *Shropshire*, which as *Beda* tells us was noted for Miracles after his Death.

Upon the Death of *Oswald*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* again became divided for six or seven Years; *Oswy* gaining *Bernicia*, and *Oswin* obtaining *Deira*. The former was an illegitimate Offspring, and half-Brother to *Oswald*, who in a few Years became the next chief Monarch of the *English*. But the former Part of his Reign was extreamly disturb'd by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, by the Rebellions of his natural Son *Alkfrid*, and by the Oppositions of *Ethelwald* the Son of *Oswald*; but most of all by the virtuous Government of *Oswin* of *Deira*, whose pious Zeal, Moderation, and princely Qualities did much eclipse his Actions, and lessen the Love and Esteem of his own Subjects. *Beda* speaks much of the remarkable Piety and Humility of *Oswin*; but his Virtues were so far from protecting him, that they gave Occasion to *Oswy* in the seventh Year of his Reign, to begin a fatal War with him. *Oswin* finding himself much exceeded in Numbers, thought it more Prudence, by dismissing his Army, to reserve himself for some better Opportunity. But committing his Person, with one faithful Attendant to the Loyalty of Earl *Hunwald*, his suppos'd Friend, he was by him treacherously deliver'd up, and slain by the Command of *Oswy*; whose Death in twelve Days was succeeded by that of the pious Bishop *Aidan*, who dy'd of Grief for the Loss of so excellent a Prince. This Fact of *Oswy* was so detestable to all, and became so afflictive to himself, that to expiate the Offence, a Monastery was founded upon the Place; as many the like foundations were laid, whose Stones were thus cemented with Blood.

Oswy, upon the Death of *Oswin*, united both Kingdoms again, and as his Greatness increas'd, so did his Virtues and good Actions begin to show themselves. And now *Peada* the Son of *Penda*, whose Father had made him King of a Part of his Dominions, was by *Oswy*'s Means converted to Christianity, with his Subject. For coming to *Oswy* to desire his Daughter *Alfreda* in Marriage, he would not consent but upon Condition, that he and all his People should embrace the Christian Faith. Therefore hark'ning to what was preach'd

to him of eternal Life, and being persuaded by *Alfrid* the King's Son, who had marry'd his Sister *Kyniburg*, he readily agreed to turn Christian, whether he obtain'd the Lady or not; and was baptiz'd with all his Followers. Upon his Return, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the People of his Province, who by their Care and Vigilance won great Numbers: Nor did *Penda*, tho' himself a Pagan, prohibit any in his Kingdom to hear or believe the Gospel, but hated and despis'd all those whose Works were not answerable to their Faith; condemning them for miserable and mean Wretches, who obey'd not that God in whom they chose to believe. About this Time, the *East-Saxons*, who had formerly expell'd their Bishop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd their Faith, were by the Means of *Oswey* thus reconverted. *Sigebert* the second, coming to visit *Oswey*, his great Friend, was by him at several Times strenuously dissuaded from Idolatry, and being at length convinc'd, forsook it, and was baptiz'd. On his Return home, he took with him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Bishop; by whose Teaching, and the Assistance of others, the People were again recover'd from their Infidelity. This good Prince was afterwards murder'd by the Conspiracy of two Earls near him, who being demanded what mov'd them to a Crime so heinous, return'd this barbarous Answer, *That it was because he was so gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them their Injuries, as often as they besought him.* But the Occasion of his Death is much more remarkable; for one of these Brothers who slew him, being for unlawful Wedlock so excommunicated by the Bishop, that no Man might presume to enter into his House; the King not regarding the Church's Censure, upon an Invitation went to feast at his House, whom the Bishop meeting in his Return, tho' penitent and fallen at his Feet, he pronounc'd this Sentence: *Because thou hast not abstain'd from the House of this excommunicated Man, in that House thou shalt die;* which happen'd not long after, God bearing Witness to his Minister, in the due Power of Church Discipline when spiritually executed on Contemners.

The Mercians
receive Christi-
anity.

The East-Sax-
ons reconver-
ted.

Oswey having reign'd about twelve Years, had now the good Fortune to ruin his chief Enemy *Penda*, after he had endur'd many Ravages and Devastations from him, and in vain offer'd large Gifts and Presents to purchase his Friendship. Finding himself too weak for human Relief, he turn'd his Gifts into Vows for the Divine Assistance; and according to the usual Zeal of those Times, he devoted his Infant Daughter to perpetual Virginity, and certain large Portions of Lands for the building and endowing of Monasteries. His Vows, as may be conceiv'd, produc'd greater Effects than his Treaties; for hereupon, he with his Son *Alfred*, gathering a small Army, at *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*, engag'd and defeated the whole Body of the *Mercians*, tho' they were thirty Times more in Number, and led on by experienc'd Commanders. The unexpected Retreat of *Ethelwald* the Son of *Oswald*, who join'd with the *Mercians*, much contributed to this extraordinary Victory; which was attended with the Death of *Penda* himself, *Eihelhere* King of the *East-Angles*, and many other Commanders, who were drown'd in a River call'd *Winred*. The Fall of cruel *Penda*, who had been the Death of four or five Christian Kings, caus'd a general Rejoycing, and also brought *Oswey* to the Height of his Power, who in three Years subdu'd the whole Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the greatest Part of the *Picts* in the North. In the Time of his Prosperity, and the Year 664, a Synod of *Scotch* and *English* Bishops, in the Presence of him and his Son *Alfred*, was held at a Monastery in the North, concerning the Time about celebrating *Easter*; a Controversie which had long before disturb'd the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches; wherein the *Scots* not agreeing with the Customs of *Rome*, nor yielding to the Disputants on that Side to whom the King was most inclin'd, such as were Bishops here resign'd, and return'd home with their Disciples. Not long after, by Means of *Theodore*, a learned Monk of *Greece*, whom the Pope had made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, under *Egbert* King of *Kent*, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, with all the Liberal Arts and Sciences, began first

A. D.
655.

Oswey's Suc-
cesses.

A Synod about
keeping of *Ea-*
ster.

to flourish among the *Saxons*, and daily encreas'd under potent and religious Kings, 'till the Days of *Beda*, as he himself informs us. And now *Oswy* having granted Part of *Mercia* to his Son-in-Law *Preada*, and he being slain by Treachery, he was oppos'd by *Wulfer*, who freed the Country from his Subjection. And thus *Oswy* ended his Days in Troubles as he began in Wars, after a Reign of twenty eight Years; when falling sick, he was so struck with Remorse for the Blood of *Oswin*, and of others that he had shed, that he vow'd a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, in which Place he thought to have laid his Bones: But Death soon put an End to his Designs, and in the Year 670 remov'd him, and the Seat of the chief Monarchy of *England* from his Dominions.

Oswy's Death.

A. D.
670.
The chief Monarchy of England is to the Mercians.

6.
Wulfer chief Monarch.

Simony first in England.

IV. Upon the Death of *Oswy*, the chief Monarchy of *England*, which had continu'd forty six Years in the North, began to remove Southwards, and to fix it self in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, where it was preserv'd for above an hundred and thirty Years. *Wulfer* King of *Mercia* was the first Monarch of this Nature, who in the Life of King *Oswy* freed himself from his Power, and after his Death became Chief of the *English* Nation; tho' more in Name than in Reality. For his Reign was not only short, but in a little Time after *Oswy's* Death, he lost the Island of *Linassey* to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*. Yet three Years after he warr'd against the *West-Saxons* with greater Success, triumphantly pass'd through their Country, and gain'd the Isle of *Wight* from King *Renwald*; which Island he gave to *Edilwack* King of the *South-Saxons*, who being then baptiz'd, *Wulfer* became his God-Father. *Wulfer* himself had not long before been a zealous and cruel Pagan; but now becoming Christian, he destroy'd the Worthip of Idols throughout his Dominions, and caus'd the Gospel to be preach'd in all Parts of his Kingdom: Notwithstanding he is tax'd by *M. Imsbury* with the scandalous Sin of Simony, in selling to *Wina*, the depriv'd Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishoprick of *London*. In this Reign, and about this Time, Christianity being generally establisht, many considerable Monasteries were founded, and Kings and Queens began to take upon them the Habits of the Religious, and frequently to withdraw from their Thrones to the Monkish Cells. And now *Wulfer* having reign'd above four Years since the Decease of *Oswy*, and about seventeen in all, he dy'd, and left his Body to be bury'd in the Monastery of *Peterborough*, which had been his and his Brother's Foundation.

A. D.
675.
Ethelred of Mercia chief Monarch.

The South-Saxons fully converted.

Mercia divided into five Dioceses.

A. D.
680.
The Council of East Angles, and Lotbar of Kent, Arch-Bishop Theodore summoned a Synod at Hatfield in Northamptonshire, in which were received the Canons of the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and another at Constantinople.

Wulfer was succeeded by his Brother *Ethelred*, the third Son of King *Preada*; who enter'd upon the Kingdom by the Consent of young *Kenred* his Nephew, who was next Heir to the Crown. This Prince in a short Time not only regain'd *Lindsey*, and all that *Wulfer* had lost to *Egfrid* of *Northumberland*, but found himself powerful enough to extend his Arms a contrary Way, against *Lotbar* King of *Kent* whose Country he wasted without respect to Churches or Religious Houses; particularly *Rocheſter* was plunder'd, and its Bishop *Putta* driven to such Extremities, that in his old Age he was oblig'd to teach Arts and Musick in *Mercia*, to preserve himself from Want. Not long after, the *South-Saxons*, whose King had been baptiz'd in *Wulfer's* Reign, were all converted to the Christian Faith, by Means of Bishop *Wilfrid*, who had been depriv'd, and driven from *Northumberland* by King *Egfrid*. And now Christianity having been receiv'd by all the *English-Saxons*, King *Ethelred*, by the Advice and Consent of *Theodore* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, divided the whole Kingdom of *Mercia* the largest in the whole Nation, into five Dioceses, namely *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Lichfield*, *Leicester*, and *Cidmestier*; all which were completed in the Year 679. In the following Year, at the Council of *East Angles*, and three other Kings, viz. *Egfrid* of *Northumberland*, *Albinus* of the *East Angles*, and *Lotbar* of *Kent*, Arch-Bishop *Theodore* summoned a Synod at *Hatfield* in *Northamptonshire*, in which were received the Canons of the Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, *Chalcedon*, and another at *Constantinople*.

Beda. Sax. An.

Beda. Sax. An. &c.

stantinople, with those Constitutions made at *Rome* by the Synod held under Pope *Martin*, in the Year 648, which Pope *Agatho* this Year sent into *England*. And at the same Time, *John* the *Præcentor* or chief Chantor of *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, brought over hither the yearly Order and Course of Singings and Readings, as was practis'd there. *Ethelred* had a long and peaceable Reign, and as his Power encreas'd, that of *Egfrid* declin'd, who in the Year 685 rashly leading his Army to destroy the Province of the *Picts*, under his Subjection, he and all his Forces were cut in pieces. From which Time, says *Beda*, military Valour decay'd in that Kingdom, and not only the *Picts*, 'till then in a peaceable Condition, but also many of the old *Britains* recover'd their Liberty for many Years after. In the latter End of King *Ethelred's* Reign, *Ostred* his Queen was kill'd by her own Nobles, call'd *Southimbrians*; but both the Cause and Consequence of this strange Fact is unknown to us. About this Time *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons* publish'd his Laws, which are the first that remain to us entire, and were both Ecclesiastical and Civil; by which it appears, that Theft, Murder, and other heinous Crimes, were then redeemable by pecuniary Mulcts. And now at length King *Ethelred* being stricken with Remorse, for his destroying Religious Places in the Beginning of his Reign, to make amends, he founded the famous Monastery of *Bardney* in *Lincolnshire*; into which he retir'd himself, became a Monk, and lastly dy'd Abbot of the Place, after he had reign'd about thirty Years.

Ina's Laws.

Ethelred resigns.

Beda. An.

Ethelred upon his Resignation pass'd by his Son *Ceolred*, and appointed *Kenred*, the Son of his Brother *Wulfer*, for his Successor, who was the nearest Heir to the Crown. Of which Prince we know but little, only that he had the Repute of being the chief Monarch of the *English*, and that after four Years peaceable Government, being desirous of Contemplation, according to the Example of his Uncle *Ethelred*, he sought a more private and religious Life: And accordingly having appointed his Cosen *Ceolred* to rule in his Place, he relinquish'd both his Kingdom and Country; and having concerted Matters with *Osfa*, King of the *East-Saxons*, a Prince of uncommon Zeal and Piety, he with him and *Edwin* Bishop of *Worcester*, travell'd to *Rome*; where both these Kings were made Monks in the Time of Pope *Constantine* the First, and in a Monastery of that City spent the rest of their Lives. Such was the accustomed Fervour of those Times; when a Monk's Habit was accounted the greatest Badge of Humility, and a religious Solitude the main Step to Eternity. *Ceolred* succeeded with the Applause of the People, and reign'd for a few Years in great Peace and Prosperity: But his Quiet was at last disturb'd by the growing Power of *Ina*, King of the *West-Saxons*; who having gain'd great Advantages over the *Britains*, and constrain'd *Kent* to purchase Peace by a Sum of Money, turn'd his Forces against *Mercia*. Accordingly a sharp and doubtful Battel was fought between these Rivals *Ceolred* and *Ina*, at *Wodensburgh* in *Wiltshire*, in the Year 715. The Success of this Battel is uncertain; and the following Year, and the seventh of his Reign, *Ceolred* feasting with his Nobles, was suddenly possess'd with an Evil Spirit, and expir'd in Despair, as *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, an *English-Man*, who taxes him for a Defiler of Nuns, writes by Way of Caution to his Successor.

A. D.

704.

8.

KENRED of Mercia chief Monarch.

Kenred resigns

A. D.

709.

9.

CEOLRED of Mercia chief Monarch.

Ceolred dies.

Beda. An.

Upon the Death of *Ceolred*, *Ethelbald* his Cosen, once remov'd, succeeded him in his Kingdom. This Prince had a very long, and for the most part a peaceable Reign; which he began with the Foundation of the celebrated Monastery of *Croyland*, now *Crowland* in *Lincolnshire*, in Honour of *St. Guthlac* the famous Anchoret, who is said to have clear'd that Place of Demons and evil Spirits. The former Part of this Reign was in a great measure rivall'd by *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*, who not only worsted the *East-Angles* in several Encounters, but in the Year 725 also intirely ruin'd the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, slew *Aldwin* their King, and added all the Dominions to the *West-Saxon* Kingdom: So that the *Saxon* Heptarchy was now reduc'd to six Kingdoms.

A. D.

716.

10.

ETHELBALD of Mercia chief Monarch.

The Kingdom of the South-Saxons at an end.

doms. This Prince is said to have been the first who laid a Tax of a Penny a House to be paid to the Pope, which was afterwards call'd *Peter-Pence*. And not long after, whether to expiate the Effusion of so much Blood, or to comply with the Genius of the Times, at the Persuasion of his Queen *Ethelburga*, he resign'd his Kingdom, and ended his Days in a Monastery at *Rome*. After whose Death, *Ethelbald* of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this Side *Humber*, with their Kings. The *Picts* were now in League with the *English*, the *Scots* peaceable within their Limits, and the *Britains* were partly under their own Government, and partly under the *English*. In which peaceful State of the Land, many in *Northumberland*, both of the Nobility and Commons, laying aside the Exercise of Arms, betook themselves to Monasteries; and many others, both of the Clergy and Laity, Men and Women, hastning to *Rome* in Companies, thought themselves no ways secure of eternal Life, 'till they were cloister'd there. These Retirements of the best of the People afterwards prov'd a fatal Weak'ning of the Nation; and with this State of the Land the learned and celebrated *Beda* finish'd his History, about the Year 731.

A. D.
732.

V. From this Time forwards, and for many Years, we have a more imperfect Account than ever of the Affairs of this Nation; and not long after the finishing his History, *Beda* dy'd at his Monastery in *Northumberland*, whose great Piety, as well as Learning, justly obtain'd for him the Title of *Venerable Beda*. After whose Decease, as *Malmsbury* observes, all Knowledge of publick Transactions were for a long Time almost lost, since none prov'd an Emulator of his Studies, nor a Follower of his Learning; so that to a sloathful Generation, one more sloathful succeeding, the Love of Learning became cold in this whole Island. In the mean Time *Ethelbald* reign'd chief Monarch of the *English*; and his Power was much strengthen'd and confirm'd by his taking *Somerton* from the *West-Saxons*, and afterwards much Spoil and Plunder from the *Northumbrians*. And moreover about the Year 747, he became Master of *London*, and in effect brought the *East-Saxon* Kingdom to a Period; so that the Heptarchy was now reduc'd to five Kingdoms. Under this Prince were held two Councils at *Cloveshoe* in *Kent*, one in the Year 742, and the other in 747; at both which *Ethelbald* himself was present. The first was principally to confirm King *Withred's* Acts concerning the Monasteries in *Kent*, according to the Directions of *Cuthbert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. The second was at the Instance of Pope *Zachary*, who by his Epistles severely admonish'd the *Saxons* of all Sorts, from the Highest to the Lowest, to forsake their wicked and scandalous Actions. Here several Canons were made concerning the Pastoral Charge, and many Provisions against the Inordinacy, extravagant Habits, Incontinency, Luxury, and irregular Lives, of the Clergy, Monks and Nuns, as well as the Laity. The reigning Vices of these Times, as Fornication, Adultery, Murder, Drunkenness, Perjury, &c. were only punish'd with longer or shorter Penances, of Days, Weeks, Months or Years; but what these Penances were, we do not find. These Times were now become loose and luxurious; and *Kelwulf* King of *Northumberland*, retiring from his Throne to the Monastery of *Lindesfarne*, brought those Monks from the Use of Milk and Water to Wine and Ale. But *Ethelbald* proceeded to greater Irregularities, and contemning Marriage, gave himself all the Freedom of unlawful Enjoyments, making no Difference between Places and Persons, Nuns and other Women; and by his fatal Example the Nobility and People were infected with an universal Viciousness and Luxury. Which being related to *Boniface* the Pope's Legate then in *Germany*, he severely reprov'd *Ethelbald* by an Epistle, which had so good an Effect upon him, that he repented of his former Life, and endeavour'd to make Satisfaction by many charitable Works, and several large Immunities which he granted to the Church and Monasteries. At length, after a Reign of above forty Years, fighting against the *West-Saxons* in a War not prudently undertaken, he

The Kingdom
of the East-
Saxons ended.

The two Coun-
cils of Clove-
shoe.

Ethelbald's vi-
cious Reign.

Sax. A
Malms
Speima
Hunting

he was traiterously slain by his own Subjects, at the Instigation of *Beornred*, who likewise endeavour'd to step into the Throne, but was himself slain by *Osfa* the *Mercian*, before he could compleat his Designs. His Death was accompany'd with the Deprivation of *Sigebert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, who for his Cruelty and Injustice was solemnly depos'd from his Kingdom, by the Authority of the grand Council of the same; which is the first Example of that Nature that we have in our *English* History.

Beornred the Usurper being slain, *Osfa* Cosen to King *Ethelbald* succeeded in the Kingdom; being the eleventh King of the *Mercians*, and the most valiant and powerful of all the *English Saxons*, so that no Attempts seem'd too high for his Undertaking. The neighbouring Kings foreseeing his ambitious Aims, solicited the Alliance of *Charles the Great*, King of *France*, whose Interest could no ways prevail upon *Osfa* to cause him to desist from his Designs. The first that felt his Fury were the *Kentish* Men, under *Alric* their King, whose Overthrow was the less dishonourable, says *Malmsbury*, because they were vanquish'd by so great a Monarch. The Place was *Ottanford*, where their King was slain by *Osfa*'s own Hand, their Forces dispers'd, and all their Country wasted by the *Mercians*. This happen'd about the eighteenth Year of his Reign, when turning his Forces against *Kencwulf* King of the *West-Saxons*, who had assisted his Enemies, he overthrew him at *Bensington* in *Oxfordshire*, and took the Town. But not long after, in the Year 776, all the *Britains*, both of *North* and *South-Wales*, gather'd themselves together, and invading the Kingdom of *Mercia*, made terrible Devastations in many Parts of the Country, wasting all with Fire and Sword. Whereupon King *Osfa* was constrain'd to make a Peace with the other *Saxon* Kings, and turn all his Forces against the *Welsh*-Men; who being unable to resist so great a Power, were oblig'd to abandon all the plain Country between the River *Wye* and *Severn*, and retire to the Mountainous Parts. Upon which Advantage, *Osfa* immediately seiz'd on all the plain Country, planted it with *Saxon* Inhabitants, annex'd it to his own Kingdom, and caus'd a famous Ditch or Intrenchment to be made from Sea to Sea, between his Kingdom and *Wales*, by which he might the better defend his Country from future Incursions; which Ditch is seen at this Day in divers Places, and is call'd in *Welsh*, *Clawdd Osfa*, that is *Osfa's Ditch*.

He is Slain.

A. D.

756.

II.
OSFA of Mercia, chief Monarch.

His Successes.

He separates Wales from England with a Ditch.

A. D.

777.

Lichfield made an Archbishoprick.

After this *Osfa* reign'd many Years in great Splendor, and for the most part in Peace, having Trumpets sounded before him when he travell'd or appear'd in publick. And as a Mark of his Grandeur, he procur'd *Lichfield* to be made an Archbithopruck, over all the Bishops in *Mercia* and *East-England*; and because *Jambert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* oppos'd him, he bereav'd that Archbithopruck of all its Lands that lay in the *Mercian* Territories: In which State it continu'd all his Reign. He call'd also a Synod or Council at *Calcuith*, where among several Canons, Tythes were first order'd to be paid in *England*, and also declar'd to be by Divine Right. Not long after, *Charles* the Great, who now held an amicable Correspondence with *Osfa*, sent a certain Book of Synodical Decrees into *England*, as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates; in which also, as our Author complains, were found many inconvenient Things, and contrary to the true Faith: For, adds he, it had been decreed in a Council at *Constantinople*, by more than three hundred Bishops, that Images ought to be ador'd, which the Church of God does abominate. Against which Imposition *Albinus*, or *Alcum*, the most learned Man of the Nation, wrote an Epistle, and presented that with the Synodical Book to the King of *France*, in the Name and Person of all the Bishops and chief Men of the *English* Nation.

About the thirtieth Year of the Reign of King *Osfa*, and third of *Birhtric* the *West-Saxon*, birth was given to new and great Calamities in the Island. For in the West arriv'd three Ships of *Danes* or *Norwegians*, by Chance, or for Entage; who upon their Landing being commanded to come to *Dorchester*, and give an account of their Lading at the King's Custom-House, they slew the Of-

A. D.

787.

The first Arrival of the Danes in England.

The Kingdom
of the East-Angles
at an End.

ficer and all that came with him, as an Earnest of the numerous Slaughters, Rapines and Hostilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Island. Three or four Years after these Pagans landed in the North, and plunder'd the great Monastery of *Lindesfarne*, kill'd many of the Friars, took others Prisoners, sparing neither Clergy nor Laity. These were the first *Danish* Ships that infested the *English* Nation; where it is observable, That the same People who were first call'd *Normans* in the *Saxon* Annals, are there also nam'd *Danes* in other Places; which shews, that the *Danes* and *Normans* were then accounted to be one and the same People. In the mean Time King *Osfa* maintain'd his Power, and kept up his Ambition, shewing as little Faith as Mercy: For *Ethelbert*, King of the *East-Angles*, coming to his Court, to obtain his Daughter in Marriage, was by the Instigation of his Queen *Quendriht* treacherously murder'd, and all his Dominions seiz'd and added to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, in the Year 792. So that now the *Saxon* Heptarchy was reduc'd to four Kingdoms, viz. *Mercia*, *West-Saxony*, *Northumberland* and *Kent*; that of the *South-Saxons* being swallow'd up by the *West-Saxons*, and those of the *East-Saxons* and *East-Angles* by the *Mercians*. At the same Time the Kingdoms of *Northumberland* and *Kent* were in a declining Condition. In the former, *Eadbert*, an excellent Governor, contrary to the Advice of the neighbouring Princes, and his best Friends, follow'd his Predecessor *Kelwulf*'s Steps, and retir'd to a Monastery. His Son *Oswulf* was slain by the Treachery of his own Servants: *Ethelwold* the next King was assassinated by *Alfred* his Successor, who after eight Years Reign was formally depos'd by his Subjects: *Ethelred* the next, in four Years Time fled his Country; *Alfwold* his Successor was slain by a Conspiracy, and *Osred* in a Year's Time depriv'd by the State: Which frequent and violent Changes brought the Kingdom to a very tottering Condition. As to the Kingdom of *Kent*, in the Year 793, the Death of *Alric*, the fourteenth King, put an End to the Race of *Hengist*; from which Time whoever was advanc'd by Wealth or Faction took upon him the Title of King of that Province.

Osfa goes to
Rome.

And now *Osfa* having reign'd with mighty Authority about thirty seven Years, with great Devotion repair'd to *Rome*, where with the like Zeal of *Ina* the *West-Saxon*, he made his Kingdom subject to a Tribute then call'd *Peter-Pence* and *Romscot*. Besides which, he made rich Presents to Pope *Hadrian* for Canonizing St. *Alban*, the first *British* Martyr; in Honour of whom, and by way of Penance, he founded a magnificent Monastery near *Verulamium*, and endow'd it with large Revenues. Also as a Testimony of his Repentance for his great Effusion of Blood, at his Return to his Kingdom, he gave the tenth Part of all his Goods to the Church and Poor; he built another Monastery at *Bath*, and the Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, with another Church at *Warwick*, where the adjoining Town from that and him bears the Name of *Off-Church*. He did not long survive these Charities, but in Year 794 dy'd in Peace at *Osf-ley*; and with great Solemnity his Body was interr'd near *Bedford*, in a Chappel upon the Banks of the *Ouse*, after a triumphant Reign of about thirty nine Years.

A. D.

794.

12.
EGFERTH of
Mercia chief
Monarch.

13.
KENWULF of
Mercia chief
Monarch.

Osfa was succeeded in his Kingdom by his Son *Egferth*, who being a Prince of great Worth, had been crown'd King in his Father's Time, nine Years before; and after his Death, he restor'd to the Church whatever had been violently taken from it; but this hopeful Prince reign'd but a few Months before he dy'd, and left the Crown to *Kenwulf*, the next of the Royal Line; who by his excellent Behaviour both in Peace and War sufficiently shew'd that he deserv'd it. In the second Year of his Reign, in a War against *Eadbert* King of *Kent*, he not only gave him a total Overthrow, but also took him Prisoner, to the great Dishonour of all his Subjects, and gave his Kingdom to *Cuthred*. Two Years after, at the Dedication of a magnificent Church built by him at *Winchcombe* in *Glocestershire*, *Kenwulf* in the Presence of *Cuthred*, thirteen Bishops, ten Dukes, many noble Men, and a great Concourse of People, led *Eadbert* the
Captive

Captive King to the High Altar, and there without either Intreaty or Ransom, gave him his Liberty; manifesting at once his Devotion to God, and his Generosity to the unfortunate. This Prince reign'd several Years after in Peace and Happiness, and was the last of the *Mercian* Kings that was chief Monarch of the *English*.

Malmsh.
Sim. Dun.
&c.

VI. The chief Monarchy of *England* had continu'd about an hundred and thirty Years among the *Mercians*; but now in the End of the eighth Century, it began to remove from thence to the *West-Saxons*, and in a few Years became a more real and compleat Monarchy than ever before. The Year 800 made way for great Alterations in this Island, gradually uniting the seven Kingdoms into one, by means of *Egbert* the famous *West-Saxon*, who was the only Survivor of the Royal Line of that Kingdom, being descended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. Having a noble Education, he began early in his Youth to give signal Hopes of more than common Worth and Abilities; which being apprehended by King *Birchric*, and withal his juster Title to the Crown, he secretly sought his Life, so that at length *Egbert* was oblig'd to fly for Security to *Osfa* King of *Mercia*. But he having marry'd his Daughter *Eadburga* to King *Birchric*, was easily prevail'd upon by his Ambassadors to deliver up the Refugee; so that *Egbert* was constrain'd to make his Escape, and take a new Flight into *France*, where he much improv'd his Abilities, and refin'd his Education, under the Reign of *Charles the Great*. At length *Birchric* met with the Reward of all his Injustice, by the means of his Wife *Eadburga*, who having prepared a Cup of poison'd Wine for one of his Favourites whom she hated, it accidentally prov'd the Death of the King himself. After whose Decease, *Asser* relates, That when this Queen, by reason of her wicked Actions, could live no longer among the *English*, she repair'd to *France* with all her Treasure, where she was kindly entertain'd by *Charles the Great*, and upon her making some rich Presents to that Emperor, he propos'd to her to chuse whom she would have for her Husband, Himself or his Son: But she imprudently nam'd his Son, as the younger Man; so that the Emperor with a Mixture of Mirth and Seriousness told Her, *That if she had chosen Him, she should have had his Son, but now she was not to expect either*. Nevertheless he assign'd her a rich Monastery, where she liv'd some Years as Abbess, but being detected of Incontinency, she was expell'd, and forc'd to wander with one Servant into *Italy*, where at *Pavia* she ended her wicked Life in great Poverty.

A. D.

800.

The chief Monarchy of England falls to the West-Saxons.

14.

EGBERT chief Monarch.

He flies into France.

Sax. An.
Malmsh.
&c.

Birchric being dead without Issue, *Egbert* after three Years Retirement in *France*, was recall'd by the Nobility of the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, and acknowledged King with universal Satisfaction; where he reign'd with greater Glory and Renown, than any of the *English-Saxon* Kings before him. The former Part of his Reign was wisely employ'd in establishing his own Interest at Home, and in settling his Power and Sovereignty in the Love and Affection of his Subjects. And then finding his own Strength, he began to cast his Eyes upon his incroaching Neighbours; and the first Trial of his Martial Conduct was against the *Britains*, first making a Conquest of them that still inhabited *Cornwall*, and after that, in two Years more, he render'd those in *Wales* Tributaries to his Dominions. His Success and Progress was such, that his Neighbours were exceedingly startled, and apprehensive of his encreasing Power. *Beornwulf* King of *Mercia* was the first that actually concern'd himself, and thinking it a Matter of Glory by his Courage and Resolution to remove the Fears of others, was resolv'd to engage with this Conqueror; but meeting with him at a Place call'd *Ellandune* in *Wiltshire*, he was totally defeated, in the Year 823. *Egbert* elevated by this Success, and founding Hopes upon the same Grounds that his Neighbours had done their Fears, while the Fame of his late Success was fresh, he sent *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Ealstan* Bishop of *Sherburn*, and *Wulfheard* his General with a powerful Army into *Kent*, to conquer that Province, which

He is recall'd into England.

He conquers Cornwall and Wales.

Then Mercia.

Next Kent, which he accounted not difficult to perform, while the Inhabitants were both with the South and East-Saxons. enervated with Sloth, and disoblig'd at their King. They that were sent vigorously executed his Commands, and passing over all the Country, found their Work more easie than they imagin'd; for having driven out *Baldred* their King beyond the *Thames*, they subdu'd all *Kent* and *Surry*, with the Southern and Eastern *Saxons*. And also the same Year, the Inhabitants of *East-England* dreading and hating the Government of the *Mercians*, submitted themselves to his Vassallage and Protection.

A. D. 825. The *East-Angles* having submitted themselves to *Egbert*, never desisted 'till they had slain *Beornwulf* and *Ludecun* the *Mercian* Kings, who had been continual Disturbers of their Neighbours. Their Successor *Witblaf* was soon after expell'd his Kingdom by *Egbert*, but afterwards by the Mediation of *Siward* Abbot of *Crowland*, with whom he privately remain'd in that Monastery, was restor'd upon Condition of Subjection, and Payment of an annual Tribute. Still the Kingdom of *Northumberland* remain'd unconquer'd, which now of it self began to fall into Pieces; the Kings were so frequently slain by the People, that for thirty three Years none had the Courage to accept of the Crown; and many of the Nobility and Prelates fled from the Country, or retir'd into Monasteries. Which Weaknesses and Mismanagements gave a fair Opportunity to the Pagan *Danes* to enter this Kingdom, terribly wasting not only Cities and Towns, but more especially Churches and Religious Houses; the *Lent* before whose Arrival, we are told, That on the North Side of St. *Peter's* Church in *York* there was seen from the Roof to run Blood. The Causes of these Calamities, and the Ruin of this Kingdom, is attributed by the learned *Alcwin* who wrot in these Times, to the general Ignorance and Decay of Learning, which much increas'd after the Death of *Beda*; to their Neglect in educating Youth in the Knowledge of the Scriptures; and to the extravagant Apparel of their Priests and Nuns, discovering their loose and wanton Dispositions, of which many Examples were in *Beda's* Time. From whence Altars were defil'd with Perjuries, Cloysters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with the Blood of its Princes, and infected with the Dissentions of the People; and generally the same Vices reigning of which *Gildas* before had complain'd, and declar'd to have been the Ruin of the *Britains*. In this Condition *Egbert*, who had reduc'd all the South, and design'd a full Conquest of the Island, found them in the Year 827; upon whose Appearance they yielded without any Bloodshed, and gave Security to him for their quiet and obedient Deportment.

He puts an End to the Heptarchy.

A. D. 828. King *Egbert* having now with great Success subdu'd the *HEPTARCHY*, and reduc'd it to his own Power, he was solemnly crown'd King of all *Britain* at *Winchester*; and by an Edict or Proclamation commanded that the whole Heptarchy should hereafter be call'd *Engleland* or *England*, which in *Latin* was call'd *Anglia* from the *Angles* the most numerous and valiant of the three Nations which came over with *Hengist*; who possess'd, as was formerly observ'd, the Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, *Mercia* and *East-England*, the *Jutes* having only *Kent* and the Isle of *Wight*, and the *Saxons East-Sex*, *South-Sex* and *West-Sex*. Yet the Name of *England* was us'd long before this Time, tho' never by publick Edict, as appears from *Beda* and other Writers. Tho' *Egbert* was now supreme Monarch of *England*, and in a more absolute Manner than any before him, yet he was not sole King and Governor; for several of the petty Kings, tho' Tributaries, held their Titles for many Years, and some Successions of Kings after him; as *Witblaf* King of *Mercia* under himself, *Bertulf* under *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Beorred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edmund* King of the *East-Angles* under the same; and so they continu'd for above sixty Years 'till the Reign of *Edward* the Elder.

Which he calls ENGLAND.

Thus we have given a general View of the chief Transactions of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, collected from little else but a Heap of Rubbish, and from trifling, lame and confus'd Accounts; for which we are to beg the Reader's Favour, if

he

he has been disappointed, or complains of Omissions, and the want of some Facts mention'd in other Writers. Both the Secular and Ecclesiastical Story of the *Saxons* are vastly defective. The former consists chiefly of Wars and Battels, by which we discern great Barbarity, Violence and Rapine; but for what Cause they were undertaken by what Councils they were directed and carry'd on, or what Reason or Equity there was for them, we can hardly so much as guess. Nor are the Battels themselves more artfully describ'd than the Combats of Wolves and Bears, or the Skirmishes of ravenous Birds in the Air. There were frequent Attempts among the petty Kings upon each others Dominions, and as frequent Rebellions of the great Men against them; and many Times, he whom Riches, Popularity or Faction advanc'd, took upon him the Title and State of a King. The Church Story is in a great Measure a confus'd Collection of Legends, Visions, Tales, and vulgar Reports, which pass'd for current in those ignorant and credulous Times. Yet out of these Clouds of Darkness, out of these Monkish and inconsistent Discourses, we may pick out many Things surprizing, and Matter sufficient for strange Admiration, if we take notice of the frequent Fastings, the fervent Prayers, the large and almost profuse Alms of those Times; what stately and magnificent Fabricks, Churches, Palaces, and Monasteries were built and founded in those Days; what plain and unlearned Zeal, what obedient, quiet and hearty Devotion then possess'd the Minds of the People, when in about two hundred Years Time, thirty *Saxon* Kings and Queens resign'd their Crowns with all the Glories of the World, and enter'd into a Religious Solitude.

*The Devotion
of these Times.*

C H A P. IV.

The Monarchy of the English Saxons, From the Establishment of King Egbert, to the Beginning of the Monarchy of the Danes in England, under King Canute.

Containing the Space of about 189 Years.

I. E G B E R T.

I. **B**EING arriv'd at the End of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, we begin to pass from Darkness to Twilight; from a State of Confusion in Story, to some Degree of Order, and from the Transactions of a many-headed Government, to those of an united Monarchy, founded and erected by the Power of King *Egbert*. It might have been reasonably expected, that a wise and fortunate Prince, at the Head of such large Dominions, and so numerous a People as the *English*, after the Expulsion of the *Picts* and *Scots* into the Northern, and the *Britains* into the Western Corners of the Isle, should not only have enjoy'd the Fruits of Peace and Quiet, but left much Felicity as well as Greatness to many succeeding Generations. Yet such is the Uncertainty of Human Affairs, and the Weakness of the best Conjectures, That he who rul'd over all the *English* should have little Cause to rejoice in the Obedience of those of his own Blood; for he was scarcely establish'd in his united Throne, when both he and his Subjects were alarm'd by the Invasions of a formidable Enemy from

A. D.
828.

*The Invasions
and Progress of
the Danes.*

from abroad, whose Fury and Violence extended not only to himself, but to his Successors for many Years. For about these Times a new Swarm of People, from the Northern Parts of *Europe*, under the Names of *Danes* and *Normans*, or *Norwegians*, began at first to infest the Seas, and at length the Lands of the *Belgick*, *Gallick* and *British* Shores, filling all Places with Slaughters, Spoils and Devastations. The *Normans* first over-run the *Belgick* Provinces upon the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and gave to those Parts next the Sea the new Names of *Holland* and *Zealand*. Afterwards they sail'd in vast Numbers into the Mouth of the *Seyne*, and with great Fierceness subdu'd that Northern Part of *France*, which ever since has been call'd by the Name of *Normandy*, and became the Seat of a great *Norman* Duke, and his Successors for several Generations. In the mean Time the *Danes* began their Inroads and furious Invasions upon the Coasts of *England*, with mighty Numbers, and with greater Fury and Pagan Barbarity than the *Saxons* before them; never giving this Island any long Respite for above 230 Years.

A. D.
832.
*They infest
England.*

Egbert was now in the full Height of his Glory, and had enjoy'd his Con-<sup>Sax. A.
Sc.</sup>quests but a few peaceful Years, when the *Danes* made their first Invasion in this Reign, which was in the Isle of *Shepey* in *Kent*, ravaging those Parts without any great Resistance. In the following Year they arriv'd in greater Numbers with thirty five Ships, and landed at *Charmouth* in *Dorsetshire*, where they were vigorously encounter'd by *Egbert* himself, and a severe Battel ensu'd; in which *Herefrid* and *Wigferth* two Bishops were slain, as also *Dudda* and *Osmund*, two *Saxon* Commanders. *Egbert* had the Advantage in the former Part of the Battel, yet towards Night he lost the Victory, tho' by the Help of it he retreated, and sav'd the Dishonour of an entire Defeat; which was the only Time that Fortune ceas'd to favour this Monarch's Undertakings. But two Years after, the *Danes* returning with a powerful Navy, and joining in League with the *Cornish Britains*, *Egbert* encounter'd all their Forces, gain'd a compleat Victory over them, and freed his Kingdom at that Time from the Invasion of these barbarous Enemies. At length after a mild and glorious Reign of thirty six Years and seven Months, he dy'd and was bury'd at *Winchester*, leaving his Son great Opportunities of establishing his Fame, and predicting his Felicity, *in case what he had obtain'd by Industry, were not lost by Sloathfulness, to which this Nation had been too much addicted.* He dy'd in the Year 836, after he had been near nine Years supreme Monarch of the *English* Nation.

*The Death of
Egbert.*

2. *ETHELWULF.*

A. D.
836.

*King Ethel-
wulf divides
his Dominions.*

Upon the Decease of *Egbert*, his eldest Son *Ethelwulf* succeeded in all his<sup>Sax. A.
Sc.</sup> Dominions, upon the fourth of *February*. This Prince had been formerly educated in the Monastery of *Winchester*, under the Tuition of *Helmstan* Bishop, and *Swithune* Dean of that Church, where he enter'd into Orders, and is said to have been both a Monk and Bishop of *Winchester*. But after his Father's Death, being urg'd by the Nobility and Clergy, and absolv'd from his Vows by Pope *Gregory IV.* he enter'd upon the Monarchy of *England*; yet still he retain'd much of the Monkish Temper, lov'd Ease and Solitude, and had small Inclinations to Ambition. Therefore resting satisfy'd with his paternal Kingdom of *West-Saxony*, he made over the Kingdoms of *Kent*, and of the *South* and *East-Saxons*, which had been his Father's Conquests, to a Brother, or perhaps a Son of his, called *Athelstan*, who for some Years retain'd those Dominions. He gave the Bishoprick of *Winchester* to his Tutor *Swithune*, to whom and *Alstan* Bishop of *Sherburne*, he left the Management of his principal Affairs.

The unwarlike Disposition of King *Ethelwulf* gave both Encouragement and<sup>Sax. A.
Sc.</sup> an easy Entrance to the Pagan *Danes*, who in the Beginning of his Reign made several

several Descents into *England*, and not like generous Conquerors, but devouring Caterpillers, barbarously wasted several Parts of the Nation at the same Instant; so that the Inhabitants were confounded, and at a loss how to make any Resistance. Many of these Northern Princes enter'd the Land at *Southampton* and *Portsmouth*; at the former Place with a Defeat, and at the latter with Victory; and not long after, at a Place call'd *Mereswar*, the *English* under the Command of Earl *Herebert* were routed, and the greatest Part of the Army destroy'd. The following Year they committed great Devastations in *Lindsey*, *East-England* and *Kent*; and embolden'd with these Successes, they march'd on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rochester* and *London* it self, with no less barbarous Hostilities. And giving no Respite to the peaceful Desires of *Ethelwulf*, the next Year they return'd with thirty five Ships, fought with the King at the River *Carr*, where they had encounter'd his Father, and made good their Ground. But in the ninth Year of this Reign, they met with a considerable Stop in the full Course of their outrageous Insults: For Earl *Earnulf* with the Men of *Somersetshire*, *Alstan* the Bishop, and Count *Osfic* with those of *Dorsetshire*, engaging them at the Mouth of the River *Pedridan*, slaughter'd them in great Numbers, and obtain'd a memorable Victory, which quell'd their Power for about six Years after.

The Danes
waste England
in divers Places.

But in the fifteenth Year of this Reign, *Mars* was more predominant than ever, and Fortune kept the Scale on the King's Side: For the destroying *Danes* with two or three hundred Ships enter'd the *Thames*, landed in *Kent*, and took and pillag'd both *Canterbury* and *London*; and proceeding further they defeated *Berthulf* King of *Mercia* with his whole Army; then marching into *Surry*, they behav'd themselves as tho' they were able to withstand the whole Power of the *English* Nation. Here they were met by King *Ethelwulf* himself, and his Son *Ethelbald*, with all the *West-Saxon* Forces, at a Place call'd *Aclea*, now *Oakley* in *Surrey*; where after a long and sharp Contest, the Victory fell intirely to the *English*, with a vast Slaughter of these insolent Invaders. So that this was accounted a fortunate Year to *England*, and added to the King great Fame and Reputation. With the like Success his Brother *Athelstan* King of *Kent* encounter'd the *Danes* at *Sandwich*, where pursuing of them to the Sea, he took several of their Ships: And in *Devonshire*, Earl *Ceorle* at *Winleshore* so weaken'd their main Power, that in a kind of Despair they withdrew themselves into the Island of *Thanet*, where they continu'd all the Winter Season; and if Destiny had not withstood the *English* Nation, the *Danes* in human Probability might have been totally expell'd the Land. But the *Saxons* imagining themselves free from the common Enemy, renew'd their old Contests with the ever depressed *Britains*, against whom *Burthred* King of *Mercia* successfully obtain'd the Assistance of King *Ethelwulf*, whose Daughter *Ethelswith* he had obtain'd in Marriage; which for a while supported the Fame and Power of that valiant but unfortunate Prince.

A. D.
851.

They are several Times worsted by the English.

Ethelwulf, now enjoying Peace, sent his youngest Son *Alfred*, then but five Years of Age, with a large Retinue to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both consecrated to be King afterwards, and adoped to be his Episcopal Son. But this Peace lasted not long; for in the same Year the *Danes* landed afresh in *Thanet*, where *Ealker* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Hudda* with those of *Surry* engag'd with them, and at first repell'd them; but the Slain and Drowned were at length so many on either Side, as left the Loss almost equal on both. In the next Year the *Danes* winter'd again in *Shepey*, and became more formidable than before. Insomuch that the King, Nobility and Clergy being extreamly alarm'd and affrighted at the Devastations of these Pagan Invaders, and judging these Calamities to be the Effects of their Sins and Corruptions, bethought themselves of a wholesom and uniform Remedy, as they term'd it, and a proper Security against their Enemies; which was an Act of the great Council or Parliament in those Days, since often call'd *The Grant of King Ethelwulf*, of the

A. D.
853.

The Danes again formidable.

Ethelwulf holds a grand Council.

Tithe of the Profits of all Lands to the Church, free from all Burdens, Taxes and Exactions whatsoever. This Grant, by the Consent of the grand Council, was sign'd by all the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Abbesses, and Secular States of all *England*; and likewise by *Burthred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edmund* King of the *East-Angles*, then subject and tributary to King *Ethelwulf*. After this Grant was confirm'd and subscrib'd, *Ethelwulf* with great Solemnity offer'd it upon the Altar of *St. Peter's* in the Cathedral of *Winchester*, where the Parliament was held, and the Bishops caus'd it to be publish'd in every Church of their respective Dioceses and Districts.

A. D. 855. *He takes a Journey to Rome.* Having settled these Affairs at home, he took his beloved Son *Alfred* with him, and with great Devotion took a Journey to *Rome*, where he was honourably receiv'd and entertain'd for the Space of a whole Year; in which Time he rebuilt the *English* School that *Osfa* King of *Mercia* had founded in that City, which had been burnt down, and now bore the Name of *Thomas the Holy*. His Return from *Rome* was through *France*, and being a Widower, he there marry'd *Judith* the beautiful Daughter of *Charles the Bald* then Emperor, in honour of whom he ever plac'd her in a Chair of State, and gave her such Marks of Dignity as were contrary to the *West-Saxon* Law that had been made upon the Account of *Etheburga's* Crimes. His Absence and this Marriage gave Occasion to a dangerous Conspiracy in his own Nation, form'd and carry'd on by his eldest Son *Ethelbald*, Bishop *Alstan* his imagin'd Friend, and *Enwulf* Earl of *Somerset*, who us'd all possible Endeavours to deprive him of his Kingdom. This Insurrection was expected to produce nothing less than an unfortunate War: But *Ethelwulf* foreseeing the Dangers and Miseries of Civil Discord, out of his meer Clemency and great Condescension by the Assent of his Nobles, agreed to divide the whole Kingdom between Himself and his Son. Accordingly a Division was solemnly made, but with so much Artifice and Partiality, that the Western and best Parts were given to the Son, and the Eastern and worst left to the Father; which rais'd such an Indignation among many of the Nobility, that they offer'd the King their utmost Assistance for the Recovery of the whole; but he peacefully dissuaded them, resting satisfy'd with the Portion assign'd him. Two Years after, finding himself declining, he dispos'd of his Kingdom to his two Eldest Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*, and his Hereditary Estate to his other Sons and Daughters. For the Advantage of his Soul, he order'd that in his Hereditary Lands, every tenth Hide or Mansion should maintain one poor Parson with Meat, Drink and Cloathing; and he commanded that three hundred Marks should be paid annually to *Rome*, for these Purposes, one hundred to buy Oyl for the Lamp in the Church of *St. Peter*, as much for Oyl in the Church of *St. Paul*, and the other hundred to the Pope himself. Not long after he dy'd at a Place call'd *Stamrige*, upon the 13th Day of *January*, in the Year 857, and was bury'd at the Cathedral in *Winchester*, having reign'd twenty Years and five Months.

3. ETHELBALD.

A. D. 857. *Ethelwald and Ethelbert succeed.* II. *Ethelwulf* left four Sons behind him, *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbert*, *Ethelred*, and *Alfred*, who all successively ascended the Throne, and became Kings of *England*. Upon his Decease, his two eldest Sons divided their Father's Kingdom, according to his last Will and Testament; *Ethelbald* the Eldest succeeded him in *West-Saxony*, whilst his second Brother *Ethelbert* reign'd in *Kent*, as also over the *East* and *South-Saxons*. Notwithstanding this Division, *Ethelbald* has been always accounted supreme Monarch: But we have very little remaining of his Person and Actions. All that we find is, that he was a luxurious and peridious Prince; and being charin'd with the Beauty of his Step-Mother *Judith*, he marry'd her, contrary to the Laws of God and Man. But not long after,

we are told, that by the Admonition of *Swithun* Bishop of *Winchester*, he repented of his Incest, put away his unlawful Wife, and observ'd all Things that the Bishop enjoin'd him. Having, without any other memorable Action, reign'd almost three Years, he dy'd on the twentieth Day of *December*, and the Year 860; being bury'd first at *Sherburn* the Cathedral in *Dorsetshire*, and afterwards remov'd to the Church at *Salisbury*. Ethelbald dies.

4. E T H E L B E R T.

Upon the Decease of *Ethelbald*, his second Brother *Ethelbert*, who had been join'd with him in the Government, succeeded in the whole Monarchy of *England*, which he rul'd with great Peace and Concord at home. But from abroad he was soon molested by the destroying *Danes*, who with a powerful Navy landed at *Southampton*, and took and plunder'd the City of *Winchester*. But in their Return to their Ships, they were met by *Osfrick* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwulf* of *Barkshire*, who put them to flight, and constrain'd them to abandon their Booty. Afterwards, taking a large Compass, they again enter'd the Isle of *Thanet*, and there took up their Winter Quarters. The *Kentish* Men being weary'd out with frequent Allarms, found themselves oblig'd to purchase their Peace by a Sum of Mony; but the Pirates under Pretence of receiving this Mony, and confirming the League, made an Excursion into the Country, and wasted all the Eastern Parts of *Kent*. Nevertheless the Inhabitants, by uniting all their Forces, expell'd these perfidious Wretches. About which Time King *Ethelbert*, after a worthy Reign of five Years, dy'd, much lamented by his Subjects, who honourably interr'd him at the Cathedral of *Sherburn*, by his Brother *Ethelbald*. A. D. 860.
Ethelbert sole Monarch.
The Danes again invade the Land.

The Death of Ethelbert.

5. E T H E L R E D I.

Ethelbert was succeeded in his Kingdom by his next Brother *Ethelred*, the third Son of *Ethelwulf*, whose Reign was more tempestuous than any before him, and was one continu'd Conflict with the Pagan *Danes*. In the Beginning of which a vast Army of these Ravagers, under the Conduct of *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two valiant Brothers, invaded the Nation, landed in *East-England*, and there wintering made a Truce with the Inhabitants, only with Design to obtain from them a sufficient Number of Horses for their Men. Being well furnish'd for a long Expedition, in the following Year they pass'd over the *Humber* as far as *Tork*, where the Civil Dissentions of the *Northumbrians* afforded them great Incouragement and Advantage. For they had lately depos'd *Osbert* their King, and had chosen *Ella* the Head of another Faction in his Room; but being at length rous'd by the common Danger, both Parties united, made Head against the *Danes*, and prevail'd; but too rashly pursuing them into *Tork*, then but slenderly walled, the *Northumbrians* were terribly slaughter'd both within and without, their two Kings slain, and the City burnt. The Remainder of the People made the best Terms they could with the Enemy; yet notwithstanding they were over-run, and the Country ravag'd as far as the River *Tine*, and *Egbert*, one of the *English* Race, appointed King over them. *Brompton* gives us this particular Occasion of the *Danes* marching to *Tork*; That *Bruern* a Nobleman, whose Wife King *Osbert* had ravish'd, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge the Injury: A remarkable Example, if the Truth were as evident. Being thus victorious, the *Danes* in the following Year pass'd over into *Mercia* and winter'd at *Nottingham*; which so allarm'd *Burhed* the King of that Country, with his Noblemen, that they implor'd the Assistance of our King *Ethelred*, with young *Alfred* his Brother. To which they readily A. D. 866.

The Danes arrive under Hinguar and Hubba.

They ravage all the North of England.

readily agreed; and assembling their Forces, together with *Edmund* King of the *East-Angles*, they join'd the *Mercians*, and offer'd Battel to the Enemy; but the *Danes* apprehending the Hazard, kept themselves within the Town and Castle; 'till the *Mercians*, weary'd out with Delays, came to Articles of Truce with them. Upon which the *Danes* abandon'd the Place, and return'd back to *York* with great Booty, where they continu'd about a Year, practising great Severities and Cruelties.

A. D.
869.

They make
great Devasta-
tions in Lin-
colnshire.

Winter being past, the *Danes* soon broke their Truce, pass'd over *Humber* into *Lindsey*, and landing at *Humberstone*, miserably wasted all the Country; and particularly destroy'd the famous Monastery of *Bardney*, killing all the Monks in the Church without Mercy. Having continu'd in those Parts all the Summer, and consum'd all Things with Fire and Sword, about the Feast of *St. Michael* they enter'd *Kefteren*, another Part of *Lincolnshire*, and there committed the like Ravages and Barbarities. At length the valiant Count *Algar* drew together all the Youth of *Hoyland*, now *Holland* in the same County, with *Wibert* and *Leofric* two Knights, who march'd at the Head of them, together with a brave Body of two hundred Men belonging to *Croyland* Abby, who were led by one *Toly*, then a Monk. These taking with them about three hundred courageous Men from *Deeping Langtoft* and *Baston*, to whom also join'd *Morchard* Lord of *Bourne*, with his strong and numerous Family, and being met by *Osgot* Governor of *Lincoln*, an old Commander, with the *Lincoln* Squadron, upon the Feast of *St. Maurice* they resolutely engag'd the Pagan Destroyers, kill'd three of their Kings, great Numbers of the Soldiers, and pursu'd the rest to their Camp. From the Death and Burial of these three Kings, the Village before call'd *Laundon*, was afterwards call'd *Trekingham*, and now by Corruption *Frekingham*. But the Night following, *Gothburn*, *Bafey*, *Osketil*, *Halfden* and *Hamond*, all five Kings, and as many Earls, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Frena*, *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from several Parts with great Spoils and numerous Forces, the greatest Part of the Christians, terrify'd with their Power, retir'd in the Night. The rest having early in the Morning heard Divine Service, and receiv'd the Sacrament, resolv'd to die for their Religion and their Country, and march'd directly against their Enemies. *Algar* drew up his Forces to the best Advantage, leaving one Part to Friar *Toly* and *Morcard* of *Bourne*, another to *Osgot* of *Lincoln*, and headed a third himself; and finding them much inferior in Number to the Enemy, he form'd them into the Shape of a Wedge, against the Archers setting as it were a Palisado of their Bucklers, and against the Violence of the Horse a Wood of Lances; in which Posture they kept unbroken 'till Night approach'd. The Enemy perceiving that neither their Archers nor Horse could do Execution, counterfeited a Flight, which occasion'd the *English* to break their Ranks and pursue, contrary to the Orders of their Commanders, so that they were easily broken and dispers'd with great Slaughter. The brave and renowned *Algar*, with his Commanders and a few Soldiers, clustering together upon a Hill, long sustain'd the Brunt of the Pagan Army, and seeing the stoutest Christians dead, they continu'd valiantly fighting over their Bodies, 'till with many Wounds they expir'd. Only a few young Men of *Sutton* and *Gedney*, casting away their Arms escap'd to the adjoining Wood, from whence with much Difficulty they reach'd *Croyland*, and brought the sad News of the Overthrow, as the Monks were at their Vespers. Not long after the *Danes* plunder'd and burnt the rich Abby of *Croyland*, and massacred all the Monks; from whence they march'd to the Monastery of *Medeshamsted* or *Peterborough*, where they did the like; and thence with innumerable Ravages they pass'd on to *Huntington*, then to *Grantebrig* or *Cambridge*, and then to the Isle of *Ely*, where they pillag'd and burnt that famous Monastery, and kill'd the Monks, with great Numbers of others who had retir'd thither for Security. After this they march'd into *East-England*, where meeting with Earl *Wulketule*, who made a vigorous Resistance, they cut him off with all his Army,

Then in Nor-
thampton,
Huntington,
Cambridge
and Suffolk.

Army, and winter'd at *Thetford*. Here the pious *Edmund*, King of the Country, opposing them, was put to flight, taken at *Heylesdune*, now *Hoxon*, and set up as a Butt to shoot at; where calling upon God, and professing himself a Martyr, he was first scourg'd, then shot through with many Arrows, and at length beheaded; the Place of his Burial being afterwards call'd *St. Edmund's Bury*. At the same Time *Dummoc* or *Dunwich* was also destroy'd by these Ravagers, and the Bishop's See was remov'd to *Helmham* in *Norfolk*.

King Edmund
martyr'd.

ax. An.
871.

The furious *Danes* having over-run *Northumberland*, *Mercia* and *East-England*, in the following Year bent their Course towards the *West-Saxons*, whose Territories had not felt the Effects of their Avarice and Cruelty, and who alone were in a Capacity to resist them: For the Monarchy not being completely establish'd, the Overturning of the Heptarchy had weaken'd all the other Provinces. Arriving at *Reading*, the *Danes* with new-Recruits and a mighty Force encamp'd between the Rivers *Thames* and *Kenet*, and sent two Earls to forage in the Country; but they were met by *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Berkshire*, who engag'd them at *Englesfeld*, kill'd one of their Earls, and obtain'd the Victory. Four Days after King *Ethelred* with his Brother *Alfred* gave Battel to the chief Body of the *Danes*, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* was slain, together with great Numbers on both Sides, and the *Danes* kept the Field. Yet the Advantage was not so great against the *English*, but in four Days after the King and his Brother appear'd again in the Field at a Place call'd *Escesdune*, or *Ashdoune*, where they engag'd on both Sides with their full Strength. The *Danes* divided their Army into two Bodies, the one led by *Bascail* and *Hulfden* their two Kings, the other by their Earls; and the first engag'd with *Ethelred*, and the latter with *Alfred*. In the former Body King *Bascail* was slain, in the latter the two *Sidrocs*, besides three other Earls, *Osbeorn*, *Frena* and *Hareld*; and both were put to flight, with the Slaughter of many Thousands; so that such a Victory had not been known for many Ages. Yet after this great Loss, within fourteen Days Time, being headed by *Agnere* and *Hubba*, they engag'd the King and his Brother at a Place call'd *Basing*, where they apparently gain'd the Advantage. Still the Loss sustain'd by the *English* could not be great, for about two Months after, they were so well recruited that they durst a third Time engage with the *Pagans* at *Merotune*, tho' lately reinforced, and divided into two Bodies, and in the same Posture they had formerly fought. Both these Bodies were put to flight, tho' for a great Part of the Day they kept the Advantage, and the Slaughter was great on both Sides; and yet the Annals tell us that the *Danes* remain'd Masters of the Field; so various was the Fortune of this Day, or rather so uncertain their Intelligence. Of all the Landings and Devastations of the *Danes*, from the Days of *Ethelwulf* 'till their two last Battels with *Ethelred*, or of their Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes or Earls, the *Danish* Historians of best Credit are wholly silent; so little Value they had for the Memory of their barbarous and inhuman Actions; unless we may suppose them, according to *Affer*, to have come from *Danubius*, or some other Parts, rather than *Denmark*. In the Summer, there happen'd a dreadful Plague, of which King *Ethelred* is said to have dy'd, after he had reign'd above five Years in great Reputation. He dy'd on the 23d Day of *April*, some say by the Wounds receiv'd in his last Battel; which seems to be confirm'd by an Inscription on his Tomb at *Winborne*, cited by Mr. *Camden*; but that being of a modern Date, the Authority of it is doubted by many.

A. D.
871.

The Danes
fight many Bat-
tels with Ethel-
red and his
Commanders.

The Death of
Ethelred.

6. ALFRED.

ax. An.
871.

III. The great *Egbert*, above forty Years ago, had begun and mark'd out the Way for the Monarchy of *England*, and like *Julius Caesar* founded it; but the full Establishment of it was left to his glorious Grandson *Alfred*, the youngest

A. D.
871.

Alfred the first
anointed King
of England.

He fights se-
veral Battels
with the Danes.

The Mercians
make Peace
with them.

A. D.
874.

Mercia farm'd
out by the
Danes.

Alfred mans
out a Fleet.

A. D.
876.

The Danes win
Northumber-
land.

youngest Son of King *Ethelwulf*, who like *Augustus* compleated it, and so firmly fix'd it, that it continu'd ever since. Notwithstanding his Reign was fill'd with infinite Troubles, and innumerable Molestations from the *Danes*, which sometimes reduc'd him to greater Exigencies, than had been known to any of his Predecessors. This Prince is by some said to have been first supreme Monarch of *England*, and by others the first King that ever was anointed in this Nation. He was couragious and brave, of a winning Behaviour and a charming Conversation, and a ready Wit and profound Wisdom. Being now twenty two Years of Age, he took Possession of the Kingdom not without Reluctancy, being justly apprehensive of the constant Invasions and barbarous Hostilities of the Pagans. And he had scarcely solemniz'd his Brother's Funeral, when in a Month's Time with an inconsiderable Army he was oblig'd to engage the whole Power of the *Danes* at *Wilton*; where at first by his Courage and Valour he forc'd them to fly, but at length finding the Number of the Pursuers to be small, they rallied, encounter'd the wearied *English*, and became Masters of the Field. And that it might not seem strange to any that the Numbers of the Christians were so small, *Aasser* and the Annals tell us, That in this one Year the *English* had been spent and weaken'd by eight or nine several Battels against the Pagans, besides innumerable Skirmishes; in which, tho' the *Danes* lost one King and nine Earls, or principal Commanders, yet receiving such frequent Recruits from beyond the Seas, whilst the *English* wanted that Advantage, it is no Wonder if they prevail'd. But now being tired with incessant Hostilities, this Year a Peace was made with the *Danes*, upon Condition that they should leave the Kingdom; which they for some Time observ'd, but to no great Effect. For the next Year the *Danes* having landed again, march'd from *Reading* to *London*, and there took up their Winter Quarters; where the *Mercians* were constrain'd to make Peace with them.

In the Summer following, these Rovers march'd Northwards, and winter'd at *Torksey* in *Lincolnshire*, where the *Mercians* gladly renew'd their Articles of Peace. Notwithstanding which, removing their Forces to *Rependune*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbyshire*, they there forc'd *Burhed* King of the *Mercians* to quit both his Kingdom and the Nation, and retire to *Rome*; leaving all his Dominions to their Possession. His Kingdom was farm'd out by the *Danes* to one of his Servants call'd *Ceolwulf*, upon Condition that he should restore it upon the same Time it was demanded. After which, these Pagan Devourers divided themselves into two Parties; one of which, under the Conduct of *Hafden* one of their Kings, march'd into *Northumberland*, where they winter'd by the *Tine*, subdu'd all the adjacent Countries, and wasted the Territories of the *Picts*, and the *Pictish Britains*. The other Party, commanded by *Cuthrun*, *Oskitell* and *Amund*, three other of their Kings, march'd directly to *Grantbrig* or *Cambridge*, where fixing their Quarters, for a Year they spread themselves like Locusts over all that Country. In the mean Time King *Alfred*, now perceiving that these Mischiefs at Land proceeded from the Enemies being Masters at Sea, mann'd out a small Fleet, designing to surprize these Pirates before their Landing; and meeting with seven of their Ships, they took one, and dispers'd the rest: A promising Success from so small a Beginning; for the *English* at that Time were but little experienc'd in Sea Affairs. The following Summer the *Danes* remov'd to a Castle of the *West-Saxons* call'd *Werhum*; where *Alfred*, whose Power had been much weaken'd, either by a wise Management, or as some say by Money, brought them to such Terms of Peace, that they swore the most solemn Oaths, immediately to depart the Land. But in a short Time, falsifying their Oaths, they with all their Horse got by Night to *Exeter*, and winter'd in those Parts. At the same Time *Hafden* their King had brought his Affairs to that Perfection in *Northumberland*, that he divided that Country amongst his Men, and began to cultivate it with Tillage. And it was in this Year, according to *Aasser*, that *Rollo* with his *Danes* or *Normans*, having winter'd

ter'd here in *England*, pass'd over the Sea, invaded *France*, and took Possession of all *Neustria*, since call'd *Normandy*, there reigning himself Fifty Years.

An. In the following Year, the *Danish* Fleet sailing or roving about the West, met with such a Tempest near *Swansich* in *Hampshire*, as overset an hundred and twenty of their Ships, and left the rest easie to be master'd by those Gallies, which King *Alfred* had plac'd there to guard the Seas. At the same time the *Danes* were besieg'd by the King's Troops in *Exeter*, and being humbled by the Loss of their Fleet, they offer'd sufficient Hostages, took several Oaths, and enter'd into new Articles of Peace. According to which Articles they left *West-Saxony*, and departed into *Mercia*, of which they divided part of it among themselves, and left the rest to *Ceolwulf* their substituted King. But notwithstanding all their Oaths and Obligations, in the Beginning of the next Year, they with a great Power enter'd into *West-Saxony*, and quartering at *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, wasted all the Country, forc'd many of the Inhabitants beyond Sea, and took Possession of the chief Parts of it: Insomuch that the King himself was constrain'd with a few of his Nobles, and with some Soldiers and Vassals, to retire among the woody and boggy Parts of *Somersetshire*, where he led a melancholy Life, in great Trouble and Scarcity, having no Provisions but what he could get by Incursions from the Pagans, or from those Christians who had submitted themselves to their Power. At length he was forc'd to take Lodgings with a poor Neatherd; where we are told that the Man's Wife reprimanded him for suffering her Bread to take Damage at the Fire, no ways supposing him to have been the Man who had fought so many Battels, and obtain'd so many Victories over the Pagan Power. His Retirement was so private, that neither his Friends nor Enemies could tell where he was; and all this Time his Royal Patrimony became a Prey, both to the *Danes* and the revolting *English*. And here performing an extraordinary Act of Charity, in the Time of his greatest Want, it is said that he receiv'd a Promise from Heav'n, by Way of Vision, that he should have a speedy Deliverance from all his Trouble and Afflictions.

m. Dnn. This began to appear in a short Time: For *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hinguar*, coming with twenty three Ships from *North-Wales*, where they had made great Devastations, landed in *Devonshire* near a strong Castle call'd *Kenwith*; where by the sudden Sally of the Garrison, they were slain with twelve hundred of their Men. This gave Encouragement to King *Alfred* to build a Fortrefs at *Athelney* in *Somersetshire*, in which he bravely defended himself and his Followers. And in seven Weeks Time he march'd from thence with his Subjects and Vassals there, to engage with the Pagans. And coming to *Ecbryt-stone* now *Brixstone*, he was met by the Inhabitants of *Wiltshire*, *Somersetshire* and *Hampshire*, who receiv'd their King with extraordinary Satisfaction, as one risen from the Dead. But finding the Enemy to be far superior in Numbers, and other Advantages, before he engag'd them, according to *Ingulph* and *Malmesbury*, he undertook a very uncommon Adventure; which was to take upon him the Form and Habit of an ordinary Musician, and with one Companion to enter the *Danish* Camp as a Spy. Here he became so acceptable by his Singing and Playing, that he was at length introduc'd to the King's Tent; and having there and in the rest of the Camp learnt as much as was convenient, he again return'd to his Castle at *Athelney*, where calling together all his Followers, he related the careless Condition of the Enemy's Camp, and with what Ease they might be destroy'd. Being thus encourag'd, they muster'd up all their Power, and being led on by a valiant King, at *Edendon* in *Wiltshire*, they engag'd the whole Forces of the *Danes*, and gain'd an intire Victory. They pursu'd them to one of their fortify'd Castles, where *Alfred* closely besieg'd them for fourteen Days; 'till being pinch'd with Famine, they were reduc'd to that Necessity, as to beg a Peace on Condition that the King should receive what Hostages he demanded from them, without deposing any himself. Upon which they made such a Peace as they had never done with any King before;

They suffer as Sea.

A. D.
878.

West Saxony submits to them.

Alfred driven to great Extremities.

He recovers.

Regains his Kingdom.

Routs the Danes.

for

for they not only swore that they would depart his Dominions, but also that *Guthram* their King should become a Christian; all which was perform'd about three Weeks after, when the said King with about thirty of his chief Nobility came to *Alrey*, where *Alfred* receiving him from the Font at his Baptism, became his God-father, call'd his Name *Atkelstan*, and took him for his adopted Son. Upon which, all the *Danes* retir'd from *West-Saxony* into *East-Sex* and *East-England*; which Countries were given them for Habitations by *Alfred*, as appears from the League made at that Time between that King and the *Danes*.

and makes Guthram their King a Christian.

Alfred encreases his Naval Forces.

A. D. 885.

More Danes arrive,

but without Success.

London recover'd.

Peace in the Land.

A. D. 886.

Alfred restores Learning.

Founds the University of Oxford.

During this Negotiation, another Swarm of *Danish* Rovers from beyond the Seas, sail'd up the *Thames*, and winter'd at *Fullingham*, now *Fulham*; but in the following Year, with another Body of their Countrymen, they pass'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, where their Conquests and Ravages shew'd that the *French* and *Flemish* were no more able than the *English* to defend themselves from these Pagan Invaders. In the mean time King *Alfred*, now at Peace and at Leisure, resolv'd to encrease his Naval Forces, and after three Years Diligence, he provided a considerable Fleet; with which he engag'd several of the *Danes*, and taking two of their Ships, he order'd the Men to be thrown over-board; and not long after he took two more, with two of their Princes, but not without some Loss. Two or three Years after another Fleet of *Danes* appear'd on these Seas, so large that one Part thought themselves powerful enough to enter *France*, while the other making up the Rivers *Thames* and *Medway*, besieg'd the City of *Rockester*, and having built a strong Fort before the Gates, from thence they attack'd the Place. But the Inhabitants made a brave Resistance, and held out against all their Forces, 'till *Alfred* himself came to their Relief, the Fame of whose Approach frighted the Besiegers to their Ships, who leaving all their Horses and many Prisoners, return'd to the Coasts of *France*. King *Alfred* having now reinforc'd his Fleet, resolv'd to suppress the *Danish* Pirates who then shelter'd themselves among their Countrymen in *East-England*, which occasion'd a Breach of the League between him and King *Guthram*; and this Design so prosper'd, that coming to the Mouth of the River *Stoure* by *Harwich*, they met with thirteen of their Ships, which came prepar'd by an Encounter, took them all and kill'd their Men. But growing secure upon this Success, and keeping in a careless Posture, the *Danes* with all the Naval Forces, engag'd them in their Return, and much diminish'd the Honour of their Triumph. In the following Year King *Alfred*, after so many Cities being burnt, and such dismal Destruction of People, not only took the City of *London* from the *Danes*, who had it long in their Possession, but he repair'd it, and restor'd it to its ancient Lustre; and then committed it to the Government of *Ethered* Earl of the *Mercians*, to whom he gave his Daughter *Ethelfleda* in Marriage. And now Affairs being brought to a better Order than formerly, all the *English*, namely the *Mercians* and *Kentish* Men, as also the *East* and *West-Saxons*, who before had been dispers'd, and made Prisoners by the *Danes*, return'd to their Habitations, and put themselves under King *Alfred's* Protection: And the King was now freed from the Insults and Incurfions of the *Danes* for about eight Years.

And now the Affairs of the Nation being brought to a peaceable Posture, the renown'd *Alfred* proceeded to many worthy Regulations, and to promote all Things that might tend either to the Honour or Advantage of his Subjects. Finding that in these Times Learning was at so low an Ebb in the Kingdom, that few on the South side of the *Humber* could read *English*, and scarce a Priest who could understand *Latin*, he order'd *Gregory's* Pastoral to be translated into *English*, and sent a Copy of it to every Bishop. And for the further Advancement of Knowledge, he sent into *France* for *Grimbald* and *John* the Monk, and into *Wales* for *Affer*, who read to him and wrote the History of his Life; all whom he plac'd at *Oxford*, where he founded that famous University in

in the Year 886, and erected three Colleges, one for *Grammarians*, another for *Philosophers*, and a third for *Divines*. For the Conveniency of Civil Government, this excellent Prince repair'd all his Cities and Castles, and built others in the most necessary Places, changing the whole Face of the Kingdom into a much better Form; and having walled several Towers and Castles, he made them defensible against all the Pagan Power. Nor was he less careful in the Political Affairs of the Nation; for many of his own Subjects, under the Name of *Danes* having committed frequent Spoils and Rapines, in order to restrain all Excesses, he first divided all the Provinces of *England* into distinct Counties, and those again into Hundreds and Tythings, as also Parishes; so that every legal Subject dwelling in some particular Hundred or Tything, if he was suspected of any Robbery, he was to be condemn'd or acquitted by the same Division. He divided the Governments of the Provinces into two Offices, into Judges whom we now call Justices of the Peace, and into Sheriffs, who still retain that Name. And by this King's Care and Industry, there succeeded so great a Tranquility throughout the Realm, that if a Traveller had lost a Bag of Money in the High-Way, he might have found it untouched the next Day. And others add, That tho' there were Gold Bracelets hung up at the Parting of several High-Ways, yet Justice was so strictly executed, that no Man durst presume to touch them. He was so exact and careful in doing Justice, that he frequently enquir'd after all the Judgments and Decisions of the whole Country made in his Absence, and very strictly examin'd the Equity of them; and if he found any Failure in the Sentences of his Judges, he demanded whether it proceeded from Ignorance or a corrupt Mind; if from the former, he reprov'd their Folly and Insolence in undertaking what they understood not, and commanded them either to quit their Places, or by Study and Books make themselves fit to answer the Ends of them: And it was wonderful to see so many illiterate Earls, Sheriffs and publick Ministers, apply themselves to laborious Studies, even in their old Age, rather than forfeit their Places and Reputations. This Prince's Laws, of which many were Ecclesiastical, were for the most part Collections from the Laws of *Ina*, *Osfa* and *Ethelbert*, to which some new ones were added. These are extant in *Lambard*, and one or two of the Secular Laws are observ'd among us to this Day: As particularly, That for Entailing Estates, 'They that had 'Book-Land, or Estates in Land that came to them, or pass'd by Deed from 'their Ancestors, could not sell or alienate it from their Heirs: And that for vouching of Things sold, &c. 'No Man's Horse or Oxe could be sold without a Voucher, one that should take upon him to make good the Sale, and the 'Thing sold according to the Bargain.

He divides the Nation into Counties.

His Care of the Publick.

His Laws.

And now after eight Years Intermision, the Kingdom became infested worse than ever by a fresh Invasion of the *Danes*; for vast Numbers of them being driven by the Emperor *Arnulf* out of *France* march'd Westward to *Boloign*; where taking Shipping in two hundred and fifty Vessels, together with their Horses, they arriv'd in the Mouth of the River *Limene* in *Kent*, near to the great Wood *Andred*, a Wood that extended an hundred and twenty Miles in Length, and thirty in Breadth. Into this Wood they drew up their Ships about four Miles from the River's Mouth, where they built a Fortrefs; and after them one *Haesten*, with eighty Vessels more enter'd the Mouth of the *Thames*, and built a Fort at *Midleton*, while these remain'd at *Apledore*. King *Alfred* to hinder this Storm that threaten'd his Kingdom, first resolv'd to prevent the usual Correspondence between new Comers and those already settled in the Nation, which had ever prov'd of pernicious Consequence. He strictly oblig'd the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and of *East-Sex* by an Oath of Fidelity, and receiv'd Hostages from them; and having gather'd together a considerable Power, he encamp'd himself between the Enemies two Armies, at such a Distance, as to be ready to attack either, in case they offer'd to remove; then dividing his Army into two Parts, one continually observ'd the Enemy's main

A. D.

893.

New Invasions of the Danes.

They are attended by Alfred.

M

Body,

Body, whilst the other remain'd ready to restrain such Parties as foraged in the Country. The *Danes* rang'd about 'till they came to *Essex*, and then again pass'd the *Thames* into *Surry*, where at *Farnham* King *Alfred's* Troops met them, and put them to flight. Their King was wounded, and with one Party staid behind, the rest cross'd the *Thames* into an Island near *Ceolne* or *Colebrook*; where the King's Army besieg'd them so long, that their own Provisions fail'd. In the mean Time the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, not able to hold their Hands while their Countrymen were enriching themselves with Booty, broke their Faith, and with an hundred Ships coming to the *East-Angles*, scour'd the Southern Parts, as they did with forty Vessels the Northern Coasts, and sailing about to the West, they went and invested *Exeter*. Upon which *Alfred* hasten'd with all his Army towards that City, only left a strong Party of *Welsh*, who marching to *London* join'd the Citizens and others from the West, and pass'd on Eastwards to *Beamsfleet*; where *Haesten* having built a Fort was himself gone out to forage, leaving a considerable Party to defend it. But the *English* soon cut this Party in pieces, plunder'd the Castle, took much Booty and many Prisoners, and either destroy'd all their Ships, or brought them up to *London* or *Rocheſter*. Among other Prisoners they took the Wife of *Haesten*, with his Sons, which so affected the Barbarian, that he begg'd Peace of the King, and gave an Oath and Hostages for his Peaceable Deportment. *Alfred* willingly set his Wife and his Sons at Liberty, to one of whom he himself became God-father, and Earl *Ethelred* to the other; and besides all, he generously bestow'd on him a large Sum of Mony.

They are wor-
sted.

Alfred besieges
them at Exeter.

But *Haesten* being return'd to *Beamsfleet*, could not restrain his ravenous Inclination, but without regard to his Reputation, proceeded to ravage all the adjacent Country; and joining with the other *Danish* Army, he built another Castle at *Shobery* in *Essex*. Then passing the *Thames* with such as join'd them from *Northumberland* and *East-England*, they press'd on towards the *Severn*, wasting all the Country as they march'd. In the mean Time King *Alfred* still carry'd on the Siege of *Exeter*, where the *Danes* being extremely distress'd with Famine, and having eaten many of their Horses, resolv'd to sally out and join with their Countrymen who lay encamp'd on the East Side of the River; but the King, with Loss of several considerable Men of his Party, defeated them, and oblig'd the Remainder to fly into *Essex* to their Ships and the Fort they had built in that Country. But no sooner was one Party suppress'd but another sprung up: For *Laf*, one of their Leaders, before Winter gather'd a strong Army out of *East-England* and *Northumberland*, and depositing their Wives, Ships and Goods into the Hands of the *East-Angles*, march'd Day and Night with such Expedition, that they came and took the City of *Wirheal* near *Chester* in the West, before the Pursuers could overtake them. And having wasted all the Country, the following Year they abandon'd the Place, and invaded *North-Wales*, from whence laden with Plunder they return'd into *Northumberland* and *East-England*; then proceeding into *Essex*, they seiz'd on a small Island call'd *Mercy*, and another Party returning by Sea from the Siege, landed upon the Coast of *Suffex*, where the Inhabitants of *Chichester* by a Sally slew many of them, and took some of their Ships. At the same Time such as had possess'd themselves of *Mercy* drew up their Ships some into the River *Thames*, and others into *Lee-Road*, on the Banks of which, the following Year they built a Fort about twenty Miles from *London*, at or near *Ware*. The Inhabitants of *London* looking upon this as a dangerous Curb, with other Assistants endeavour'd to demolish it, but were repell'd with the Loss of many Men, and amongst the rest, three of the King's Officers. Upon which *Alfred* in the Time of Harvest incamped nearer the City, to preserve the Reapers from the *Danish* Incursions; and riding on a certain Time by the River *Lee*, he discover'd a Way, by digging large Ditches, and dividing the Streams of the River, to cause the Enemies Ships to rest upon dry Land; which he attempted with such Success,

He dis-appoints
them at Ware.

cess, that the *Danes* perceiving they were not to be got off, suddenly sent away their Wives and Children into *East-England*, and march'd on foot as far as a Place call'd *Quatbrig* upon the *Severn*, where they built a new Fortrefs and winter'd. While the Citizens of *London*, with great Joy and Triumph brought such of the Ships as they could get off, into their own Road, and burnt or disabled the rest.

During these Wars and Calamities, there began a dreadful Pestilence, which continu'd three Years, and rag'd both amongst Men and Beasts. In which the King lost most of his choicest Nobility, as *Swithulf* Bishop of *Rochester*, and several great Earls; *Ceolmund* in *Kent*, *Brithulf* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, besides *Eadbald* Bishop of *Dorchester*, *Eadulf* the King's Officer in *Sussex*, *Beornwulf* Governor of *Winchester*, *Eigulf* Master of the King's Horse, and many others. This Disaster was attended by many Irruptions of the *Danes* inhabiting *Northumberland* and *East-England*, into the Territories of the *West-Saxons*, by means of their long Gallies, which they had built several Years before. To overmatch which King *Alfred* with great Charge and Industry order'd new Gallies to be built twice as long, higher and yet both swifter and steddier than them, some of sixty Oars, and some of more. At the same Time the Isle of *Wight*, the Coasts of *Devonshire*, and other Maritime Parts were severely infested by six *Danish* Ships which hover'd about those Quarters. The King by way of Experiment commanded some of these new Gallies to be mann'd out against them; which occasion'd a Fight partly by Water and partly by Land, manag'd with great Dexterity and Courage on both Sides. Two of the Enemy's Ships were stranded, one escap'd away into *East-England*, and all the rest of the Men were slain or taken Prisoners; but not without considerable Loss on the King's Side. The Prisoners were brought to the King at *Winchester*, where he commanded them all to be hang'd up as Pirates and common Enemies; and the same Year not fewer than twenty of their Vessels perish'd on the Southern Coasts with all the Men.

A. D.
897.
A great Plague

The Danes again worsted.

After these tempestuous Times King *Alfred* enjoy'd about three Years of Peace, which to his perpetual Renown he employ'd in the noblest Exercises, and after the most laudible Manner. And if we consider his whole Life, we very rarely find any that so admirably discharg'd all the Offices of a King and Christian; by whose Example it will appear that no Infirmary of Body, no Labour of Mind, nor no Disquiets and Dangers can excuse any from performing their Duties owing to God and Men. The perpetual Distractions, Cares and Anxieties in which he liv'd and reign'd have been already mention'd, yet his inward Grievs were as afflicting as his outward Molestations, for scarcely one Day from his Infancy 'till he was forty five Years of Age, was he free from extraordinary Pains, and unaccountable Distempers in his Body. Yet in the midst of an infirm and shatter'd Body, he shew'd a courageous and heroick Mind, which even in his most debas'd Condition prov'd a continual Terror to his Enemies. His personal Valour was amazing, and his Actions in the Camp continually surprising; and in his Reign he fought with the *Danes* fifty six set Battels by Sea and Land, of which eight happen'd in one Day; so that by his wonderful Courage and Conduct, he so waited their Forces, tho' they still came in fresh and vast Numbers, that they were constrain'd to give what Hostages he demanded, and submit to such Conditions as he thought fit to impose. In the midst of all the Disturbances and Distractions of his Life, he order'd the Matters of State concerning his Kingdom, practis'd all the Art of Hunting, instructed all his Gold-smiths and Artificers, contriv'd new Buildings more magnificent than any of his Predecessors, he himself being the Inventor and Architect, read many Books, and saw that others did the like. He was constantly present at Divine Service, read Psalms or Prayers, and alone in the Night Time when all others were at Rest, he frequented Churches and perform'd his Devotions; he oversaw the Distribution of Alms to the Poor and Strangers, set himself to the

The excellent Management and Virtues of Alfred.

searching of the Causes of unknown Things, and in all these Employments, and during his most afflicting Pains, he behav'd himself with incomparable Affability and Pleasantness to all Men. Many *Franks, Frisians, Galls, Pagans, Britains, Scots* and *Armenians* voluntarily became his Subjects, as well Noble as Ignoble, all whom he lov'd, honour'd and reliev'd according to their several Qualities and Conditions. He constantly and attentively heard Sermons either from Strangers or his own Chaplains; and most affectionately lov'd his Bishops, the whole Clergy, his Earls and Nobles, his Servants and Familiars. He took personal Care of such of their Sons as were at Court, no less than of his own Children, instructing them himself Night and Day in good Manners and Literature. And notwithstanding his incessant Care, and vast Improvements that he made in himself and others, his Humility was so great, that he frequently bewail'd his Condition both to God and his familiar Friends, that he was destitute of Divine Wisdom, and of the Liberal Arts.

The Distribution of his Time and his Revenues.

No Prince in the World was ever more nicely careful of the two precious Things in Man's Life, his Time and his Revenue, and no Man wiser in the Management and Disposition of both. As to his Time, by Day and Night, he divided it by the Burning of certain Tapers into three equal Portions: The one was allotted for Devotion and God's Service, another for the Ministration of publick and private Affairs, and the third for Sleep and necessary Refreshment; and how each Hour pass'd, he was continually put in mind by one who had that Office. As to his Revenue, for the Management of that, he commanded all his Annual Income to be divided into two equal Parts; the first of which he appointed to Secular Uses, and subdivided it into three Portions. The first Portion was appointed to pay the Wages of Soldiers, his choicest Ministers, and those who by their Turns attended him in his Court: For of such he had three Divisions, each waiting their Month, and then resting two at their own Homes, return'd to their former Monthly Service. The second Portion was assign'd to Workmen and Architects, of whom he constantly employ'd great Numbers of all Nations. The third Portion was kept in readiness to relieve or honour Strangers according to their Worth and Quality, who came from all Parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal Part of his annual Revenues was with a most free Will devoted to the Service of Almighty God; and he caus'd it to be divided into four Portions. The first of which he bountifully confer'd upon such Poor as flock'd to him out of all Nations. The second bestow'd on two great Monasteries, which he caus'd to be built at *Ethelingsaeg*, and at *Scyftesburg*. The third went to a famous School which he had erected for the Instruction of the Nobility of his own Nation, said to have been at *Oxford*, but *Affer* names no Place. The fourth was bestow'd on the Monasteries round about in *West-Saxony* and *Mercia*, and some Year by Turns to the Churches and Servants of God in *Britain, Cornwall, Gall, Armorica* and *Northumberland*; and also in *Ireland* he either according to his Ability sent Relief, or resolv'd to do it, as Opportunity and his Incomes would permit. Many more Excellencies might be related of this admirable Prince, but we shall dismiss this Subject with that Character given him by a great Man, who upon a due Consideration of all Things thus breaks forth. 'O *Alfred*, the Wonder and Astonishment of all Ages! If we reflect upon his Piety and Religion, it would seem that he had never gone out of a Monastery: If on his warlike Exploits, that he had liv'd no where but in a Camp: If on his Writings and Studies, that he had spent his whole Life in an University: And lastly, if we regard his Administration of the Affairs of his Kingdom and Subjects, one would think that his whole Time had been employ'd in nothing else but enacting Laws, and promoting Justice in his Tribunals and Courts.

The Sum of his Character.

His Death.

At length being arriv'd at the fifty first Year of his Age, God was pleas'd to remove this Great Man, after a tumultuous yet glorious Reign of twenty nine Years and above six Months, in the Year 900, and upon the 25th Day of *October*.

ber. His Body was first bury'd at *Winchester*, next remov'd into the Church of the new Monastery; and lastly his Body, Monument, Church and Monastery were all remov'd without the North Gate of the City, since call'd *Hide*.

7. E D W A R D the Elder.

Sax. An.
Malmsh.

IV. The Sorrow occasion'd by the Loss of King *Alfred* was much alleviated by the Succession of his eldest Son Prince *Edward*, a Person highly promising in all his Actions; who tho' he was inferior to his Father in Learning and Abilities, yet he afterwards far exceeded him in Power and Grandeur, enjoying the Benefit of those Labours which his Father had sustain'd. But the Beginning of his Reign was much disturb'd by the Pretensions of his Cousin *Ethelwald*, who is said to have been Son to his Father's Elder Brother *Ethelred*, who was his immediate Predecessor in the Kingdom. However his Title was thought sufficient, if he could find Power to support it; accordingly he seiz'd on two Towns call'd *Winburn* and *Twecanam*; in the former of which he fortify'd himself, declaring he would live or dye in that Place. But his Resolutions were of small Advantage, for the Memory of King *Alfred* was so dear in those Parts, that the Inhabitants would admit of no Successor but his Heir. King *Edward*, assur'd of their Fidelity, led an Army to a Place call'd *Baddanbryg*, not far from *Winburn*; which so terrify'd his Rival *Ethelwald*, that notwithstanding all his boasted Valour and Constancy, he fled out of the Town by Night, and got to *Northumberland*, where he join'd with the *Danish* Army, and was acknowledg'd as King of *England*: King *Edward* commanded some to pursue him, but not reaching him, he caus'd his Wife to be seiz'd, who being a profess'd Nun, and taken out of the Monastery without Leave from the King or Licence from the Bishops, he return'd her to the Profession and Place from whence she came. Thus King *Edward* repell'd *Ethelwald* without Fighting; and the *Kentish* Men the following Year, at a Place call'd *Holme* fought successfully against a Multitude of *Danish* Pirates. In the mean Time *Ethelwald* pass'd from *Northumberland* into *France*, where being reinforc'd by the *Normans*, he return'd the next Year into *England*; and joining with great Numbers of *Danes* inhabiting *Northumberland*, *East-England*, and other Places, he invaded *Mercia* with Fire and Sword, as far as *Cirekelade* in *Wiltshire*. Then passing over the *Thames*, he wast'd all Places, as well within *Bradene* as the adjacent Parts, and so return'd. King *Edward* with what Forces he could raise hasten'd after them, and laid waste all their Lands lying between *Decil's Ditch* in *Cambridgeshire* and the River *Ouse*, as far as the Marshes and Fens. Thinking it convenient to return, he gave Orders that his whole Army should decamp and march together; but the *Kentish* Men, careless of themselves, staid a while behind, by which Delay of theirs, and being separated from the King's Forces, the *Danes* were encourag'd to give the King Battel, which was very obstinate and bloody on both Sides. The King lost the Earls *Sigulf* and *Sigelm*, with many other of his Nobles, and the *Danes* their King *Eatrick*, *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with a greater Number than the *English*, tho' they had the Honour of keeping the Field. This Battel was fought in the Year 905, but we know not the Effect of it, but only in the second Year after, a Peace was concluded between King *Edward* and the *Danes* of *East-England* and *Northumberland*, at a Place call'd *Ityngasford*, which lasted for the Space of three Years.

A. D.

900.

Edward succeeds.

Ethelwald his
Kinsman rebels.

who flies and
joins with the
Danes.

They ravage
the Nation.

A Peace con-
cluded.

Sax. An.
&c.

At the End of which Time, the Peace was broken, tho' the Annals say not by whom; but *Hoveden* charges all upon the *Danes*, who he says prevaricated with the King, and thereupon he sent an Army of *West-Saxons* and *Mercians* into *Northumberland*, which in five Weeks made great Devastations, kill'd great Numbers of the *Danes*, and compell'd them to renew the Treaty they had lately

A. D.

910.

which is broken.

lately broken. But in the following Year they broke this also, and furiously invaded *Mercia*, where they were met by the *English* at *Teoten hale*, or *Tetnal* in *Staffordshire*, and overthrown. King *Edward* was then in *Kent*, and had gather'd together about an hundred Sail of Ships, besides such as were sent to the Southward and met him at Sea. The *Danes* imagining that he had shipt off the Majority of his Forces, took the Liberty to rove about beyond the *Severn*, and wherever else the Hopes of Booty could invite them. Whereupon King *Edward* sent the lightest of his Army before, to divert the Enemy 'till he could come up; and then following with the main Body, he ingag'd them in their Return at *Cantbridge* in *Glocestershire*, where he gave them a memorable Defeat. The Annals relate, that many thousands of them were slain, together with *Eowd* their King; but *Huntington* mentions two other Kings, *Haldene* and *Eolwulf*, besides *Uther* a Consul, and eight other Noblemen, whose barbarous Names may without any Loss to the Reader be omitted. In the following Year *Ethered* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred* had given *London* with his Daughter *Ethelfled* in Marriage, now dying, King *Edward* resum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the adjoining Countries into his own Hands. And in the Year after, he built by his Soldiers, or much repair'd the Town of *Hartford* on either Side of the *Lee*, and leaving a sufficient Number at Work, he march'd about the Middle of Summer with the other Part of his Forces into *Essex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Soldiers built *Witham* in the same County; where a considerable Part of the Country, formerly subject to the *Danes*, yielded themselves to his Protection. And now reigning in Peace, about the Year 915, he took care for the Restoration of the University of *Cambridge*, as his Father had done for that of *Oxford*: And by the Assistance of Pope *John* and Arch-Bishop *Plegmund*, and by the Advice of all the Bishops and chief Men of his Kingdom, he confirm'd to the Doctors and Scholars of this University, as also to their Servants, all the Privileges which had been granted by himself or his Predecessors, to endure for ever by a perpetual Right, as appears by the Copy of a Charter still extant.

The Danes receive a great Defeat.

A. D.
912.

Edward restores the University of Cambridge.

A. D.
917.

The valiant Acts of Ethelfleda Sister to King Edward.

Her Buildings.

About two Years after, the *Danes* from *Northampton* and *Leicester*, broke the Peace by a furious Inroad made into *Oxfordshire*, where they committed all Kinds of Rapine, and made great Slaughters; while another Party with less Success march'd into *Hartfordshire*, where the Inhabitants, now sufficiently inured to such Allarms, bravely resisted them, repell'd them and recover'd the Booty they had taken, and made themselves Masters of their Horses. During these Contests *Ethelfleda* the King's Sister, and Relict of *Ethered* Duke of *Mercia*, having Charge of that Country, behav'd her self as she had done continually in her Husband's Time, with such uncommon Courage and Conduct as she became a mighty Help to her Brother in his Wars, and nobly defended all those who were under her Care. But the *Britains* who were Neighbours to the *Mercians*, disdain'd to be check'd and restrain'd by a Woman, were so hardy as to make some Incurfions into the *English* Territories. She to divert and chastise them, sent a Party into *Wales*, which easily defeated the *Welch*, took the Castle of *Bricnam-mere* by *Brecknock*, and besides thirty four other considerable Captives, brought away that King's Wife Prisoner into *Mercia*. In the following Year this valiant Woman bravely attack'd the Town of *Darby* then in the Hands of the *Danes*, took it by Storm, after they had refus'd Battel in the open Field, and then subdu'd all the Country round, tho' with the great Hazard of her Person, and the Loss of four of her best Officers who were slain at the Entry of the Gate. After this Victory she conquer'd *Leicester* with the greatest Part of the *Danish* Army that lay in those Parts; and also those of *Yorkshire* promis'd Submission and all good Deportment. But this Virago is not only celebrated by all Writers for taking of Towns and Castles from the Enemy, but also for repairing and building many others in the *English* Territories: As particularly *Chester*, *Tamworth*, *Leichfield*, *Stafford*, *Warwick*, *Shrewsbury*, *Wedensbury*,

Hunting.
Ingulf.
&c.

Wedensbury, Eadsbury, Finborow, Rimcorne, Brimsbery, Brigge, and several others: And generally such as were repair'd by her had formerly by her Valour and Conduct been wrested out of the Hands of the Enemy. At length after eight Years Government of *Mercia*, this renown'd Lady dy'd at *Tamworth* in *Staffordshire*, and was bury'd in the Porch of St. *Peter* in *Glocester* by her Husband. *Huntington* further writes, that she was reported to have been of so great Power, that by some she was not only call'd Lady and Queen, but King also, out of Admiration of her Abilities. She left only one Child, a Daughter nam'd *Alwina*, for she became so affected with the Pains of Child-bed at her Birth, that she would never more accompany with her Husband. To which Passage *Ingulph* adds, that in respect of the Cities she built, the Castles she fortify'd, and the Armies she manag'd, it might have been thought that she had chang'd her Sex. She made her Daughter her Heir, but King *Edward* so far understood his Interest, that within a Year he sent for his Niece into *West-Sex*, and took all *Mercia* into his own Hands.

Her Death.

Edward seizes on Mercia.

Sax. Ann.

But to return back to this Prince, and his Affairs: The Year after the Taking of *Darby*, a new Fleet of *Danes* from the Southwards arriv'd at *Lidwic* in *Devonshire* under the Conduct of two Commanders call'd *Ottor* and *Roald*. Sailing Westward round the Land's End, they enter'd the Mouth of the *Severn*; where landing, they ravag'd all the Coast of *Wales*, and coming to *Irchenfield*, they took *Kuneleac* a *British* Bishop Prisoner, for whose Ransom King *Edward* afterwards gave Forty Pounds. As they proceeded, the Inhabitants of *Herefordshire* and *Glocestershire*, with some others, oppos'd their Progress, and put them to flight, killing their Captain *Roald*, with the Brother of *Ottor*, and many others: And pursuing them to a Wood, they there besieg'd them 'till they gave Security for departing out of the King's Dominions. In the mean Time the King hover'd with his Army between *Severn* and *Avon*, so that they durst not touch upon these Quarters, except twice in the Night Time, and then they came home short, being all cut off except some that by swimming escap'd to their Ships. The rest being almost famish'd in a small Island, remov'd from Place to Place, 'till at length they pass'd over into *Ireland*; and this was the Issue of this Invasion, when the Country enjoy'd a Breathing Time from these Calamities. The Pirates being departed, King *Edward* the better to secure himself against the Attempts of their Countrymen inhabiting about *Bedford* and in *Buckinghamshire*, who were always ready to join with fresh Comers, led his Army to *Buckingham*, where he continu'd a Month, and order'd Forts to be erected on each Side of the River *Owse*. This Management so curb'd the Power of the *Danes*, that many of them submitted themselves, particularly *Turkitel* a Commander, together with most of the considerable Men about *Bedford*, as also several about *Northampton*. This encourag'd the King to go down the following Year to *Bedford*, which being yielded to him, he continu'd there about a Month, and took care for the Building a *Burh*, as the Annals call it, on the South Side of the River *Owse*, which Townlet was in the *Saxon's* Time call'd *Mikegate*. The following Year, a little before Midsummer, he went again to *Maldon*, where he built another *Burh*, and fortify'd the Town. And now *Turkitel* the *Dane* finding he was like to have but small Success in this Nation, while the King so wisely and industriously manag'd his Affairs, got leave with as many Volunteers as would follow him, to pass into *France*, where he knew his Countrymen might find him Employment. The King still pursu'd his Designs and Business, and to add to his Strength, he re-edify'd *Torcester* in *Northamptonshire*, and caus'd it to be fortify'd, and likewise built and fortify'd a Place call'd *Wigingmere*, now *Wigmore* in *Herefordshire*.

The Danes decline.

Edward increases in Strength.

Sax. Ann.

While King *Edward* was buied about the Fortifications of *Wigmore*, the *Danes* of *Northampton* and *Leicester*, being apprehensive of the Inconveniency of so many strong Towns, laid Siege to *Torcester*. But after a Days vigorous Resistance, and Supplies coming in, they left the Place by Night, and being pursu'd

A. D. 921.

The Danes still
in the Ground.

Most of them
submit to the
King.

The East-An-
gles freed from
their Yoke.

purfu'd and surpriz'd between *Burnwood* and *Aylesbury*, they lost many of their Men, and much of their Baggage. About the same Time the *Danes* of *Huntington*, judging their Fortrefs not proper for their Purpose, demolish'd it, and erected another at *Temesford* in *Bedfordshire*, by the Assistance of their Countrymen in *East-England*. From thence they made Excursions to *Bedford*, in hopes of recovering that Town, but the Garrison sally'd out, and repell'd them with a great Slaughter. After which they rais'd a greater Army, both out of *East-England* and *Mercia*, which in a short Time fate down before *Wigmore*, but after one Days Trial, they were oblig'd to depart, with what Booty they could get out of the Country. Upon these Acts of Hostility many of King *Edward's* Friends gather'd themselves together, and uniting their Forces, besieg'd the new Fort at *Temesford*, which they took by Storm, after a vigorous Resistance; in which they slew the *Danish* King, the two Earls *Toylea* and *Mannan*, with all the rest in the Place, who chose Death rather than Submission. Incourag'd by this Success, the Inhabitants of *Kent*, *Surrey* and *Essex*, with several from other Parts, went and laid Siege to *Colchester*, and so bravely carry'd on their Attacks, that in a short Time they took the Place, and put all the *Danes* to the Sword, except such as had the good Fortune to escape over the Walls. To the Relief of these great Numbers of *Danes* inhabiting the Ports and other Towns in *England*, united their Forces; but coming too late, they pleas'd themselves with the Hopes of revenging the Injury upon *Maldon*; but that Town being timely reliev'd, they departed, not only with the Loss of their Design, but also of many Thousands of their Men. King *Edward* being jealous of their Countrymen hasten'd this Summer with an Army of *West-Saxons* to *Passham* upon the *Ouse*, where he continu'd 'till *Torchester* was encompass'd with a Stone Wall. Which had such an Influence upon the *Danes* in those Parts, that *Thurfert* an Earl, with the Lords of the neighbouring Towns, and all their Army as far as *Hampton* North of *Weolind* came and submitted to him. Now the King's Forces desir'd to return home, yet Part of them were order'd to *Huntington*, where they repair'd the Breaches and fortify'd the Town; upon the Sight of which, all the People of those Parts submitted, and desir'd the King's Protection. In the same Year he march'd with his *West-Saxon* Forces to *Colchester*, where repairing and fortifying that Town, all the People of *East-England*, living under the *Danes*, together with the *Danish* Army, as well by Sea as by Land, swore Obedience to him, and to observe his Commands. The *Danish* Army at *Cambridge* also surrender'd themselves, and took the same Oath. By this Means King *Edward's* Power and Dominions were not only enlarg'd, but also all the *East-Angles* were freed from the Tyranny of the *Danes*, who had kept them in Subjection for about fifty Years, ever since the Death of King *Edmund*; whose Body was this Year remov'd from *Hoxon* in *Suffolk* to *St. Edmund's Bury* in the same County.

A. D. 922. The following Year still added to King *Edward's* Greatness and Sovereignty; for coming to *Stamford* and erecting a Castle on the South Side of the River, all the Inhabitants in those Parts acknowledg'd him their supreme Lord. At the same Time his Sister *Ethelfleda* dying, as we have formerly mention'd, all *Mercia* was reduc'd to his Power; which was immediately follow'd by the Submission of *Howel*, *Cledanc* and *Jeothwell* the petty Princes of *North-Wales*, with all the Northern *Britains*, who put themselves under his Protection. After this the King visited *Nottingham*, which he repair'd, and plac'd both *English* and *Danes* in it, of which two Nations, all inhabiting *Mercia* now became his Subjects. And to pursue and compleat his good Fortune, the next Year he march'd with an Army to *Tethwall* in *Cheshire*, where he took Care for the building and fortifying that Town. While he continu'd there, he sent for another Party of Soldiers out of *Mercia*, and order'd them to repair and fortifie *Manchester* in *Lancashire*. The next Year King *Edward* to secure all about him went down with an Army to *Nottingham*, where he order'd a Borough to be

be built on the South Side of the River over-against it, and a Bridge to be made for Intercourse between them. From thence he march'd as far as the Territories of the *Picts*, to a Place call'd *Bedecanwillan*, where he commanded a Town to be built and strongly fortify'd. Upon which the King of the *Scots* chose him for his Lord and Patron, together with the *Scotish* Nation it self, as likewise did *Regiwald* the Son of *Eadulf*, and all the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, *English* and *Danes*, in the North as well as in the Southern Parts, as also the King of the *Britains* call'd *Straetgledwalli*, with all his Subjects. These are the great Atchievements of King *Edward* as they are summarily set down in the *Saxon Annals*, which shew his Power so great, that none of his Predecessors extended his Dominions to such a Proportion. By *Malmesbury* we are told that as it were to compleat his Grandeur, a little before he dy'd he reduc'd the Inhabitants of *Chester* and the Country about it, who having conspir'd with the neighbouring *Britains* had attempted to shake off the Yoke; but he by his Diligence prevented their Forces joining, and by the Terror of his Name soon constrain'd them to submit themselves. And thus after a fortunate and triumphant Reign of about twenty four Years, this great Prince dy'd at *Farrington* in *Barkshire* in the Year 924, and was bury'd in the Monastery at *Winchester* by his Father; leaving behind him a numerous Issue of five Sons and nine Daughters.

The King of the Scots and several others submit.

Edward's Greatness.

His Death.

8. A T H E L S T A N.

V. Of the five Sons that King *Edward* left behind, three ascended the Throne and became Kings of *England*, viz. *Athelstan*, *Edmund* and *Edred*. *Ethelward* was nearer than all the rest, but dying a few Days after his Father, he made way for the Succession of *Athelstan*, who tho' the Eldest, and legitimated as it were by the after Marriage of his Mother, yet being born of a then Concubine, could hardly have obtain'd the Crown during the Life of *Ethelward*. Concerning the Birth of this Prince, *Malmesbury* and *Brompton* have this peculiar Story: That in the Reign of King *Alfred*, when his Son *Edward* was young, in a Village of the *West-Saxons*, the Daughter of a Shepherd by Name *Edgina*, had a Dream that the Moon shone out of her Womb so bright, that all *England* was enlighten'd by the Splendor of it: Which being told to a grave Matron, who had been Nurse to several of the King's Children, she took her into her House, and educated her as tenderly as if she had been her own Daughter, instructing her to demean her self as might become a Person both of Birth and Breeding. In process of Time, Prince *Edward*, the King's eldest Son, occasionally passing through the Town, thought himself oblig'd in Civility to visit his Nurse; which brought him to a Sight of this beautiful Maid, whose Charms so captivated his Affections, that he was incessantly importunate to lye with her. His Desire being at length obtain'd, *Edgina* prov'd with Child, and being deliver'd of a Son, in respect to her former Dream, *Edward* gave him the Name of *Athelstan*, which signifies *The most Noble*. But how uncertain soever his Birth was, he prov'd an excellent Governor; and now being thirty Years of Age, he ascended the Throne by the Consent of all the Nobility, and was crown'd at the Royal Town of *Kingston* upon *Thames*, not without the Predestination of his Father by his last Will and Testament. By his own Pregnancy and Education he had arriv'd to many noble Qualifications of Mind, suitable to the Dignity of his Employment; and his Grandfather *Alfred* is said to have presag'd to him a fortunate Reign, being much enamour'd with his excellent Behaviour and his beautiful Features. When he was very young, he conferr'd on him the Honour of Knighthood, by investing him with a Purple Robe, a Belt adorn'd with Gems, and a Sword of the *Saxon* Fashion put in a golden Scabbard; and caus'd him to be educated in the House of his

A. D. 924.

The Birth of Athelstan.

He is crown'd King.

renowned Daughter *Ethelfleda*, and her valiant Husband, that he might be train'd up in such Actions as might render him fit for that good Fortune and Condition which the Hopes conceiv'd of him did portend.

He is opposed by
Alfred.

The Deferts of this Prince, and the general Affection of the People were not effectual to prevent all Inconveniencies proceeding from the Condition of his Birth. One *Alfred* made a considerable Opposition against the Choice, as of an illegitimate Person, and conspired with his Accomplices to seize him in the City of *Winchester*, and to put out his Eyes. But the Plot was happily discover'd, and *Alfred* denying it utterly was sent to *Rome*, there to purge himself before the Pope; where coming to take his Oath before the Altar of St. *Peter*, he fell down, and being carry'd by his Servants to the *English* School, he dy'd three Days after. By reason of this Accident the Pope would not dispose of his Body, but sent to know the Advice of King *Athelstan*; who being prevail'd upon by the Friends of *Alfred*, consented that he should have Christian Burial, tho' his whole Estate was adjudg'd confiscate for his Treason. Such good Fortune had *Athelstan* against this Domestick Enemy. In other Places he found little Trouble, except on the North Side of the *Humber*; where *Inguald*, one of the *Danish* Kings, seiz'd on *York*, and *Sithric* the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*, who formerly had kill'd his Brother *Niel*, by Force made himself Master of *Davenport* in *Cheshire*. *Malmesbury* says that *Sithric* was a Barbarian both in Mind and Nation, that he was Kinsman to *Guthram* so remarkable in King *Alfred*'s Reign, that having proudly contemn'd the Power of former Kings, now humbly desir'd the Alliance of *Athelstan* by Messengers, whom he himself follow'd to make good what they had petition'd on his Behalf. *Athelstan* found him a Person so considerable, that he gave him his Sister *Edgitha* in Marriage, upon an Agreement that he should be first baptiz'd. Not long after *Sithric* dy'd, and was succeeded in his Kingdom by *Godefrid* his Son; but King *Athelstan* thought fit to dispossess him, and reduc'd all *Northumberland* to his own Dominions, to which he might lay Claim, both by an ancient Right, and a new Alliance. From which gaining of the Kingdom of *Northumberland* we may observe, That as King *Edward* had before conquer'd the *Danes* of *East-England*, and had also added *Mercia* to his own Kingdom; so King *Athelstan* by the Expulsion of King *Godefrid*, who was also of the *Danish* Race, became the first King that ruled all *England*, without any King under him. And by his Conquests and Acquisitions, this Prince justly deserv'd the Title of first Monarch, tho' his Modesty occasion'd him to wave it, leaving it to his younger Brother *Edred*, who was the first King that assum'd it.

Northumber-
land added to
Athelstan's Do-
minions.

A. D.
934.

He invades
Scotland.

Upon the Reduction of *Northumberland*, *Godefrid* fled into *Scotland*, and his Brother *Anlaf* into *Ireland*; and the former was shortly follow'd by Ambassadors from King *Athelstan* to *Constantine* King of the *Scots*, who demanded the Fugitive to be deliver'd up, upon the Peril of a speedy War. Some write that a War did really commence which *Athelstan* carry'd on with numerous Forces both by Sea and Land, and drove his Enemies before him by Land as far as *Dunfeodor* and *Merlermore*, and by Sea as far as into *Cathness*. But *Malmesbury* affirms, that not daring to displease him, both *Constantine* and *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland* readily came to a Place call'd *Dacor*, where they deliver'd up themselves and their Possessions into the Hands of the King of *England*, who became God-father to the Son of *Constantine*, now order'd to be baptiz'd in Testimony of the Agreement. But while they were preparing for their Journey, *Godefrid* escap'd, and travelling into several Parts with one *Turfrid*, at length gather'd some Men together, and laid Siege to *York*, where he us'd all verbal Methods to induce the Inhabitants to yield, but not prevailing, he retir'd, and was shortly after taken with *Turfrid*, and imprison'd in a Castle, from whence by deluding their Keepers they made their Escape. *Turfrid* not long after was shipwreckt and drowned at Sea; *Godefrid* after having endur'd much Misery, came in a suppliant Manner to the King's Court, who kindly receiv'd him;

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but after he had been generously treated for four Days, he suddenly retir'd to his Ships, and his old Employment of Piracy. In the mean Time King *Athelstan* demolish'd a Castle which the *Danes* had fortify'd at *Tork*, and carefully divided the large Booty he found in it among his Soldiers: For this Prince was so liberal, that he never hoarded up Money for himself, but bestow'd what fell to him, either among his faithful Servants, or upon Monasteries,

But now a great Tempest began to gather against him in the North, where *Constantine* King of *Scotland*, exasperated by the late Invasion, join'd with *Anlaf* from *Ireland*, and engag'd *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, with great Forces rais'd out of several Nations summon'd to their Assistance. After four Years Preparations they invaded *England* by the River *Humber*, and pass'd up the Country to a Place call'd *Brunanburg* in *Northumberland*; *Athelstan* purposely giving way to obtain better Advantage against them. *Anlaf* perceiving the Valour and Resolution of *Athelstan*, and fearing his own Forces tho' numerous, resolv'd first to spy out the Posture of his Enemies: And following the Example of King *Alfred* in the last Age, in the Habit of a Musician, by his Harp and Voice he got Admittance into the King's Tent, where he plaid the part both of a Spy and a Singer. Being dismiss'd in the Evening with a Reward, while he was viewing the King's Tent, and the Avenues to it, he was observ'd by one who had been his Soldier and well knew him; who upon acquainting the King with it, and being blam'd for letting such an Enemy escape, answer'd, *That he had first given his Military Oath to Anlaf, and if he had betray'd him, the King might have justly suspected him for the like Treason.* But as an Instance of his Fidelity he advis'd him to remove his Tent, which prov'd very seasonable; for a Bishop with his Retinue coming immediately after, and pitching his Tent in the same Place, was the first that lost his Life in the Night Time. For *Anlaf* chose rather by Night to surprize his Enemy, than fairly to give them Battel in open Field by Day Light; and accordingly he fell suddenly upon the *English*, and kill'd the Bishop who came but that Night to the Camp, which causing a great Tumult, the King, tho' a Mile off, and his whole Army took the Alarm, and by Day Light came to the Place of the Slaughter, where they found the Assailants tired and disorder'd by their late Travel, and for want of Sleep. King *Athelstan* with the *West-Saxons* met with *Anlaf* himself, and *Turketul* his Kinsman and Chancellor with the *Londoners* and *Mercians* engag'd *Constantine*; which occasion'd vast Bloodshed on both Sides. The Dispute continuing hot and violent, by reason of the Multitude of the Barbarians, *Turketul* took with him a select Body of *Londoners*, and a valiant Captain call'd *Singin*, and with them rush'd into the Middle of the Enemies, where he hewed down whole Ranks of Men on both Sides of him. He bravely pass'd through the Heaps of *Orcadians* and *Picts*, bearing a Wood of Darts and Arrows on his Breast Plate, and breaking in upon whole Companies of *Cimbrians* and *Scots*, he at length reach'd *Constantine* himself, whom he dismounted, and would have taken alive; but the *Scots* were so concern'd for their King, that they made a very dangerous Resistance, and many of them pressing upon the few *English* that follow'd him, and all aiming chiefly at *Turketul*, he began to repent of his Rashness, seeing no Means of escaping or getting off his Prisoner; when on a sudden *Singin* coming in afresh to his Rescue, kill'd King *Constantine*. And now their King being slain, the *Scots* were so discourag'd, that they soon retir'd; and the Report flying about the Army, *Anlaf* and all his Followers fled, after an incredible Slaughter of *Danes* and *Scots* upon the Place. This Battel, which prov'd highly to the Honour and Advantage of *Athelstan*, was fought from Morning 'till Night, and was the bloodiest that ever had been known in *England*; in which *Ingulph* assures us, that besides *Constantine*, five other Kings were there slain, twelve Earls, and an infinite Number of the inferior Sort. *Turketul*, who had gain'd so much Honour, not long after, leaving all secular Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland* in *Lincolnshire*, which at his own Charge

A. D.

938.

England invaded by the Scots and others.

Whence a bloody Battel ensued.

Which adds much to the Fame of *Athelstan*.

he had repair'd from the *Danish* Ruins, and there left the Memorial of his former Actions.

All Kings seek Alliance with him. This Victory added vastly to the Reputation of King *Athelstan*, and the Fame of it flying through all Christendom, all Kings were ambitious to obtain his Friendship, and on any Terms to make Alliance with him. *Henry* the Emperor sent Ambassadors to desire one of his Sisters in Marriage for his Son *Otho*; *Hugh* King of *France* requested another for his Son; and *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitain* begg'd the like Favour for his own Person. With these Ambassadors were brought such rich and noble Presents as had never been seen in the *English* Nation, as rich Perfumes, Gems, Horses of the finest Breed with golden Furniture, Vessels of Onyx, and other most rare and precious Things, besides the most valuable Reliques in those Times. All which were kindly receiv'd by King *Athelstan*, who under the Conduct of *Turketul* and his greatest Courtiers sent four of his Sisters, who, as *Ingulph* says, for Chastity were superior to *Diana*, and for Beauty exceeded *Helena*. The two Eldest were marry'd to the Emperor's Son and another great Prince of his Court, and the two Youngest to the Kings of *France* and *Aquitain*; and the King's Courtiers return'd home loaded with noble Gifts, who to the meanest of them were richly presented. The Renown of *Athelstan* being so great abroad, nothing could withstand him at home, where soon after his Success in the North against the *Scots*, he with his Brother *Edmund* invaded *Wales*, and with great Ease reduc'd *Ludwal* their chief King to Subjection. Then causing all the petty Kings of *Wales*, as well as *Ludwal*, to meet him at *Hereford*, under the Name of Tribute he impos'd on them a yearly Payment of twenty Pound Weight of Gold, 300 of Silver, 25000 Beeves, and as many Hounds and Hawks as he should demand. Moreover because in the Western Parts towards *Cornwall* the *Britains* and *English* dwelt confusedly together, which bred Dissentions, and frequently drew the Affections of the *English* from their Prince, he expell'd all the *Cornish Britains* out of *Exeter*, and other Parts of *Devonshire*; tho' they had formerly dwelt there in equal Right with the *English*. And to their Country of *Cornwall* he fix'd certain Limits, dividing it from *Devonshire* with the River *Tamar*, as he bounded the other Northern *Britains* with the River *Vaga* or *Wey*.

His Laws. Thus dreaded at home and fear'd abroad King *Athelstan* liv'd in Peace for near three Years; during which Time he made several Laws, by the Advice of his wise Men and chief Commanders, for the preserving of Quiet, and the Government of his Country. The Substance of these, as well as those of his Father *Edward's*, are extant to this Day; among which were establish'd the Price of Murder or Man-killing, from the King to the Peasant; the Punishment of which at that Time was only Pecuniary, not Capital or by Death, which because it makes out the peculiar Usage of those Times, we shall recite in particular. The Price of the King's Life by the Common Law of the *English* was 30000 Pieces of Silver call'd *Thrimsa's*, suppos'd to be about three Shillings a Piece; whereof one Half was paid to the King's Relations, and the other Half to the Nation or People. The Life of an Arch-Bishop or Earl was valu'd at 15000 *Thrimsa's*, to be divided as the former: The Life of a Bishop or Alderman at 8000: The Life of a Field-Marshal, Knight-Marshal, or General, at 4000: The Life of a *Mafs-Thane* or Priest, and a Secular or World-*Thane*, at 2000: And the Life of a Peasant or Countryman at 267 *Thrimsa's*. King *Athelstan* still liv'd in great Glory and Renown; and among the foreign Princes that paid their Respects to him, *Harold* King of *Norway* sent him a Ship whose Stern was of Gold, and the Sails of Purple, besides other rich Presents; and his Ambassadors were nobly rewarded by the King at *York*. At length in *November* 940 this great Prince ended his Days at *Glocester*, and was bury'd with many Trophies at *Malmesbury*, after he had reign'd fifteen Years and odd Months. This Prince's great Actions are only fully'd by the Death of his younger Brother *Edwin*, of whom some Writers tell us, That King *Athelstan* being jealous

His Grandeur and Death.

of his Virtues, left being added to his Birthright, might some Time call in question his Illegitimacy, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea; others say he was expos'd with one Servant in a rotten Bark without either Sail or Oar; where the young Prince in a desperate Condition threw himself into the Sea; but the Servant more patient recover'd Land, and reported the Event. But this Story is disbeliev'd by *Malmesbury*, by reason of his great Kindness to his other Brothers and Sisters, and says that it was only to be found in the Songs of former Ages, and in no good Author. And *Huntington* mentions the Loss of *Edwin* by Sea, but speaks of it as of a sad Accident, and a great Misfortune to King *Athelstan*; so that we need not trouble our Reader with more Particulars in this Matter. Yet we cannot finish this Reign without taking some Notice of another Romantick Story mention'd by *Bromton* and other Modern Writers, That in this King's Reign, at the Time of a great Invasion by the *Danes*, one *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* returning from the Holy Land in the Habit of a Pilgrim, at a Time when *Athelstan* was in great distress for a Champion to fight *Colebrand* a monstrous *Danish* Giant, who in Behalf of the *Danes* had challeng'd any Person the *English* should bring into the Field; *Guy* accepted this Challenge, and without being known to any but the King, fought the Giant near *Winchester*, and kill'd him, and the *Danes* yielded the Victory; while *Guy* privately retir'd to a Hermit's Cell near *Warwick*, and there ended his Days.

*Guy Earl of
Warwick.*

9. EDMUND.

The great *Athelstan* was succeeded in his Throne by his Brother *Edmund*, who tho' but a Youth of eighteen Years of Age, was not inferior to him in Courage and Bravery. As an Instance of his Power, in the second Year of his Reign he invaded *Mercia*, and freed that Province from the Authority of the *Danes*, from whom he took the five Cities of *Leicester*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford* and *Darby*, where they had been plac'd by his Father King *Edward*; but at this Time it was not thought convenient that they should continue. For from what *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, it appears that he had Matter of Jealousie and Provocation from those *Danes* who inhabited *Northumberland*, whose King, *Anlaf* by Name, wasted the Country from *York* Southwards to *Northampton*, but was stopt in his Progress by King *Edmund* near *Leicester*. Here Peace was made between them by the Intervention of two Arch-Bishops, *Odo* and *Wulstan*, which was enobled by the Conversion of *Anlaf* himself, to whom King *Edmund* was God-father, who also not long after receiv'd *Reginald*, another King, from the Hands of the Bishops at Confirmation. At the same Time their Territories were bounded North and South by *Watling-street*. But this Treaty continu'd not long in Force; for in two Years Time King *Edmund* invaded their Dominions, and drove both *Anlaf* and *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, reducing the whole Country to his own Subjection. Not long after he harra's'd *Cumberland*, and gave it to *Mulcolm* King of *Scotland*, upon Condition that he should assist him in all his Wars both by Sea and Land. *Matth. Westminster* adds, tho' with no great Probability, that King *Edmund* having by the Assistance of *Lewellyn* Prince of North *Wales*, conquer'd *Cumberland*, he not only depriv'd *Dunmaile* of his Kingdom, but also his two Sons of their Eye-sight.

A. D. 940.
Edmund succeeds.

*He gains many
Advantages.*

During the Time of Peace, *Odo* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* set forth divers Canons, in the second of which he admonish'd the King and the Nobility, that they obey'd their Arch-Bishops and Bishops with all Humility. The King also by the Advice of his Bishops and Lay Nobles, commanded and established many Laws, of which several were purely Ecclesiastical. And to shew his Love to God, and Bounty to his Church, he gave the Town of *St. Edmund's Bury*, with the Liberties thereof, wholly to the Martyr of that Name, and to the Monks

A. D. 944.
He makes several Laws.

Monks that liv'd by serving at his Altars; and likewise he added many Privileges and Advantages to the Abbot and Monks of *Glassenbury*. Thus did King *Edmund* flourish, still giving Hopes of greater Actions to be perform'd by him, when in the Height of the Expectations of his Friends, and his own Confidence, a venturous Act cut him off, and a strange Accident depriv'd the People of their Prince. The Year that follow'd the Conquest of *Cumberland*, the King solemnly kept the Feast of St. *Augustine*, with many of his Nobility, at a Place now call'd *Puckle-Church* in *Glocestershire*. As he sat at the Table with his Guests, he espied one *Leof* a notorious Robber, who for his Crimes had been banish'd by the King six Years before. Being enrag'd at the Man's Boldness of appearing there, without considering his Royal Dignity, he arose from the Table, ran furiously upon *Leof*, caught him by the Hair, and pull'd him to the Ground. The Robber expecting nothing less than Death, resolv'd not to dye unreveng'd, but pulling out a short Dagger, gave the King a Mortal Wound in the Breast, whilst he lay upon him with his full Weight. The Company being vastly surpriz'd at the Accident, immediately surrounded the Murderer, and cut him in pieces, who yet like a wild Beast at Bay made a furious Resistance, and before he was kill'd wounded several of the Assailants. This was the strange End of King *Edmund*, after he had reign'd in great Reputation six Years and six Months. His Body was bury'd at *Glassenbury*, where St. *Dunstan* was then Abbot; and the Town where he was kill'd was bestow'd on the same Monastery to sing Masses for his Soul. This happen'd in the Year 946.

His strange
Death.

10. E D R E D.

A. D. 946. Tho' King *Edmund* left two Sons by the Queen his Wife, namely *Edwi*^{Sax} and *Edgar*, yet his youngest Brother *Edred* succeeded him in the Throne, and ^{Sim} was unanimously crown'd at *Kingston*. The Course of his brave and pious ^{&c.} Actions sufficiently shew'd that he did not degenerate from his Ancestors; and he was the very first King of *England*, who in Writing stil'd himself *King of Great Britain*. In the first Year of his Reign he subdu'd all *Northumberland*, which was frequently revolting by the Practices of its petty Princes; in which Action he gain'd such an extraordinary Reputation, that the *Scots* swore Obedience to him to will whatsoever he should will, as the *Saxon Annals* express it. But the *Northumbrians* ever unfaithful, now also shew'd the Unsteadiness of their Disposition. They recall'd *Anlaf*, and set him up for a considerable Space; and after that they chose one *Eric* the Son of *Harald*, a *Dane*, for their King, against whom *Edred* enter'd *Northumberland*, and having wasted the Country, return'd to the South. In his Retreat *Eric* boldly fell upon his Rear, which engag'd him to face about, and prepare to charge the pursuing Enemy; which so discourag'd the *Northumbrians*, that dreading to prove what they had sufficiently experienc'd, they threw off *Eric's* Authority, kill'd *Arnanc* the Son of *Anlaf*, with great Presents appeas'd King *Edred*, and submitted themselves to his Government. And now quitting the Administration of their petty Kings, *Northumberland* was thenceforth govern'd by Earls, of which one *Osulf* is reported to be the first. In this late War *Wulstan*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, sided, or at least conniv'd, as *Malmesbury* words it, with his Compatriots in their Revolt, for which he was committed to Prison, where having continu'd a considerable Time, he was at last pardon'd and releas'd, out of Respect to his Gown and Function. As *Edred* thus proceeded to equal the Worth of his Predecessors, he was seiz'd with a languishing Distemper, and being admonish'd by the Abbot *Dunstan* of his approaching Death, he did not only bear that Affliction with Patience, but spending his Time in Acts of Devotion, made his Palace a School of all Virtues, and being at length consum'd by a tedious Sickness, departed this Life on the Feast of St. *Clement*,

His Successor.

His Death.

ment, in the very Flower of his Age, to the great Grief of his Subjects, after a Reign of nine Years and six Months.

II. EDWI.

VI. After the Death of *Edred* the Succession naturally fell to *Edwi*, the Eldest Son of King *Edmund*, who now advancing towards Man's Estate, was unanimously admitted King, and crown'd at *Kingston*. He was now about fourteen Years of Age, and was so extraordinary fair and comely, that he obtain'd the Sirname of *Pancalus*, or *altogether Fair*; which Youth and Beauty unhappily expos'd him to the Arts and Allurements of loose Persons. Most Writers give him the Character of a dissolute Prince, and that he gave very great Offence to the Nobility by his inordinate Behaviour on the very Day of his Coronation. At that Time there was a Lady in his Court nearly related to him, who tho' very handsom her self, had a Daughter far exceeding her in Beauty, by Name *Algiva*: Which Mother and Daughter, by their unchast Deportment, had so insinuated themselves into his Favour, that he could neither be at Rest, nor dispatch any publick Business without them. The Ceremony of the Coronation, and the Dinner being over, he suddenly withdrew himself from the venerable Assembly of his Prelates and Nobility into the Chamber of these Women, where he cast himself upon a Bed between them. This was highly resented by the Lords, but none durst adventure to bring him back but *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glasfenbury*, and *Kinsl* Bishop of *Lichfield*; who boldly enter'd the Chamber, and finding the Crown laid aside, and the Wearer of it in the Arms of two Concubines, *Dunstan* sharply rebuk'd the Women, gently reprehended the King, beseech'd him not to put so great an Affront upon his Nobility, and notwithstanding his and their Threats, he pull'd him from them, set the Crown upon his Head, and brought him back almost by Force into the Assembly.

This unusual Way of Proceeding with a crown'd Head had many mischievous Effects; and the Women transported to all the Degrees of Malice and Revenge, resolv'd to procure the Ruin of *Dunstan*, which they so far effected, that the King caus'd all the Wealth of his Monastery to be seiz'd, and banish'd him into *Flanders*; nay so great an Aversion he conceiv'd against Men of his Profession, that all the Monks were reduc'd to a low Condition in his Reign; and *William* of *Malmesbury* complains, that his Monastery, which for 270 Years had been inhabited by Monks, *was now made a Stable of Clerks*. He and others concern'd for a Monastical Life relate this Story with sharp Reflections upon his Person, which some others do more indifferently; however he was but a Child, and consequently liable to be seduc'd by the Charms of Women, and the Conceit of his Royal Authority, which he look'd upon as uncontrollable. At length Arch-Bishop *Odo* excommunicated him, and pronounc'd a Separation or Divorce between him and his beloved *Algiva*; and the People so resented the Indignities offer'd to the Church, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up his younger Brother *Edgar*, leaving to him the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, the ancient Patrimony of his Family. As for the two Ladies *Odo* was not satisfy'd with exercising his spiritual Jurisdiction in cutting them off from the Body of the Church, but by the Council and Assistance of the Nobility, he caus'd *Algiva* to be drawn out of the Court, contrary to the King's Will and Pleasure: And the Severity ended not here; for after that they added Marks of Scorn, defacing her Beauty by hot Irons, and laming her by cutting the Sinews of her Hams; after which they banish'd her into *Ireland*. *Edwi* having been King near four Years, and finding that he wanted Power and Interest to revenge himself, dy'd after two Years State of Excommunication. His Death happen'd in the Year 959, and his Body was interr'd in the new Monastery at *Winchester*.

A. D.
955.

Edwi, a dissolute Prince.

He is a great Enemy to the Ecclesiasticks.

He is excommunicated.

Part of his Subjects revolt.

Edwi's Death.

12. EDGAR.

12. E D G A R.

A. D.
959.

Edgar the great
Monarch of
England.

He prepares
vast Fleets.

All Nations
come under his
Protection.

He reforms
many Vices and
Irregularities.

The Death of King *Edwi* immediately made way for his Brother *Edgar*,^{Malm.} who peaceably ascended the Throne, and became Monarch of all *England* at sixteen Years of Age; which Title he bore after an uncontrollable manner, and with a better Colour, and a greater Appearance than any of his Predecessors. His whole Reign was a continual Calm, without Wars or Dissentions, so that he obtain'd the Surname of *Peaceable*; all which he supported by an extraordinary Care and Vigilance, and with no less Majesty and Authority. His Actions, tho' not without some Mixtures of Vice, were generally noble, politick and pious, and his Government was attended with great Glory and Prosperity. Shortly after his Advancement, in an Assembly held at *Branford*, he revok'd all the unjust Decrees of his Brother *Edwi*, and took care to put his Adultress to Death, and for the recalling of the famous St. *Dunstan* with great Honour, whom he first made Bishop of *London* and *Worcester*, and soon after Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. This Prince understood and practis'd the true Interest of his Country, which was to make good Laws, and to be Master at Sea; and was so wise as to know, that it was better to hinder the Invasion of an Enemy, than to suffer his Kingdom to be the Seat of War, which would naturally bring Devastation and Poverty, and make the Conqueror himself a Loser. Upon which Account he with great Diligence and Expence fitted out three vast Fleets, and was the first King of *England* who was truly Lord of our Seas. For every Summer, says *Malmesbury*, immediately after *Easter*, he commanded his Ships from each Shore to rendezvous at a convenient Place, and usually sail'd with the Eastern Fleet to the Western Parts of the Island; then sending that back, he sail'd with the Western Fleet to the Northern; and thence with the Northern, he remov'd to the Eastern Coasts, sailing in this manner quite round the Isle. In all which Voyages he was very diligent to prevent the Incursions of Pirates, and courageous in the Defence of his Kingdom against Foreigners, and no less careful in the training up his Subjects for Military Employments. Each of these Fleets, as we are assur'd, consisted of 1200 Ships, and each of considerable Bulk for those Times; so that the whole Number must amount to 3600 Sail, as some of our Authors expressly affirm, but others say 4000 Vessels; and there are some who add a fourth Fleet to these three, by which means the Number will be increas'd to 4800 Sail, as may be seen in *Matthew Westminster*.

These numerous Fleets added much to the Fame and Grandeur of this Prince,¹⁸ gave a rise to that Right so long claim'd by the Crown of *England* to the Dominion of the Sea, and so clear'd the Northern World from Rovers and Pirates, that all Traders were ambitious of putting themselves under his Protection. This, and the Encouragement given to Foreigners, caus'd great Numbers to come over from *Saxony*, *Flanders*, *Denmark* it self, and other Places. But *Malmesbury* says that their Arrival was a great Detriment to the Natives of this Island, 'who from the *Saxons* learnt Rudeness and Fierceness, Effeminateness 'from those of *Flanders*, and Drunkenness from the *Danes*; being before free from those Vices, contented with a natural and innocent Simplicity, and not addicted to admire the Customs and Fashions of other Nations. But still King *Edgar* was very diligent in suppressing these Vices, and particularly that of Drunkenness, which the *Danes* had introduc'd with such mischievous Effects; upon the Account of which he order'd Silver or Golden Pins to be fix'd to the Sides of their Pots or Cups, beyond which it was unlawful to drink themselves, or cause others to do the same. And because the Lives of the Secular Clergy became more and more luxurious and scandalous, he in a severe Oration to them openly display'd all their loose and scandalous Actions and Vices, and at length committed the Care of their Reformation to *Dunstan* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

bury, *Ethelwold* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, with Order that by his regular Authority, and their Episcopal Censures, the impious Seculars might be ejected, and the virtuous Regulars restor'd to their Monasteries. That Justice might be done in all Parts of his Kingdom, in his frequent Circuits and Progresses through the Country, he took a special Account of the Actions and Demeanor of his Ministers and Judges, so that the greatest Person could not evade the Law, nor the Poorest want the Benefit of it. With the Corruptions and Vices of these Times, he also extirpated the wild Beasts, by imposing upon *Ludwal* King of *Wales* an annual Tribute of three hundred Wolves, which so destroy'd them in three Years Space, that in the fourth there was none to be found.

For the Support of his Grandeur, and towards the sustaining of the Charge of his Navies, this Prince had at once eight petty Kings, who being his fiduciary Clients or Vassals, were by Oath bound to be ready at his Command, and to serve him both by Sea and Land; which Oath they took at *Chester*, where he had order'd them to meet him, as he sail'd about the North of *Britain* with a great Fleet. Their Names were *Kened* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland*, *Maccure* King of the Isles, with five of *Wales*, namely *Dufval*, *Griffith*, *Hurwald*, *Jacob* and *Judehil*; who all meeting him at his Court of *Chester*, to set forth the Splendor and Greatness of his Dominions, he went into a Gally, and caus'd himself to be row'd by these eight Kings on the River *Dee*, whilst he himself held the Steerage, and was waited upon by all his Dukes and Nobility in another Barge. In this pompous Manner he was carry'd to the Monastery of *St. John Baptist*, where an Oration being made to him, he in the same State return'd to his Palace; and being arriv'd there, he is said to have declar'd to his Nobles about him, *That his Successors might then boast themselves to be truly Kings of England, when they should like him be attended by so many Kings his Vassals.* King *Edgar* did not long out-live this Act of Ambition; tho' some say this was but the Epilogue of a more pompous Solemnity, being the same Year publicly crown'd in the City of *Bath*, with an infinite Confluence of all Sorts of People. This Ceremony, according to some, was omitted 'till the fifteenth Year of his Reign, when he was thirty Years of Age, out of Penance for some former Sins; tho' others are of opinion, that it was this Year only repeated, a Thing not very unusual among the Kings of *England*. In this or the next Year, according to *Ingulph*, dy'd *Swovebing* a Monk of *Croyland*, in the 142d Year of his Age, and shortly after him another in the 115th; which being in a most fenny and waterish Air in *Lincolnshire*, is so much the more remarkable. About the same Time dy'd the famous *Turketul*, who from Chancellor to King *Athelstan* chose to become Abbot of this Place, and repair'd and much enrich'd the Monastery, after it had been ruin'd by the *Danes*; and he was the first that by adding to the two great Bells of that Abby six more, made the first tuneable Ring of Bells in *England*.

He is attended by eight Kings.

A. D. 973.

His Coronation.

The first Ring of Bells in England.

The Story of Edgar's Marriage with Elfrida.

Notwithstanding the many just and honourable Actions of King *Edgar*, this Prince was not without remarkable Stains, especially in relation to Women; which are acknowledg'd by Authors most favourable to his Memory. Of which we have this memorable Instance: *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire* had a Daughter nam'd *Elfrida*, so celebrated for her extraordinary Beauty, that the very Flame of her warm'd the King's Affections into the Passion of Love; and to be assur'd of the Truth, he sent over *Athelwold* his Secretary and Confident, resolving to marry her himself, if she was found as beautiful as was reported. *Athelwold* at the first Sight of her was so captivated with her Looks, that he conceal'd his Message, and resolv'd to obtain her for himself; which being with no Difficulty effected, he vilify'd her to the King as a Woman of very ordinary Features, and of so small a Stature, as would dishonour his Royal Bed; by which means he marry'd her with the King's own Consent, whose Thoughts he now diverted by other Objects. But at length *Athelwold's* Enemies discover'd

discover'd the Intrigue, and inform'd the King of the whole Deceit; and the more to exasperate him they omitted no Words that might describe the wonderful Beauty of the Lady. Upon which, the King being inwardly inflam'd, resolv'd by another Stratagem to over-reach this Deceiver; and the better to effect it, he with a pleasant Air told him that he would at a set Time give him a Visit, and see whether his Lady was as fair as Fame had represented her. This unexpected Design so exceedingly struck him, that he earnestly begg'd of *Elfrida* to consult his Preservation, by putting on her worst Cloaths, and deforming her self by what other Means she thought best. She was now sensible that instead of a King she had marry'd a Subject; and this rais'd such a Female Indignation in her, that against the coming of King *Edgar* she dress'd her self after the most glorious and charming manner that Pride and Resentment could possibly invent. This had such powerful Effects upon the King, that his Love being the more kindled by being so long defrauded, he for a Pretence appointed a Day of Hunting in a Place now call'd *Harewood* Forest, where he found an Opportunity to compleat his Revenge, and to slay *Athelwold* with a Dart. The Earl's natural Son coming after the Fact was committed, and viewing his Father's Dead Body, the King sternly demanded of him *How he lik'd this Game?* To whom he calmly reply'd, *That whatsoever pleas'd the King, ought not to displease him;* with which Answer the King's Fury was so appeas'd, that he ever after highly favour'd this Youth, and endeavour'd to expiate the Crime committed upon the Father, by the Kindness shew'd to the Son. The King immediately after marry'd the fair Widow, and caus'd her to be crown'd Queen, tho' much against the Consent of Arch-Bishop *Dunstan*, who never would see her; and she to make the usual Amends for Murthers and other horrid Crimes committed, built a Nunnery in the Place where her Husband was slain.

He is addicted
to Women.

Another Thing laid to this Prince's Charge is, that he took a Virgin nam'd *Wilfrida* by force out of a Nunnery, where she had been plac'd by her Friends to avoid his unlawful Pursuit, and kept her as his Concubine: But for this he was so penitent as to submit to a seven Years Humiliation impos'd by St. *Dunstan*, without the wearing of his Crown. There was another Story of the King, which shew'd him to have been more constant to his Love, than could be expected from a young amorous Man with Sovereign Authority. Coming to *Andover*, not far from *Winchester*, he attempted to enjoy a certain Duke's Daughter highly celebrated for her Beauty, and commanded her to be brought to his Bed. The Mother of the Lady not daring directly to deny him, yet abhorring to be subservient to her Daughter's Infamy, resolv'd by the Favour of the Night to deceive him; and accordingly sent one of her waiting Maids in her room, who was not unhandsom, nor wanted Address towards the making of her Fortunes. For as soon as it was Morning, she made an Offer to rise, which causing the King to ask, *Why she would make such haste from him,* she answer'd, *That she could no longer have the Happiness of his Company, because her Lady had set her some Work to finish.* This extreamly startled the King, who imagin'd that he had the Duke's fair Daughter in his Arms; and while he continu'd silent, she with the utmost Tenderness besought him to set her free from the cruel Service of her Lady, as a Recompence for her lost Virginity. The King, confounded at his Disappointment, was for some Time divided between Compassion for the poor Maid, and Anger at his being abus'd; but at length he turn'd it all into a Jest, set her free, carry'd her along with him, and lov'd her to that Degree, that he kept himself to her alone, till he marry'd the above-mention'd *Elfrida*. These were the Stories commonly related of King *Edgar*, which undoubtedly would have been much aggravated by the Monks, had he not oblig'd them by building so many Monasteries, to the Number of near fifty; which indeed prov'd one great Occasion of the *Danes* conquering *England*, for by these means he exhausted the Treasury, and gave great Portions of Lands for the Maintenance of the Monks, who refus'd his Son *Ethelred* Assistance according

to his Necessity. However *England* highly flourish'd under his Government, and his Reign was more splendid and magnificent than any of his Predecessors or Successors. As to his Person, he was both low and slender, yet so well proportion'd, that he often chose to contend with such as were thought strongest in his Court; and dislik'd nothing more than that they should spare him out of Respect, or Fear of hurting him. And he was so warm and courageous in his Temper, that when *Kened* King of the *Scots* was jestingly heard to say in his Court, *That he wonder'd how so many Provinces should be govern'd by such a little Man*, it so fir'd his Mind, that immediately sending for *Kened* as for some private Business, he drew him out into a secret Place, and taking out two Swords, which he had brought under his Garment, he gave one to *Kened*, declaring, *Now it should be try'd who ought to govern, and who to obey; for it was a Shame for a King to be forward in a Feast, and backward in a Fight*. *Kened* much confounded, fell at his Feet, begg'd Pardon of him, and declar'd, *That he had spoken indiscreetly, but no ways intended to his Dishonour or Detraction*; with which the King was satisfy'd. After this great Prince had reign'd sixteen Years and two Months, he dy'd in the thirty second Year and Flower of his Age, on the eighth Day of *July*, and the Year 975. His Body with all Funeral Solemnity was bury'd in the Abby of *Glassenbury*.

His Character.

and Death.

13. EDWARD the Younger.

msb.
Dun.

VII. After the Death of the great *Edgar*, the Kingdom was soon brought into a declining and dangerous Condition; and with him dy'd all the Glory and Power of the *English Saxon* Nation, which in less than one Age after sustain'd the Miseries of many Invasions, and a double Conquest. Nor was the Succession determin'd without Faction and Disturbance; for having two Sons by two several Wives, the great Men of the Kingdom became divided, Arch-Bishop *Dunstan*, and all the rest of the Bishops being for Prince *Edward*, his eldest Son, while Queen *Elfrida*, Widow to the King, and many of her Party, were for setting up her Son *Ethelred*, then about seven Years of Age; raising some Scruples, and objecting against the Legitimacy of Prince *Edward*, as if King *Edgar* had not been lawfully marry'd to his Mother. Whereupon the Arch-Bishops, *Dunstan* and *Oswald*, with the Bishops, Abbots, and many of the Nobility, met together in a great Council, and chose Prince *Edward* King, as his Father had ordain'd by his last Will and Testament; and being thus advanc'd, they immediately anointed and crown'd him at *Kingston*, he being then but a Youth of fifteen Years of Age. Shortly after this King's Coronation, dreadful Comets appear'd, which were Forerunners, if not Portenders, of the Miseries of the Nation; being immediately succeeded by Barrenness of Ground, Famine amongst Men, Death of Cattel, with other Calamities. Among the Troubles of this Reign none prov'd of more pernicious Consequence than the Factions between the Monks and Secular Priests, which were begun in King *Edwi's* Days, and now being unhappily reviv'd extended themselves to the Nobility, many of whom sided with each Party. *Dunstan* with the Bishops and Monks firmly adhered to King *Edward*, the Seculars and the other Party favour'd Queen *Elfrida* and her Son *Ethelred*; and many of the Nobility and great Men expell'd the Abbots and Monks which *Dunstan* had plac'd in Monasteries, and brought in the Secular Clerks or Priests with their Wives; all which were done by the Force of Arms. To appease these Tumults, and to end the Controversies between the Monks and the Seculars, several Synods or Councils were summon'd, particularly one at *Winchester*, and another at *Caln* in *Wiltshire*. That at *Winchester* ended with confirming the Monks in their Possession, being mov'd to it by a Voice from a *Crucifix*, that pronounc'd in favour of them. But this being justly look'd upon as an imposture, the Synod of *Caln* was conven'd, where while the Dispute

A. D.
975.

Edward chosen
King.

Many Calami-
ties.

Great Contro-
versies between
the Monks and
Seculars.

continu'd violent, the Room where they met suddenly fell down, kill'd several, and wounded others; but *Dunstan* strangely escap'd upon a Beam, which some alledg'd was supported by a Miracle: Which Accident in a great measure quieted the Controversie, and brought both Parties to join with *Dunstan* and the Monks.

King Edward
stab'd.

In the mean Time King *Edward* kept to a quiet and undisturb'd Life, who being very religious and mild by Nature, out of Self-Denial and Ease, permitted his Step-Mother to order all Affairs as she pleas'd, respecting her as his Mother, and cherishing his younger Brother with the utmost Love and Tendernefs. She on the other side from his Kindness conceiv'd a more implacable Hatred, and was no ways satisfy'd with the Sovereignty she now enjoy'd, 'till she could force the Title from him; but she still conceal'd her Designs with the greatest Artifices, 'till she found a convenient Opportunity for Execution. At length the Poor innocent Prince, wearied with Hunting, and tormented with Thirst, while all his Companions follow'd the Game, rode alone to her Palace at *Corfe* Castle in *Dorsetshire*, in order to refresh himself. The Queen receiv'd him at the Gate with all the Marks of Respect and Love, urging him to alight from his Horse; but he refusing that, she order'd Wine to be brought to him; but while he was drinking, one of her Servants, before instructed, stab'd him with a Dagger in the Back. He exceedingly astonish'd at this barbarous Treatment, immediately fled with all Speed towards his Companions; but the Wound being mortal, and he spent with the Loss of Blood, fell to the Ground, and having one Foot in the Stirrop was dragg'd through By-Ways, and trac'd by his Blood by those she sent after him, who brought back the Dead Body, and bury'd it privately at *Werham*. Here they imagin'd that they had bury'd his Memory as well as his Body; but the Place of his Sepulture, as it is said, grew famous for Miracles, whereupon Duke *Elfer*, who was accessary to his Murder, interr'd it Royally at *Shaftsbury*; but notwithstanding this Amends, he dy'd shortly after eaten up with Lice. *Elfrida* was so convinc'd of her Wickedness, that from her Courtly and Luxurious Life, she betook her self to very severe Penances, as wearing Hair-Cloath, sleeping upon the Ground without a Pillow, and other Austerities, in which she continu'd all her Days. Thus fell *Edward the Younger*, in the eighteenth Year of his Age, after he had only born the Name of King three Years and a half, who for his Innocence, and the suppos'd Miracles after his Death, obtain'd the Surname of *Martyr*: Which Opinion of his Sanctity was the more confirm'd by the great Calamities which shortly after punish'd the Land, and which the People believ'd were inflicted on them for this Murder.

14. ETHELRED II.

A. D.

979.

His Brother Ethelred
succeeded.

Upon the Removal of the unfortunate *Edward* his half Brother *Ethelred* easily stept into the Throne; a Youth of a most comely Aspect, but not above ten or perhaps twelve Years of Age. *Malmesbury* gives us this short Character of Him and his Reign; That he rather distress'd than govern'd his Kingdom for thirty seven Years; That the Course of his Reign was cruel in the Beginning, miserable in the Middle, and dishonourable in the Conclusion. To Cruelty he attributes the Death of his Brother, which he approv'd of by not punishing the Murderers; he was remarkable for his Cowardice and Negligence, and miserable in respect of his Death. His Sluggishness was predicted by Arch-Bishop *Dunstan*, when at his Baptism he superadded his own to the Water of the Font. Yet it was no Instance of ill Nature which the same Monk tells us, that upon the News of his Brother's Murder, he cry'd out exceedingly; which so enrag'd his Mother *Elfrida*, that for Want of a Rod she beat him with a Wax Taper 'till he was half dead; which gave him an insuperable Aversion to a Sight of

of those Lights ever after. Shortly after his Brother's Death he was publicly crown'd at *Kingston* by Arch-Bishop *Dunstan*, who perform'd the Solemnity with great Reluctancy, and as he put the Crown upon his Head, he in a sort of Prophetical Manner declar'd, *That since he had aspired to the Crown by the Murder of his Brother, the Sin of his ignominious Mother, nor those of her Counsellors should not be expiated but by great Bloodshed of his miserable People; for such Calamities should fall upon England as it never sustain'd since it had that Name.* About the Time of the Coronation, at Midnight a wonderful Cloud sometimes bloody, and sometimes fiery, appear'd all over the Land, portending, as it was believ'd, the Return of the dreadful *Danish* Tempest, which had been happily allay'd for above fifty Years.

He is crown'd by Arch-Bishop Dunstan.

These barbarous and inhuman Rovers, understanding the true State of *England* under the Government of a Child, and not beloved, in the third Year of his Reign landed at *Southampton*, and from seven great Ships took the Town, pillag'd the Country, and carry'd away great Booty. From whence they pass'd to the Isle of *Thanet*, which they also wasted; when about the same Time others from *Norway* did the same by the Country lying about *Chester*. The following Year these Pirates extreamly harrafs'd the Maritime Parts of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*; and in the next, three other Vessels arriv'd, and much infested the Coasts about *Portland*; to which Mischiefs this was added, that the City of *London* was burnt, in the Year 981, but by what Accident is not discover'd. The Disorders hereby rais'd in the Nation were increas'd by Domestick Disturbances: For an unknown Difference arose between the King himself and the Bishop of *Rochester*, insomuch that the King laid Siege to his City. Upon which Arch-Bishop *Dunstan* sent him a terrifying Message, admonishing him *To beware of the Vengeance of St. Andrew, the Patron of the City.* But the King, tho' young and unwise, would not regard Arguments of that Nature, but continu'd his Siege, 'till *Dunstan* was oblig'd to purchase his Removal with an hundred Pounds; which so affected the Arch-Bishop that he sent him this new Prophetical Message, *That since he had respected Silver and Money more than God and Religion, the Calamities formerly foretold should speedily come upon him, tho' not 'till his own Death.* And within two Years this celebrated Arch-Bishop dy'd, and his Death was usher'd in with strange Fevers among Men, and prodigious Fluxes among Cattle. Immediately after succeeded these Mischiefs, which less than a Prophet might foresee: The *Danes* furiously invaded the Coasts of *Devonshire*, against whom *Goda* and *Stremewold*, two valiant Men, made head, and put them to flight, but lost their Lives in the Contest. For two Years they caus'd but little Disturbance, but in the third they violently infested the Eastern Coasts, under the Command of *Justin* and *Guthmund*, and plunder'd the Town of *Gippswich*, now *Ipswich*. They were bravely oppos'd by *Briethnot* the most valiant Duke of the *East-Saxons*, who fought with them at *Maldon*, where great Multitudes on both Sides were slain; but the *English* were at length worsted by reason of the Loss of their Commander. And now all Havens, Harbours and Landing-Places were fill'd with *Danes*, who swarm'd in such Numbers into the Land, that it could not be known where to meet them with Advantage. Doubtless the readiest Course had been for this King to have imitated his Father, and mann'd out a sufficient Fleet to scour the Seas; but he was too unactive to follow his Example, and as generally the Humour of a Prince makes a strong Impression upon the Minds of his People, especially the Nobility, and those near him, as he lay idle and useless, so they contracted a dangerous Rust. And agreeable to this sloathful Temper, by *Siricius* Successor to *Dunstan*, and two Dukes *Ethelward* and *Alfric*, it was advis'd, *That those who could not be beaten with Iron, should be brib'd with Gold*; of which ten thousand Pounds was agreed, and given them on Condition they should quit the Country, and no more infest the Coasts. An infamous Example, says *Malmesbury*, and unworthy of Men, to redeem their

England again infested with the Danes.

Domestick Troubles.

A. D. 988.

The Danish Invasions increase

The first Tribute paid to the Danes, 10000 Pounds.

their Liberty with Mony, which no Violence can force from an unconquer'd Mind.

A. D.
993.
The Danes re-
new their De-
vastations.

This Sum of Mony quieted the *Danes* for about a Year, but the Sweet of it soon rais'd their Appetites for more. And accordingly they landed in the North, took and plunder'd *Bamborough*, and then directing their Course to the Mouth of the *Humber*, they wasted *Yorkshire* and *Lincolnshire* on both Sides of the River, kill'd Men, Women and Children, and gather'd a vast Booty. The Country Men with some Precipitation made head against them, but in the Battel, three of the Leaders, *Frana*, *Frithegist* and *Godwin*, being *Danes* by the Father's Side, betray'd them, and procur'd their Defeat. At the same Time no less Treachery was practis'd at Sea by *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, who having been formerly banish'd for his Crimes, and now recall'd, and intrusted with a Fleet to surprize the *Danes* in the most advantageous Place, he over Night gave them Intelligence, and then fled to them himself, as *Florent* relates it; which his Fleet perceiving pursu'd him, took his Ship, yet by some Accident miss'd his Person; but by chance falling upon the *East-Angles*, they kill'd and drowned many of them. But *Huntington* says, that the *Danes* being forewarned by *Alfric*, not only all escap'd, but with a great Number of Ships setting upon the King's Navy kill'd many of the *Londoners*, and led many of their Vessels in Triumph, together with *Alfric* himself. By this Time the furious *Swane*, King of *Denmark* arriv'd, who being join'd with *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, with a numerous Fleet enter'd the *Thames*, attack'd *London*, and endeavour'd to break in and burn it when it was scarcely rebuilt; but the Citizens so strenuously oppos'd their whole Power, that they forc'd them with great Loss to break up the Siege. Exasperated by this Repulse, they invaded *Essex* and *Kent*, wasted the Sea-Coasts with Fire and Sword, and then pass'd into *Sussex* and *Hampshire*; and Horsing their Foot, they made their outrageous Progress through many Countries, sparing neither Houses, Buildings nor Fields, nor Men, Women or Children. To put a Stop to these Mischiefs, the sloathful King and his unactive Counsellors again implor'd the Assistance of Mony, which was offer'd to the *Danes* by his Ambassadors; and the Sum agreed on was sixteen thousand Pounds, in expectation of which they retir'd to their Ships at *Southampton*, where they winter'd. This being a Time for Compliments rather than Action, *Anlaf* King of *Norway* receiv'd Hostages for his Safety, and accepted of *Ethelred*'s Invitation to his Court, which was then at *Andover*. Being royally entertain'd and adopted the King's Son at Confirmation, or Baptism, as also nobly presented, he engag'd to depart the Land and molest the Kingdom no more; and accordingly returning to his own Country he faithfully kept his Word.

The second
Tribute paid to
the Danes.
16000 Pounds.

New Devasta-
tions.

This was no ill Advice given *Ethelred*, to take off such a powerful Assistant from *Swane*; but as Arms abroad have but small Effect without good Council at home, so in Cases of Invasions Consultations without Action will not avail to remove an unfaithful pertinacious Enemy. The Influence of the last Mony operated scarcely three Years, when the *Danes* with a powerful Fleet enter'd the Mouth of the *Severn*, and wasted *South-Wales*, *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, burnt many Towns, and destroy'd Multitudes of poor People; then fetching a Compass, they came and winter'd at *Tauestock*. The next Year they sail'd to the Mouth of the River *Frome*, and wasted the greatest Part of *Dorsetshire*, with many other Parts; and tho' the *English* several Times made head against them, yet they were always hinder'd from Battel, either by Treachery, or some other Misfortune. It would be an endless Work to relate how the *Danes* wallow'd up and down in every particular Place, and to enumerate all the Devastations they made, and the Desolations they left behind them. Being march'd into *Kent*, and having besieg'd *Rocheſter*, King *Ethelred* and his Counsellors were so rous'd, that they prepar'd both a Fleet and a Land Army against them. But the King and his Commanders, alike in Disposition, delay'd their March from

Sax. An.
Sim. Den.
Florent.
&c.

Sax. A.
Sim. Den.
&c.

from Day to Day, and severely oppress'd the Country where they quarter'd; nor did they do any Thing tending to the publick Good, but burden'd the People, wasted the Treasury, and by their foolish and effeminate Carriage more embolden'd the Enemy to proceed; who in the following Year pass'd over into *Normandy*, probably for Recruits, but at their Return committed greater Hostilities than before. In the midst of these dismal Times, and horrid Depopulations, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* were both burnt and destroy'd by the *Danes* in the Year 1000; and all Studies ceas'd in each of these Places, 'till above 130 Years after, as *Thomas Redburn* relates, one *Robert Bolean* began to read his Lectures on the Scriptures *Anno* 1133; from which Time, adds he, the Scholars have continu'd both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

The two Universities burnt.

An. Dm. In the mean Time the King, to make some Diversion, undertook an Expedition both by Sea and Land into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* had been most planted and liv'd in Peace; and there, and in the Isle of *Anglesey*, he imitated his Enemies in Ravages and Devastations. About the same Time the *Danes* returning out of *Normandy*, enter'd the Mouth of the River *Ex*, laid Siege to *Exeter*, batter'd the Walls, and resolv'd to storm it; but the Inhabitants, like those of *London*, made so brave a Defence, that they were oblig'd to retire, all which was immediately reveng'd upon the poor helpless Country People, who after the Loss of their Goods and Houses were murder'd in great Multitudes. At length those of *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire* united in one Body, and made some Resistance at a Place call'd *Penho*, but being overpower'd in Numbers, were repell'd with great Slaughter. This both encourag'd and inrag'd the insolent Enemy, who now horning all his Men, committed greater Ravages in *Devonshire* than ever, and then return'd with his Fleet to the Isle of *Wight*, and sometimes there, and at othertimes in *Hampshire* and *Dorsetshire*, he without Resistance follow'd this ordinary Course of Life, doing such Execution by Sword against Men, and by Fire against Towns, that he terrify'd all from engaging with him either at Sea or Land. King *Ethelred*, whom no Adversity could thoroughly awaken from his soft and easie Life, by the Advice of Counsellors as unactive as himself, sent an effeminate yet assuming Courtier call'd *Leof*, to propose a third Tribute or Present to the *Danes* for Peace; to which these Devourers readily harken'd, but cunningly enhanc'd the Sum to twenty four thousand Pounds; which being paid down, they desisted from all Acts of Hostility.

A. D. 1000.

More Calamities.

The third Tribute paid to the Danes. 24000 Pounds.

An. Dm. King *Ethelred* having thus bought off his Enemies, resolv'd to strengthen his Family by some potent Alliance; and accordingly he treated with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* in *France*, a Person with whom formerly he had great Enmity, and marry'd his Daughter *Emma*, a Lady of such admirable Beauty, that she was stil'd the *Flower and Pearl* of *Normandy*. Her Mother's Name was *Gunnor*, descended from an eminent *Danish* Family; for which it was hop'd, that her Interest might be sufficient to oblige the *Danes* to more Reason and Fidelity. But the King being now swell'd with the Thoughts of his new Alliance, resolv'd upon a violent and dangerous Expedient, which was to take a full Revenge for all the Insults and Barbarities of the *Danish* Nation. It seems at this Time vast Numbers of *Danes* dwelt in Peace in all Parts of this Nation, in a manner incorporated with the *English*, who leading lazy and idle Lives, lorded it over the Inhabitants, whom they made Servants and Drudges, and their Wives and Daughters subservient to their Pleasures; whence they were call'd *Lord-Danes*, and to this Day in some Countries a lazy idle Man is from thence call'd *Lurdane*. To put an end to all their Power at once, the King resolv'd upon a general Massacre; and with the utmost Secrecy sent Letters into all Parts, commanding all his Subjects upon a certain Hour on the ninth Day of *July*, to set upon the *Danes* wherever they found them, and to destroy them all without Mercy. This Command was strictly executed, and the *Danes*, who by a League solemnly sworn had been admitted to inhabit among the *English*, were most

A. D. 1002.

Ethelred marries Emma.

He orders a general Massacre of the Danes.

most shamefully and barbarously murder'd; no Age or Sex escap'd, the Women were butcher'd as well as the Men, and the Brains of Children dash'd against the Walls. At *London*, in the Time of this Execution, great Numbers fled to Churches, but those sacred Places were no Security, for they were all without Pity slain as they stood embracing the Altars. And when the Multitude found themselves Masters, they proceeded to new Barbarities, digg'd Holes in the Ground, put *Danish* Women in them up to the Waste, and then set fierce Mastives upon them, which cruelly tore off their Breasts. A popular Fury, when back'd by Authority knows no Bounds, nor Authority it self, when it has broken publick Justice. There were several *Danes* of the highest Quality in the Land, receiv'd upon the publick Faith as Hostages to ratifie the late Peace; among whom was King *Swane's* Sister *Gunildes*, Wife to Count *Paleng*, who several Years before had come into *England* with her Family, where she had receiv'd the Christian Faith; and being a Woman of great Prudence and Temper, had often interpos'd to make Peace between the two Nations, and had now lately given up her self, her Husband and her Son as Hostages to King *Ethelred*. This Princess had first her Husband and Son slain before her Face, and was then order'd to be beheaded her self, which Sentence she took with an unconcern'd Bravery and Courage, and at her Death foretold, *That her Blood would cost England dear, and would not be long unreveng'd.*

King *Swane*
resolves to re-
venge it.

He invades the
Nation.

The Consequences of this horrid Massacre were very terrible to the *English* Nation; for King *Swane* being exasperated to the highest Degree of Rage and Resentment, invited all Strangers to his Assistance, and resolv'd contrary to his former Methods, to make a full Push, and conquer the whole Kingdom. Accordingly with a powerful Fleet, arriving at the South Western Parts of the Nation, by the Treason or Negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom Queen *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonshire*, he storm'd the City of *Exeter*, demolish'd the Walls from the East to the West Gate, and march'd off with great Booty. After this he wasted *Wiltshire*, where a strong Party drawn out of several Countries, advanc'd to give him Battel. But when the Armies were just ready to engage, *Alfric* the *English* General, whose Son's Eyes the King had put out for the Father's Treason, feign'd a sudden Sickness, and discourag'd his Army so far, that the Soldiers retir'd with Precipitation. Upon which *Swane* without Resistance march'd up to *Wilton*, which he both plunder'd and burnt, and having dealt in the same manner with *Salisbury*, he return'd to his Ships. The following Year he sail'd to the Coasts of *Norfolk*, where landing he plunder'd and burnt the City of *Norwich*, using such Expedition, that he altogether surpriz'd the valiant *Ulfketel* Duke of the *East-Angles*, who wanting Time to levy an Army, by the Advice of the Nobility of those Parts, made Peace with him. But *Swane* in a few Days perfidiously broke it, and removing suddenly from his Ships, he soon plunder'd and burnt *Thetford*. *Ulfketel* having Intelligence of this unexpected Enterprize, order'd a Party to hasten and burn his Ships in the Harbour, which out of Fear or Design was neglected; while he with the utmost Secrecy and Diligence gather'd together his Forces, courageously march'd against the Enemy, and made a brave Attack, as they retreated towards their Ships. But being inferior in Numbers, most of the best Quality among the Eastern *English* lost their Lives; yet the *Danes* receiv'd very great Loss, and with much Difficulty recover'd their Fleet; confessing that in the whole Island they never met with so sharp an Engagement, as they did from this valiant Commander.

A. D.
1005.

The Miseries of
England.

So great a Famine happen'd in the following Year that it forc'd a Cessation, and for a while drove *Swane* back into *Denmark*, but supply'd the Place of his Sword in the Destruction of the poor People of *England*, as many of which perish'd by Hunger, as formerly had suffer'd in a Year by his Cruelties. So that *England* was now in a miserable Condition, and involv'd in all sorts of Calamities: The King was luxurious, sloathful and remiss, wanting Vigour and Reso-
lution

lution in all Emergencies : The Nobility and Officers were negligent and unexperienc'd, yet highly possess'd with private Heats and Animosities, which occasion'd not only a dangerous Difunion, but a betraying of all Secrets to the Enemy : The Church Men hated the King, stood upon their Privileges, and refus'd to contribute any considerable Sums to the publick Necessities. To all which Mischiefs, besides Famine, Providence was pleas'd to add Storms and Tempests, which much endamag'd the King's Ships, and weaken'd the Naval Power of the Nation. So that the Enemy had free Liberty to range and ravage as they thought fit; and accordingly an innumerable Multitude of *Danish* Ships were seen in *Sandwich* Road in the Year 1006, from whence Swarms of Rovers over-ran all *Kent* and *Sussex*, destroying all with Fire and Sword. The King to oppose them rais'd an Army out of *Mercia* and *West-Saxony*, with a Resolution to engage them in Person; but they who held it safer to live by Rapine, than to hazard a Battel, by swift and easie Removals, frustrated the slow Motions of a heavy Camp, and following their usual Course of Robbery, they carry'd a vast Booty to the Isle of *Wight*, where they safely winter'd 'till *Christmasts*. Then understanding that the King was in *Shropshire*, where he was wickedly implov'd in the Blood of some worthy Subjects, they over-ran *Hampshire* and *Barkshire* as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*, which they burnt with other Places. Then returning by another Way, they found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making their Way through, they with new Plunder recover'd their Ships. The King and his Courtiers being weary'd with the Fatigues of the last Year's unsuccessful March against the quick Motions of the *Danes*, agreed to have Recourse to their last Remedy their Coffers; and therefore sent a fourth Time to buy a dishonourable Peace, which every Time prov'd dearer, and now could not be obtain'd under thirty six thousand Pounds, which was extorted from the Nation already half sunk with Poverty. At the same Time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, surnam'd *Streone*, to the Dukedom of *Mercia*; a Person who having rais'd himself to his Favour and vast Fortunes, by his subtle and plausible Tongue, shortly prov'd a mighty Instrument in the Ruin of *England*.

The fourth Tribute paid to the Danes. 36000 Pounds.

Dun. An.

The next Year produc'd something laudable, which shew'd the King had not lost all Care of his Nation; for he enacted that every 310 Hides of Land should furnish out a Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corslet and Head-Piece, and commanded the Ships to be built with the utmost Expedition; which when ready, were victuall'd and mann'd with choice Soldiers, and their Rendezvous appointed at the Port of *Sandwich*, to secure all the Coasts from the Descent of Foreigners. Now a Hide was so much Land as one Plow could sufficiently till in a Year; which made the Fleet very numerous, so that *England* was believ'd to be now in a safe Condition; when suddenly Dissention, the Bane of all good Designs, sprung up among the Nobility. For this Year, *Brithric*, the Brother of Duke *Edric*, proud and deceitful like himself, falsely accus'd *Wulwoth*, a great Officer of the *South-Saxons*, to the King, who fearing the Malice and Potency of his Enemy, immediately fled to the Sea, where with twenty Ships he practis'd Piracy upon the Coasts. Upon a Belief that he might be easily taken, *Brithric* follow'd him with eighty Vessels, but by a violent Storm they were all cast on the Shore, where *Wulwoth* soon after burnt them. This Misfortune so dishearten'd the King and his Nobility, that they suddenly return'd home, ordering the Fleet up to *London*; so that the People were tax'd and oppress'd to no Advantage. Upon this, the next Year, *Turkill* a *Danish* Earl arriv'd on the Coasts with some Ships, and in *August* was follow'd by an innumerable Company of *Danish* Vessels commanded by *Hemming* and *Eitlaf*, who landing in the Isle of *Thanet*, join'd with *Turkill*, pass'd to *Sandwich*, and then to *Canterbury*, where they forc'd the Inhabitants and Neighbours to purchase their Peace with three thousand Pounds. Then returning to their Ships, they sail'd to the Isle of *Wight*, from whence entering *Sussex* and *Hampshire*,

A. D. 1008.

Factions among the Nobility.

Further Mischiefs from the Danes.

shire, they follow'd their usual Exercises of Plundering and Burning. King *Ethelred* was again so sensible of his Peoples Miseries as to levy Forces throughout the Land, which he order'd in Places near the Sea to restrain their Irruptions; but all was acted so unskilfully, or at least so unsuccessfully, that the Enemy follow'd their Rapines as much as ever. Once having gone further than usual from the Sea, the King suddenly stepp'd in between them and their Vessels, seiz'd on a necessary Pass of theirs, and resolv'd with his whole Army to die or overcome. But after all this fair Prospect, the traiterous *Edric*, who had now marry'd the King's Daughter, by subtle Arguments urg'd, *That as Circumstances now stood, it was their Interest to permit the Danes to pass unmolested*; which Council prevailing, the Enemy got safe back to their Ships contrary to their Expectations, with great Joy and Booty. After which they went to the Coasts of *Kent*, and resolv'd to winter in the *Thames*, where they maintain'd themselves on both Sides of the River; often attempting to gain *London*, but were as often repell'd by the Citizens with no small Loss.

A. D.
1010.

Before Winter was over, leaving their Ships, they march'd through *Chiltern* Wood into *Oxfordshire*, burnt the City, and returning thence with divided Forces, wasted the Country on both Sides of the *Thames*; but hearing that an Army from *London* was marching against them, they on the North Side, passing the River at *Stanes*, join'd with those on the South, and being laden with extraordinary Spoils, pass'd through *Surry* to their Ships, in repairing of which they spent the *Lent* following. After *Easter*, they enter'd *Suffolk*, and coming near *Ipswich* to a Place call'd *Ringmere*, they were warmly entertain'd by the brave *Ulfketel* and his Forces; but his Men at length giving back, through the Subtlety of a *Danish* Servant amongst them who began the Flight, lost the Field, tho' the *Cambridgeshire* Men still made a noble Resistance, which turn'd much to their future Honour. In this Battel fell *Ethelstan*, the King's Son-in-Law, *Oswi* a Nobleman with his Sons and many others, together with a great Number of the ordinary Sort. The *Danes* being Masters of the Field, had now *East-England* at their Mercy, in which horring themselves, they spent three Months in the most barbarous Ravages, burnt *Thetford*, *Cambridge* and other Places, and kill'd all they could meet in their Way, tossing Infants on the Points of their Spears. After this, their Foot by Sea, and their Horse through *Essex*, return'd to the *Thames*, where continuing a few Days, they again quit- ted their Ships, and pass'd into *Oxfordshire*, which they wasted, together with the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford* and *Hertford*; and having burnt the Towns, and kill'd Mankind, and all other living Creatures, they return'd to their Ships. Yet still the same Year they made a third Excursion into *Northamptonshire*, and burnt that Town with all about it; then as to fresh Pasture they betook themselves to *West-Saxony*, where having wasted *Wiltshire* and other Parts, they return'd again to their Ships, as so many ravenous wild Beasts glutted with Blood to their Dens. They were neither yet so wearied with Travel, nor satisfy'd with Wealth, but that in the following Year they took a larger Range than ever. For on the North Side of the *Thames*, with Fire and Sword they wasted all *East-England*, *Essex*, *Middlesex*, *Hertfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, the Counties of *Oxford*, *Bedford* and *Cambridge*, with Half of *Huntington*, and the greatest Part of *Northampton*; and on the South Side *Kent*, *Surry*, *Sussex*, with the Counties of *Southampton*, *Wilts* and *Berks*.

Dreadful Ra-
vages and Bar-
barities from
the Danes.

Canterbury sa-
ken.

Upon these insupportable Mischiefs, Messengers were sent to solicit for Peace, promising them more Money; which they accepted, but without any Intention to keep their Faith. For they soon broke their Words, first by plundering the Country in several Parties, and in *September* by laying Siege to *Canterbury*, which in twenty Days they took by the Treachery of *Almere* the Arch-Deacon. Here they committed unheard of Barbarities by Way of Sport and Diversion: They slew some by the Sword, threw others over the Wall, others into the Fire, hung up some by the Privy Members, Infants torn from their Mother Breast

Breasts were either tost on Spears, or had Carts drawn over them, Matrons and Virgins were dragg'd about by the Hair and ravish'd; *Alfage* the Arch-Bishop was taken, wounded, and imprison'd in a noisom Place; Christ-Church was burnt, Monks, Men, Women and Children were decimated, whereof nine were kill'd, and the tenth reserv'd to a Life worse than Death: So that of the whole Multitude there remain'd only four Monks, and eight hundred Men. They kept the Arch-Bishop Prisoner for seven Months, during which Time these barbarous Miscreants were visited with a Plague in their Bowels, of whom two thousand perish'd miserably; and those who surviv'd being grievously tormented, the Christians took Occasion to urge the Delivery of the Arch-Bishop, but they still deferr'd it. As soon as Spring appear'd, the traiterous *Edric*, and the rest of the Nobility of both Orders assembled at *London*, where they held their Councils, and continu'd so long, 'till a fifth Sum or Tribute was paid to the *Danes*, which now was rais'd from thirty six to forty eight thousand Pounds. In the mean Time the Arch-Bishop had his Ransom set at three thousand Pounds, which he constantly refusing to pay or procure, was at length barbarously murder'd by them in a full Assembly of drunken People; his Body being afterwards bury'd in the Church of *St. Pauls* in *London*. The Tribute being paid, and the Peace confirm'd by solemn Oath on both Sides, the *Danish* Fleet retir'd, only forty five Ships remain'd with King *Ethelred* for the Defence of *England* against all Foreigners, on Condition to be maintain'd with Victuals and Cloathing. It appears from the *Saxon* Laws, that besides this Payment of forty eight thousand Pounds, it was this Year resolv'd that a yearly Payment should be made call'd *Danegeld*, that is twelve Pence upon every Hide of Land in the Nation, for the Subsistence of those who were to hinder the Irruptions of the *Danes* and other Pirates; which Tax continu'd for about thirty eight Years, 'till it was remitted by *Edward* the Confessor. So that there were two Sorts of *Danegeld*; the former, those five occasional Sums formerly recited; the latter, that continu'd Tax last mention'd. But both Sorts alike contributed to the Ends for which they were paid: The former only bought off the perfidious *Danes* for a small Time; and the other was so far from securing the Coasts by scouring the Seas, that *Turkill*, who staid behind as Admiral of the new modell'd *English* Fleet, seems to have done it for no other End, besides squeezing the Nation's Mony, than to give Intelligence to King *Swane* when it would be most seasonable to reinvade the Land.

A. D.

1012.

The fifth Tribute paid to the Danes.
48000 Pounds.

The Payment of Danegeld.

Accordingly in *July* 1013, King *Swane* with a powerful Force landed at *Sandwich*, resolving now to make a full Conquest of the Nation; finding it sufficiently weaken'd by Divisions, and exhausted by Poverty. He stay'd but a few Days there, finding *Humber* to be a more convenient Place, into which he enter'd; and passing up the *Trent*, he sail'd to *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnshire*, where he landed, and encamp'd his great Army. To which Place Earl *Uthred* with the *Northumbrians* repair'd to him with all Speed; the Inhabitants of *Lindsey*, afterwards those of *Fisburgh*, and by Degrees all such as inhabited North of *Watling-Street*, yielded up themselves, deliver'd Hostages, and swore Allegiance to him as their King. He only now impos'd upon them the Furnishing of his Army with Horses and Provisions, and then delivering the Hostages and the Fleet into the Hands of his Son *Canute*, with a choice Party of Auxiliaries taken from the *English*, he undertook an Expedition against the Southern *Mercians*. Having pass'd over *Watling-Street* he gave order to his Men to waste the Fields, burn the Villages, rob the Churches, kill all the Males, and reserve the other Sex for their Lust. Which being rigorously executed, in the Terror of these Actions he march'd to *Oxford*, and took it sooner than he expected; where having receiv'd Hostages, he hasten'd to *Winchester*, which in a great Fear also yielded, and deliver'd up their Hostages. From thence he turn'd his Course towards *London*, and not being careful in finding a Bridge or Ford over the *Thames*, he lost many of his Men in that River. Nor was

King Swane again invades the Land.

All Places submit to him.

and acknowledge him their King.

his Expedition against *London* prosperous; for using all Methods of Force and Policy to take the City, where *Ethelred* himself, and *Turkill* with his Forces resided, he was bravely repell'd as at other Times. Upon which he directed his March to *Wallingford*, and after that to *Bath*, where, after he had made new Devastations, he stay'd some time to refresh his Army. To which Place *Ethelmar* Earl of *Devonshire*, with other Officers of the Western Parts, repair'd, gave Hostages, and made Peace with him; whose Example was not long after follow'd by the Citizens of *London*, who finding it in vain to strive against the Universal Current, and dreading his Cruelties, sent also their Hostages, and made their Peace. Which Things being accomplish'd according to his Desires, *Swane* was by all the Nation of the *English* both stiled and accounted King; if by Right we can call him a King, says our Author, who acted all things like a barbarous Tyrant.

A. D.
1013.

Ethelred retires to Normandy.

VIII. From this Time we may date the first Sovereign Power of the *Danes* in *England*, for which in the Space of two hundred Years they had been often contending, with infinite Ravages and Devastations. And now *Ethelred*, being a King more in Name than Nature, thought it most consistent with the Straitness of his Fortunes to send away *Emma* his Queen, and his two Sons *Edward* and *Alfred* with all his Treasure into *Normandy* to her Brother *Richard*, the second of that Name, and Duke of that Province. He himself continu'd for some time at *Greenwich* with the *Danish* Fleet then lying in the *Thames*, and from thence remov'd to the Isle of *Wight*; where having kept a melancholy *Christmas*, he follow'd them into *Normandy*, and at *Roven* was splendidly entertain'd by the Duke, tho' known to have behav'd himself proudly and churlishly to his Sister *Emma*, besides his dissolute Company with other Women. In the mean Time *Swane* the Tyrant, residing at *Gainsborough*, laid insupportable Taxes upon the Country, besides the Contribution for Maintenance of his Fleet; and at the same Time *Turkill* at *Greenwich* was not backwards in his Exactions for enriching himself and his Followers. So that both Parties were fully agreed in this, by their Violence and Rapines to harrafs and exhaust the miserable *English* Nation. But *Swane* to all his other Cruelties and Impieties, added one, which in the Opinion of our Writers, compleated his Condemnation. He endeavour'd to prophane the Memory of the King and Martyr *St. Edmund*, and exacted a grievous Tribute from the Town of *St. Edmund's Bury*, where his Body rested; threatening that if the Mony was not speedily paid, he would lay the Town in Ashes, demolish the Church of their Martyr, and put the Clerks to various Torments. Now to proceed in a Story, once universally believ'd; because, say they, he would not moderate his Wickedness, divine Vengeance would not permit the Blasphemer to live. But at *Gainsborough*, as he held an Assembly, incircled with arm'd Men, upon his casting out his Threats, he immediately saw *St. Edmund* coming arm'd upon him, whereupon he cry'd out, *Help, Fellow Soldiers, St. Edmund comes to kill me!* upon which Words, he receiv'd a mortal Wound by the Hands of the Saint, and dy'd soon after in great Torment; his Body being bury'd in the City of *York*. Thus much our Monkish Writers report concerning his Death, which seems to hint this Truth to us, that *Swane* was kill'd by some unknown Hand, who had the good Fortune to escape. All agree that he met with a sudden End at *Gainsborough*, which Place was his chief Residence the short Time of his *English* Sovereignty, and the Place where most of his Ships and Soldiers lay, in order to make their Excursions as occasion requir'd.

Swane kill'd at Gainsborough.

A. D.
1014.

Canute succeeds him.

King *Swane* being dead, his Subjects the *Danes* elected his Son *Canute*, or *Cnute*, for his Successor. But the Inclinations of the *English* were towards their own natural Prince, whom they assur'd by Messengers sent to *Normandy*, *That they would assist and join with him against all Pretenders, if he would promise to govern them with greater Care and Clemency than formerly.* *Ethelred* before he would put himself

self into their Hands, thought fit to send over his Son *Edward* to promise all good Deportment, and to found the Affections of the Nobility and People, who finding all Things correspondent to his Desires, return'd back with Confidence to bring over his Father. The King was receiv'd by his Subjects with all imaginable Joy and Applause, and he to oblige the Nation, and to answer their Expectations, us'd all Diligence and Dispatch in raising an Army against *Canute*; who lying now at *Gainsborough* with his Fleet and Hostages, was no less diligent in levying Men and Horses, threatening severely to chastise the Revolters from his Father's Kingdom. But *Ethelred's* Forces surpriz'd him before he was fully prepar'd, and constrain'd him to quit the Parts of *Lindsey*, the Inhabitants of which being left to the Anger of their Countrymen, were prosecuted without Mercy by Fire and Sword. *Canute* sailing away with his Fleet, and being driven by Weather into *Sandwich* Road, there to revenge himself upon the *English* Nation, he cut off the Ears, Noses and Hands of all the Hostages he had in his Power, and setting them a-shore, departed for *Denmark* to recruit his Army. Upon the *Danes* Departure another Calamity succeeded; for on the 27th of *September*, the Sea arose to such a Height, by an impetuous Wind and Tide, that it broke the Banks, and overwhelm'd many Villages, and drown'd a vast Number of People. And notwithstanding this great Damage to the Nation, yet Necessity urging, a new Tax of thirty thousand Pounds was levy'd for paying the *Danish* Fleet which lay at *Greenwich*. The next Year produc'd Mischiefs of another Nature, when at an Assembly of the Estates, as well *Danes* as *English*, held at *Oxford*, by the Advice of the traitorous *Edric*, the King caus'd several *Danish* Noblemen to be put to Death under Pretence of a Conspiracy against his Person. Besides this, *Edric* by plausible Words intic'd *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, two *Northumbrian* Earls, into his Lodgings, and there secretly murder'd them; upon which their Servants and Dependents arose and endeavour'd to revenge their Deaths, but were repell'd by the King's Soldiers, and pursu'd into the Tower of *St. Frideswith's* Church, where Fire being set to it, they all miserably perish'd in the Flames. The King, without any known Cause, seiz'd upon the Estates of the two murder'd Earls, and commanded *Algetha*, the Wife of *Sigeferth*, to be kept Prisoner at *Malmesbury*, as a Lady of great Power and Interest. But not long after *Edmund* the King's Son coming thither, fell in Love with her, and without his Father's Knowledge, marry'd her; after which he took her with him into *Northumberland*, where invading the Lands of *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, he subdu'd that Country.

Ethelred returns back to England.

Canute retires to Denmark.

An. Dm.

About the same time King *Canute* arriv'd with a vast Power from *Denmark*, and as some write with two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, and *Olaus* of *Norway*, making for the Port of *Sandwich*, where it is said that *Turkill* join'd with him, and gave the *English* a great Defeat. *Canute* coasting about *Kent*, enter'd the Mouth of the River *Frome*, and by it pass'd up into the Counties of *Dorset*, *Somerset* and *Wilts*, where he committed his usual Kinds of Hostilities. King *Ethelred* then lay sick at *Cosham* in *Wiltshire*, but had his Place better supply'd by his Son *Edmund*, whose only Infelicity was to have the false *Edric* join'd with him, which not only hinder'd his present Success, but brought him into great Danger of his Life. For *Edric* made a Faction in the Army, and plotted the Prince's Death, which being timely discover'd, *Edmund* was oblig'd to remove suddenly from the Place where he lay. This Discovery gave an Occasion to *Edric* to throw off the Mark he had worn so long, and openly to revolt to *Canute*, to whom he carry'd off no less than Forty Ships; which had such an Influence upon the *West-Saxons*, that they immediately gave Hostages to *Canute*, and provided Horses for his Army. *Canute*, being thus strengthen'd beyond Expectation, in the Beginning of the following Year, with *Edric* the Traitor, pass'd over the *Thames* at *Greeklade*, and invaded *Mercia*, and proceeded in the usual manner with Fire and Sword. Whereupon Prince *Edmund* gather'd together what Troops he could; but upon their March, the

A. D.
1015.

Canute returns into England.

Edric revolts.

Great Calamities in the Nation.

Ethelred dies.

His Laws.

the *Mercians* refus'd to meet with the *Danes* and *West-Saxons*, except the King and the *Londoners* would support them, and thereupon the Army disbanded it self. But shortly after, *Edmund* with great Diligence rais'd more Forces, and sent to his Father at *London*, to come and join him with all his Power; to which *Ethelred* agreed, but upon joining their Forces by the subtlety of the Enemy a Rumor was spread, that if the King did not use extraordinary Precautions, he would speedily be betray'd. Which so confounded the dispirited King, that he disbanded his Army, and retir'd to *London*; while his Son hasten'd into *Northumberland*, as was suppos'd, to raise a greater Army against *Canute*. But in this both sides agreed in the same Measures; *Canute* and *Edric* wasted one Part of the Country, and *Edmund* and *Uthred* destroy'd the other, only with this Difference, that one Party harraisd the miserable Inhabitants, because they would not revolt, and the other pretended to punish them for their Neutrality. So that the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln* and *Nottingham* were ravag'd because they dare not oppose King *Ethelred*; and *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire* and *Leicestershire* were wasted, because they refus'd to fight against the *Danes*. At length *Canute*, piercing into *Northumberland*, Prince *Edmund* retir'd to *London*, and *Uthred* was constrain'd to submit himself to *Canute*, and give up the North Country with Hostages; which notwithstanding, either by Command or Permission of *Canute*, he was kill'd by one *Turebrand* a *Danish* Nobleman. Upon this, *Canute* preferring one *Eric* to be Earl of *Northumberland*, hasten'd Southwards by another Way to his Fleet; with which he join'd his Army before *Easter*. About the same Time King *Ethelred* dy'd at *London* on the 22d Day of *April*, 1016, after an inglorious and miserable Reign of thirty seven Years, and was bury'd in the Church of *St. Paul's* in *London*.

In this Reign many Ecclesiastical and Secular Laws were enacted or confirm'd, among which these three were uncommon, 'That Priests should not marry, it 'being the Custom then for them to have two or three Wives. That none should 'be sold out of their Country, especially to a *Pagan*. That Widows should remain so for twelve Months after their Husband's Death. Other Laws were made for the Preservation of the Peace, Correction of false Mony, and bringing of Weights and Measures to a just Rule.

15. EDMUND Ironside.

A. D.
1016.
His Son Edmund succeeds him in West-Saxony.

The rest obey Canute.

Edmund the third Son of *Ethelred*, and the Eldest alive, was by the Nobility at *London* chosen his Successor; who was not his Son by *Emma* his Queen, but as *Matthew* of *Westminster* says by an ignoble Mother, or Concubine, tho' others affirm her to be the Daughter of Earl *Thorold*, and King *Ethelred's* former Wife. But setting aside the Obscurity of his Birth, he was a Man without all Exception, both for Strength of Body and Mind, whence he obtain'd the Sirname of *Ironside*; and he might have made large amends for his Father's Cowardice, and his Mother's Dishonour, had he enjoy'd a longer Life. Having obtain'd the Crown, *Edmund* hasten'd into *West-Saxony*, where he was joyfully receiv'd by the People, and acknowledg'd for their Sovereign; while a far greater Number with many Bishops, Abbots, and others of the Nobility meeting at *Southampton* swore Allegiance to *Canute*; and having abjur'd the Race of *Ethelred*, receiv'd an Oath from him of good Government, as well in Religious as Secular Affairs. *Canute* much animated by so considerable a Part of the Nation, hasten'd to *London* with his Fleet, about Rogation Week, where being arriv'd on *Surrey Side*, he caus'd a great Ditch to be made, and drew up his Ships Westward of the Bridge. He also furrounded the City with a vast Intrenchment, and made several Attacks; but the Citizens so bravely defended themselves, that he found it more advantagious to break up; therefore leaving a Guard

Guard for his Ships, he hasten'd into the West to meet with King *Edmund*, before all his Forces were gather'd together. He found him very ill provided to receive an Enemy; but notwithstanding that, *Edmund* ventur'd to give him Battel near *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, with such Success, that he forc'd *Canute* and his Army to retreat. Encourag'd with this Success, he made greater Preparations, after Midsummer, he resolv'd to engage with *Canute* a second Time; and meeting him near a Town call'd *Swarstan*, he gave him Battel, which must have prov'd fatal to the *Danes*, had not the Traitor *Edric*, together with *Almar* and *Algar*, the chief of the Nobility, who commanded the *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire* Men, join'd with them. So that it prov'd a drawn Battel, notwithstanding *Edmund* perform'd all the Offices of a stout Soldier, and an expert General, which being parted by the Night, was renew'd with great Vigour the next Morning, and *Edmund* would again have won the Victory, but when he was near obtaining of it, the perfidious *Edric* cut off the Head of one *Ofsmear*, who in his Face much resembled the King, and lifting it up on high, cry'd to the *English* to behold the Head of their Party, and if they valu'd their own Lives to fly immediately. This much startled and discourag'd them, 'till *Edmund*, sensible of the Cheat, from a Hill made himself known to his Soldiers, and tofs'd a Spear against *Edric*, which missing him kill'd two other Persons who were next him; and recovering Courage, his Soldiers press'd bravely upon the *Danes*, but were parted by the Night as before.

Several Battels
between him
and Edmund.

Canute finding that in all Probability he would receive but small Advantage from a pitch'd Battel, decamp'd in the Night, and returning to *London*, where he left his Ships, again invested the City. Upon which King *Edmund* with Speed march'd into *West-Sex* to recruit his Forces; and now the perfidious *Edric*, having sufficient Experience both of his Valour and Conduct, thought it the most effectual Method to be reconcil'd to him, that he might reveal his Councils, and by his treacherous Insinuations stem the Current of his good Fortune. He made Application to him, owning him for his natural Prince, swore future Fidelity to him, and obtain'd Pardon for what was past. Being sufficiently recruited, *Edmund* directed his March to *London*, rais'd the Siege, and drove the *Danes* with Dishonour to their Ships. After two Days he pass'd the *Thames* at *Brentford*, where many of his Men were lost in the Water; yet coming suddenly upon the Backs of his Enemies, he put them to flight. By his Loss sustain'd in passing the Water, and his several Engagements, the Number of his Men were so diminish'd, that he found himself oblig'd to retire into *West-Sex* for Recruits; which the *Danes* perceiving, they return'd and besieg'd *London* a third Time, using all possible Means to become Masters of it. Yet still the Industry and Courage of the Inhabitants frustrated all *Canute's* Attempts; so that despairing of Success he drew off his Men, and with his Fleet enter'd a River then call'd *Arenne*, where landing in *Mercia*, he proceeded after his usual Way to waste the Country with Fire and Sword; then he caus'd his Foot to pass by Ships to *Medway*, and the Horse by Land with the Captives and Cattel. In the mean Time King *Edmund* having with great Diligence levy'd a strong Army a fourth Time, cross'd the *Thames* again at *Brentford*, and march'd into *Kent*; where at a Place call'd *Otford*, he bravely engag'd the *Danes*, who not able to sustain the Force of his Arms, fled in great Numbers into the Isle of *Shepey*. And here he might have obtain'd a compleat Victory, had not *Edric*, still as treacherous as ever, by his specious Allegations obstructed and detain'd his Pursuit of the Enemy at *Englesford*: And *Edmund*, who never wanted Courage, here wanted Prudence to be so mis-led, and from this Time began to be forsaken by his wonted good Fortune.

*Canute besieges
London.*

He is several
Times worsted.

King *Edmund* finding the *West-Saxons* most firm and loyal to him, return'd for a while into their Country for new Recruits, the Opportunity of whose Absence

A bloody Battle at Ashdown. Edmund by Treachery is worsted.

Absence *Canute* took to vent his Malice and Revenge upon a naked People; for marching into *Essex*, he from thence invaded *Mercia*, where he shew'd more Cruelty than ever, commanding his Men to omit no Punishment that could be inflicted upon Enemies. *Edmund* with an Army gather'd out of all Counties overtook and engag'd them in their Retreat at *Ashdown* in *Essex*, where a Battel was fought with great Resolution and Bravery on both Sides; and *Edmund* had a fair Prospect of gaining the Victory, which the impious *Edric* perceiving, as he had formerly engag'd to *Canute*, fled over to him with all the Troops under his Command, and so leaving the *English* overnumber'd and disappointed, by his Villany procur'd their Defeat and Ruin. For they never receiv'd a greater Blow, almost all their Nobility here falling, particularly *Alfric*, *Godwin*, *Ulfketel* and *Ethelward*, all Dukes; *Eadwoth* also Bishop of *Dorchester*, and *Wolk* an Abbot, who came to the Place to pray for the Army's Success, among the rest lost their Lives. *Speed* tells us that the Remembrance of this Field was retain'd to his Time, by certain small Hills there remaining, from whence have been digg'd the Bones of Men, Armour, and the Water-Chains of Horse Bridles.

Edmund and Canute fight a Combate.

and divide the Nation between them.

Yet this great Disaster did not so far discourage King *Edmund*, but by his Diligence in a short Time he brought himself into a Condition to make another Trial of his Fortune in the Field, and both the Armies fac'd each other in *Glostershire*. Upon which, as *Huntington* assures us, the Noblemen dreading the Courage of *Edmund*, and the Power of *Canute*, began to murmur among themselves, and to declare *how foolish it was for them so often to venture their Lives for the Ambition of others, who alone ought to fight for the Crowns they wore*. Which Saying being agreeable to the Temper of the two Kings, they generously agreed, to prevent the Effusion of more Blood, and to decide the Controversie by a single Combat between themselves. In which we are told, That their Darts and Lances on both Sides being broken, they fell furiously with their Swords upon each others most incomparable Armor, the resounding Noise of which struck the Ears of the Spectators with Terror, and their Eyes were dazled with the Flashes of Fire which flew from the Swords of these Heroes. At length the admirable Valour of *Edmund* prevail'd, whom *Canute* very strenuously resisted, but fearing the Success, he thus obligingly accosted his Adversary: *Young Man, the most valiant of all others, what Necessity is there for either of us to dye by the Sword, out of Ambition of Governing? Let us be Adoptive Brothers, and divide the Kingdom; let me have a Share in yours, and do you Command in mine*. With these Words the generous Mind of the young King was mollify'd, and a Kiss of Peace was given on either Part; after which their Followers came together, and weeping for Joy, *Edmund* by Agreement had the Western Parts of the Land, and *Canute* and the *Danes* the Eastern. *Matthew* of *Westminster* agrees with *Huntington* as to the Combate, but *Malmesbury* says that *Canute* declin'd the Combate, but agreed to the above-nam'd Division of the Land. But *Simeon*, *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worcester* all mention the Division, but say nothing about any Combate propos'd. So great an Uncertainty we have of the Affairs of these Times. All agree that the *Danes* retir'd to *London* after this Division, and were peaceably receiv'd by the Inhabitants, and permitted to take up their Winter Quarters in the City.

The Death of King Edmund.

King *Edmund* did not long survive this Division, but dy'd suddenly at the Feast of St. *Andrew*, after a very short but vigorous and honourable Reign of seven Months, three Weeks and five Days, and was bury'd by his Grandfather King *Edgar* at *Glassenbury*. Our Authors speak as uncertainly about the Death of this worthy Prince, as about his Combate: *Simeon*, *Florent* and *Hoveden*, mention no Cause of it: *Malmesbury* confesses it was uncertain of what Disease or Casualty he dy'd, but adds, That Fame charg'd *Edric* with hiring two of his Chamberlains, in whose Fidelity he confided, to murder

murder him with a sharp Iron thrust into his Body as he sat to ease Nature. *Huntington* will have it done at *Oxford* by one of the Sons of *Edric*, as the King sat in a Privy-House, with whom agrees *Matthew of Westminster*. *Radulphus de Diceto* names neither Place nor Person, but says it was done with an Iron Spit, by the Procurement of the Traitor *Edric*. Thus *Edmund* in the same Year both began and ended his Reign; leaving two Sons behind him, *Edward* and *Edmund*, and two Daughters call'd *Margaret* and *Christian*; besides three Brothers, *Edwin* by his own Mother, and *Alfrid*, and *Edward*, afterwards call'd the *Confessor*, by his Step-Mother *Emma*. With *Edmund* fell the Glory of the *English Saxons*, and the aged Body of their oppress'd Monarchy, seem'd to be bury'd with him in the same Sepulchre: For however it might seem to recover it self in the same Age, yet it prov'd like a Plant new set after it had been long out of the Ground, which while there remains any Sap in the Root will shoot out fresh Branches, but those so weak and tender, that the least Storm blasts and destroys them. By his Death the *Danes* prevail'd, and the *Saxon* Monarchy in a great measure ended, after it had continu'd 189 Years from the Establishment made by King *Egbert*, 421 after the *Saxons* had wholly dispossest the *Britains*, and 567 after the first Entrance of the *Saxons* under *Hengest* and his Companions.

The Fall of the
Saxon Monar-
chy.

CHAP. V.

From the Beginning of the Monarchy of the Danes in England under Canute, to the Death of Hardecnute, the last King, and the Restoration of the Saxons in Edward the Confessor.

Containing the Space of about 26 Years.

16. I. CANUTE.

I. THE *Danes* had formerly in some Parts of the Nation, as in *East-England* and *Northumberland*, set up their petty Kingdoms, but now at length, after two hundred Years Struggle, they obtain'd the entire Monarchy of *England*. They had formerly been Strangers, fierce Invaders, and savage Destroyers, but now they became principal Inhabiters, and chief Proprietors, and *Canute* one of their Kings Lord of the whole; soften'd and civiliz'd not so much by Christianity and good Education, as by Policy and Secular Interest. This Prince upon the Death of King *Edmund*, finding that he had several Relations left, who were dear to the *English* Nation, summon'd all the Bishops and Nobility to meet at *London*, and subtly demanded of such as had been present at the Agreement between him and *Edmund*, *What Provision was made by that Agreement for the Sons and Brothers of Edmund, and whether in case Edmund dy'd before Him, any of them was to succeed in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons?* They being overcome with Fear made Answer, *That to their Knowledge Edmund neither living nor dying had made any Provision for his Relations, but design'd Him the Protector and Guardian of his Sons 'till they should come to Age.* By this false Testimony they hop'd for Favour and Rewards from *Canute*; but some of them receiv'd a just Recompence for

A. D.
1017.

Canute ac-
knowle.ig'd
King.

King Edmund's
Relations re-
mov'd.

for their Perjury, by being not long after put to Death. But *Canute* taking the Advantage that it afforded him, immediately exacted Oaths of Fidelity from all the Nobility, who readily chose him for their King, and at the same Time abjur'd the two Sons of *Edmund* from ever being Kings of this Nation. Thus Baseness and Fear caus'd the *English* Nobility servilely to submit, so that there was no want of any Thing to effect his Purposes but his bare Commands; which they often prevented by their Readiness in doing those Things, to which they knew he was but inclin'd. For *Edwin*, the Brother of King *Edmund*, a young Prince of excellent Endowments and great Hopes, was by them immediately vot'd to Banishment; which Resolution so full of Injustice and Flattery, gave Occasion to *Canute*, immediately to consult with the Traitor *Edric* how to take his Life. This wicked Design was by *Edric* first left to one *Ethelward*, who did not answer their Expectations; so that a seeming Reconciliation was pretended, and *Edwin* recall'd from Banishment, by which means Opportunity was given for some to end his Life whom he had most trusted. *Edric* not satisfy'd with this, advis'd *Canute* also to put to Death the two young Sons of King *Edmund*, namely *Edward* and *Edmund*; but this being accounted a Thing very odious, and such as would exasperate the People to have them murder'd in *England*, within a short Time they were sent to the King of the *Swedes* there to be dispatch'd, who notwithstanding the League and Kindness between him and *Canute*, abhorr'd the Fact, and by no Intreaties would be brought to commit it, but convey'd them to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, by him to be carefully educated. *Edmund* in process of Time ended his Days in that Retirement; but *Edward* marry'd *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* Emperor of *Germany*, by whom he had *Margaret* afterwards Queen of the *Scots*, *Christina* that turn'd Nun, and *Edgar-Aetheling*, who shall be treated of hereafter.

Canute divides
England into
four Parts.

Canute being settled in his new Power and Sovereignty over all *England*, divided his Kingdom into four Parts; he committed the Government of *Mercia* to *Edric*, as an Instrument not yet to be laid aside, assign'd *East-England* to Earl *Turkill*, *Northumberland* to *Eric*, and reserv'd *West-Saxony*, as the ancient Possession of the *English* Line, to his own proper Management. After which he proceeded to punish such as were concern'd in the Death of King *Edmund*, who having discover'd themselves in Hopes of a Reward, he kept them close Prisoners, and in a grand Assembly of the People caus'd them to be executed, as those whom their own Mouths had condemn'd. Having thus smooth'd the Way, he made a Covenant with the Nobility and People, to govern according to Law, which was confirm'd by Oath, and an Amnesty decreed for whatsoever had formerly pass'd between the two Nations. Then to strengthen and establish his Interest, after the Death and Absence of all Competitors, he su'd and marry'd the famous *Emma*, Widow of King *Ethelred*, in *July* following; concluding that it would win him the Hearts of the People, and divert the Thoughts of her Brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* from the Sons she had had by the former King. Being now arriv'd at the Height of his Wishes, he thought fit to remove the Scaffolds by which he had ascended, lest they should serve the End of some other Pretender. He had for a long Time made use of the Treachery of Duke *Edric*; but now instead of loving he detested the Man, as well out of Fear as Honour, therefore thought it high Time to remove him. It is reported that after he had procured King *Edmund* to be slain in the Manner before related, he came to *Canute* and congratulated him as sole Monarch of *England*, to whom the King answer'd, *That for so great a piece of Service he would exalt him above all the English Nobility*. Remembering therefore that Promise, at a Time when *Edric* began to upbraid him with his great Services in betraying his two Sovereigns *Ethelred* and *Edmund*, he convicted him of Treason from his own Mouth, and caus'd him in the Time of *Christmas* to be beheaded, and his Head to be set upon a Pole on the highest Tower in *London*. Authors vary as to the Manner of his Execution, but all agree that he

He marries
Emma.

Edric justly
executed.

he receiv'd the just Reward of his Villanies. Upon his Account several other Noblemen were put to Death, as *Norman* the Son of Duke *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* the Son of Duke *Aglemar*, and *Brithric* the Son of *Elfege* Governor of *Devonshire*, who suffer'd under the Pretence of being Accomplices, or at least Familiars with this Traytor. But still King *Canute* thought himself not secure, but by keeping a standing Army in the Nation, for the Maintenance of which, in the following Year, he exacted a severe Tax of seventy or eighty two thousand Pounds out of all *England*, besides fifteen thousand out of the City of *London*. But no less than these Severities could be expected from an Usurper and a Foreigner; yet after a few Years, at the Importunity of the Nobility he sent back his Army to *Denmark*, having first taken Security for the Safety of his Nation by a particular strict Law made against killing any *Danes*.

Canute lays a severe Tax upon the Nation.

Dnn. These Things were done in the South, while in the Northern Parts a Contest arose between *Malcolm* Son of *Cyneth* King of the *Scots*, and *Uthred* the Son of *Waldef* Earl of *Northumberland*, or rather his Successor *Eric*, for *Uthred* was slain by *Canute* two Years before. This Rupture proceeded to a great War, as our Author terms it, wherein on the Parts of the *Scots*, *Eugenius Calous* King of the *Lothians* was engag'd; but he does not tell what were the Effects of so great a Controversie. In the mean Time King *Canute* having united the *English* and *Danes* in one Government, thought the best Cement would be to frame their Minds to the same Laws and Customs, for which purpose he call'd a general Assembly to *Oxford*, where both Parts consented to observe the Laws of King *Edgar* and *Ethelred*. And here they establish'd many wholesom Acts both for the Clergy and Laity to observe, some of which are extant in *Lombard*, and a few of those touching Religion we have mention'd here, as having been observ'd a long Time after, and some of them to this Day. And first, for the Celebration of God's most Divine Service, it was ordain'd, 'That all decent Ceremonies, tending to the Encrease of Reverence and Devotion, should be us'd as need requir'd. That there should be no Markets, Fairs, Assemblies, or other Secular Actions practis'd on the Lord's Day. That all Christians should receive the Eucharist, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least three Times in the Year. That if a Priest kill'd a Man, or committed any notorious Crime, he should be depriv'd of his Order and Dignity. That a marry'd Woman convict of Adultery, should have her Nose and Ears cut off. That a Widow marrying within twelve Months after her Husband's Decease, should lose her Jointer and Dowry. These and many others were made, whereby Sin and Looseness were much restrain'd, and the Nation peaceably and justly govern'd. As also were divers other Countries by this King's pious Endeavours; particularly by means of a young Gentleman of the *Danish* Royal Blood nam'd *Odin*, whom *Canute* brought over with him into *England* to be instructed in Learning, where he improv'd so well, and by his Travels through *France*, that he obtain'd the Sirname of *Sapient*; and afterwards by his Preaching in *Finland*, *Zeland*, *Scandia* and *Swedeland*, he converted great Multitudes of Pagans to the Christian Faith.

A. D. 1018.

Several good Laws enacted.

Dnn. King. West. An. King *Canute* having so well settled his Affairs here, he thought he might safely give a Visit to his ancient and native Kingdom of *Denmark*, to which Place he sail'd in the third Year of his Reign, and continu'd there the whole Winter. *Huntington* writes, that he led thither an Army of *English* and *Danes* against the *Vandals*, by which he must mean no other than the *Swedes*: That incamping near his Enemies with Intention not to fight 'till the next Day, *Godwin* the *English* General without his Knowledge set upon them unprepar'd, kill'd many, and put the rest to flight. In the Morning the King, imagining that the *English* were either run away or revolted to the Enemy, let the *Danes* in order of Battel, and advanc'd towards the *Swedish* Camp, where he found nothing but Blood, Carcasses and Plunder, which caus'd him not only to reward *Godwin* with an Earldom, but exceedingly to prize the *English*, and to hold

A. D. 1019.

Canute sails into Denmark.

and beats the Swedes.

He returns to
England.

hold them in no less Esteem than the *Danes* themselves. In the Spring he return'd into *England*, and at *Easter* held a grand Council at *Circester*, in which he banish'd Duke *Ethelward*, or *Edward*, as others call him. In the following Year, fearing the growing Greatness of Earl *Turkil* the *Dane*, he banish'd him and his Wife *Egitha* out of *England*; and found occasion to do the like by *Eric* the *Danish* Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the same Principle of Jealousie. As soon as they set foot in *Denmark*, *Matthew* says, that *Turkil*, who had first perswaded King *Swane* to invade *England*, was kill'd by the Noblemen of the Country. But whether it was that these banish'd Persons excited the People against their King, or that his Absence caus'd his Authority to be despis'd, *Huntington* tell us that *Canute* in the ninth Year of his Reign carry'd over another Army against *Ulf* and *Eilaf*, who had rais'd such great Numbers against him both by Sea and Land, that they gave him a considerable Defeat. But others make this the same Expedition with the former; and indeed had his Affairs been so much embroild'd now in *Denmark*, he would not so soon have cast his Thoughts upon the Conquest of *Norway*; from whence having Intelligence that the People despis'd *Olaus* their King, he sent great Sums of Money to make way for his own Power, which had such prevailing Effects, that in the following Year 1028, he found sufficient Incouragement to sail into *Norway* with Fifty Ships. The Success was, that he drove *Olaus* out of his Country, and then easily reduc'd it to his own Power, whither *Olaus* the following Year returning to try the Minds of the Revolters was slain by them with all his Followers. *Canute* being now King of *England*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, return'd with Applause into *England*; tho' not so secure in his Thoughts, but that under colour of an Embassy, he sent into Banishment *Hacun* a powerful *Dane*, who had marry'd the Daughter of his Sister *Gunilda*. This Man was grown so powerful and popular, that he stood in fear of being kill'd or depos'd by him, and thereupon he drove him to such Extremities, that within twelve Months he either perish'd at Sea, or else was kill'd in the Isle of *Orkney*.

A. D.
1031.

Such were the Fears of this Prince, and such the Means he us'd to prevent them, declining no Actions or Methods that might fix and secure the Crown on his Head. But now the Occasions and Temptations for Injustice being remov'd, he resolv'd to be eminently religious, as such who having gain'd vast Riches by infamous Practices, frequently think to appease the supream Majesty of Heav'n by dedicating some part of them to pious Uses. Accordingly in the fifteenth Year of his Reign he took a Journey to *Rome*, visited the Tombs of the holy Apostles, and on St. *Peter* conferr'd extraordinary Quantities of Gold, Silver and other valuable Presents; procur'd from Pope *John* a Relaxation of all Tribute and Toll to the *English* School there, gave large Alms to the Poor both in his Passage and Return, and bought off several Tolls and Impositions laid upon Travellers. From this City he sent an Epistle to the *English* Bishops and Nobility, which is extant in *Malmesbury* and begins thus. '*Canute* King of all *England*, *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Sweden*, to *Ailwoth* Metropolitane, &c. Wherein, having first given the Reason of his Pilgrimage to *Rome*, which was especially to honour St. *Peter*, he makes relation of his honourable Entertainment with the Pope, the Emperor *Conrade*, and other Foreign Princes, shewing what excessive Sums were exacted by the Pope from the *English* Arch-Bishops, when they receiv'd their Palls from *Rome*; for the redressing of which, and other Grievances, the Pope oblig'd himself in a solemn Assembly of four Arch-Bishops, twenty Bishops, and an innumerable Multitude of Princes and Noblemen. Then he proceeds in vowing the Remainder of his Life and Reign to the only Service of God, and the due Administration of Justice to his People; to which end he first gives Command to his Counsellors, that thence forward they presume not, upon any respect to give Countenance to the least Injustice in his Kingdom: And next to his Officers of Justice, that as they tender his Royal Favour, and their own Lives, they deviate

He makes a
Journey to
Rome.

His Epistle
from thence.

not

‘not from exact Equity, in respect of any Man whatsoever, no not for the enriching of the King’s own Treasury, *because*, adds he, *there is no Necessity that my Revenues should be augmented by any unjust Exactions*: And so concludes with a strict Charge to all his Bishops and Justices, upon their Allegiance both to God and himself, to take care in his Absence, that God’s Church and his Ministers be not defrauded of their Tithes and Rights, whereof he vows at his Return to take a most severe Account.

From Rome this King went to *Denmark*, and at his Return to *England* he spent a great Part of his Time in building and repairing Monasteries and Churches. *He returns to England.* In *Essex* he built the Church of *Ashdown*, in the Place of that great Victory over King *Edmund* which won him the Crown. In *Norfolk* he founded the noted Abby of *St. Bennet’s in Holme*, which Saint he highly respected; and in *Suffolk* with a special Devotion he rebuilt and endow’d the Monastery of *St. Edmund’s Bury*, which Saint he no less dreaded. *His Buildings.* For it is reported that the seeming Ghost of *St. Edmund* often affrighted him; for which Cause, as also to expiate the Sins of his Father, who had done great Damage to his Possession, he surrounded the Monastery with a deep Ditch, and offer’d up his Crown at the Martyr’s Tomb. He gave rich and extraordinary Jewels to the Church of *Winchester*, of which one is recorded to be a Cross, worth one Year’s Revenue of the Kingdom; and to *Coventry* he gave the Arm of *St. Augustine* the great Doctor, which he bought at *Pavia* in his Return from *Rome*, for which he paid a hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold. The Magnificence of this great King now so shin’d in the Eyes of his Courtiers and Flatterers, that they extoll’d him equal with *Alexander*, *Cyrus* and *Cæsar*, and applauded him as possess’d with more than Human Power. But to convince and reprove such mischievous Instruments, and to shew the small Power of Kings in respect of the King of Heav’n and Earth, he caus’d his Royal Seat, says *Huntington*, to be plac’d by the Sea-shore at *Southampton* while the Tide was flowing in; and being seated in his Robes, and his Courtiers about him, he with all the Air of Majesty spoke in these Terms, *Thou Sea art under my Dominion, and the Land on which I sit is mine; nor has any unpunish’d resisted my Commands: I charge thee therefore presume no further upon my Land, nor dare to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign Lord.* But the Sea, as at other Times, came rolling on, and both wet his Feet, and dash’d against his Robes; which caus’d him suddenly to rise up, and cry’d out, *Let all the Inhabitants of the World know how vain and frivolous is the Power of Kings! Nor is there any that can deserve that Title, but he whose eternal Laws the Heav’ns, Earth and Sea obey.* From which Time this King would never wear his own Crown, but commanded it to be put upon the Head of the Crucifix at *Winchester*. From whose Example, according to *Petrus Pictaviensis*, arose that Custom of hanging up the Armour of great Men in Churches, as Offerings made to God, by whose Assistance they had obtain’d any Honour to themselves, or Benefit to their Country, either by Victory, or an honourable Death. *He reproves his Courtiers by an Example.*

This King’s Building of so many Churches and Monasteries so far repair’d his Fame and Esteem with the Monkish Writers, that notwithstanding all his Violence and Injustice, and his being a Deposer, and a Procurer of the Death of King *Olaus* one of their Saints, they all dismiss him with a very fair Character. Nay some tell us, that for his Piety he was rewarded with another Kingdom, that of *Scotland*, which, according to *Matthew of Westminster*, at this Time depended on *England*; for he writes that the *Scots* now rebell’d, and that thereupon he march’d thither with an Army, and easily conquer’d *Malcolm* the King, with two other *Reguli* which *Huntington* mentions by the Names of *Melbeathe* and *Fermare*. But if the Kingdom of *Scotland* was given him for his Piety, that of Heav’n follow’d not long after; for within two Years he dy’d, at *Shaftsbury* on the twelfth Day of *November*, and was bury’d in the old Monastery at *Winchester*, after he had reign’d nineteen Years, wanting a few Days. It cannot

He adds Scotland to his Dominions.

His Death.

cannot be deny'd but that he was a magnificent Prince, bountiful both to religious Men and the Poor, even of other Nations. The Means and Methods by which he arriv'd at his Greatness, are no ways to be justify'd; but there are few that obtain'd Crowns so unjustly have afterwards manag'd their Power with so much Justice and Humanity; so that he may well bear away the Title generally given him of *Canutus the Great*. And we may say of him what a *Roman* Author does of one of his Emperors, That it had been well for the Kingdom if he had never reign'd at all, or else had continu'd longer; none of his Sons resembling him either in Wisdom or Valour.

17. 2. HAROLD.

A. D.
1036.

Harold obtains
the Crown.

But with much
Opposition.

II. *Canute* by *Elgiva* his first Wife, or rather Concubine, had two Sons, *M. W. H. H. S. &c.* the first call'd *Swane*, and the second *Harold*; tho' some say, to conceal her Barrenness, she procur'd the former from a Priest's Wife, and the latter from the Wife of a Shoemaker, and so impos'd upon the Credulity of the King. By *Emma* the Relict of King *Ethelred*, whom he seems to have marry'd in the Life Time of *Elgiva*, he had a Son nam'd *Harde-canute*; and before his Death it is said that he appointed *Swane* to be King of *Norway*, *Harold* King of *England*, and *Harde-canute* King of *Denmark*. But this seems very improbable that he should separate the Son of his beloved Wife so far from her; especially if that be true which some have written, that he formerly promis'd to leave the Crown of *England* to such Issue as he should have by her. However it was, *Harold* by means of the *Danes*, and the Citizens of *London*, and afterwards by Injustice obtain'd the *English* Crown, but not without some Struggles and Difficulties. For each Pretender endeavour'd to strengthen himself with Friends and Forces; as Earl *Leofric* with the *Danes* and *Londoners* stood up for *Harold*, so most of the *English* contended for *Edward* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and some for *Harde-canute* the Son of *Canute* by Queen *Emma*. Upon which Differences all expected a Civil War, which caus'd great Multitudes to quit their Habitations, and retire to the most Fenny and Impassable Places, particularly to the Monastery of *Croyland*, where they caus'd such Disturbance, that the Religious in the Place could neither meet in the Church, nor in their Refectory. All Things now tended to Confusion, when by the Interposition of the more sober sort, Advice was given to the Heads of all the Factions to accommodate Affairs by a publick Assembly. The Place appointed was *Oxford*, where after a long Debate, the major Part concluded, That the Kingdom should be divided between *Harold* and *Harde-canute*, the former to have all the Countries lying Northwards from the *Thames*, with the City of *London*, and the latter to enjoy all the Southern Provinces. But *Harde-canute* being absent upon some necessary Affairs in *Denmark*, *Harold* soon took the Advantage, and being already in Possession of the greatest Part, he seiz'd upon all; which he obtain'd by the Assistance of the *Danes* and *Londoners*, and now at length by *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, who being made up of Ambition and Cunning, had at the Beginning of the Contest profess'd himself a Champion for *Emma* and her Children, but upon the Turning of the Tide resolv'd to swim with the Stream, or was wrought upon by the Promises of *Harold*, who gave him Hopes of marrying one of his Daughters. Yet still the Clergy adher'd to the Children of *Emma*, and tho' the Nobility join'd with *Harold*, they continu'd so firm, that *Ailnoth* the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* refus'd the Office of crowning him, professing, *That as long as any of the said Children liv'd, he would not give his Assent or Benediction to any other*, and affirming, as some write, *That Canute on his Death Bed had commended them to his Care and Fidelity*. Then laying the Ensigns of Royalty upon the Altar, he denounc'd a Curse against his Brethren the Bishops in case any of them should deliver them to *Harold*, like-
wife

wife inhibiting Him from taking those Things away which he had committed to God and that holy Place. But notwithstanding all this Zeal and Resolution, the Arch-Bishop was at length prevail'd upon by Threats or Promises; so that the Ceremony was perform'd, and *Harold* acknowledg'd King of all *England*.

As to the Character of this Prince, *Brompton* tells us, That in all Respects he degenerated from the Worth of his Father *Canute*, for he was altogether careless both as to Matters of War and Peace, only he would pursue his own Will, and what was misbecoming his high Station, chose rather to go on foot than ride, whence from the Lightness and Swiftness of his Feet he was call'd *Harold Harefoot*. One of the first Things he attempted was to insnare and destroy his Emulators and Rivals in the Throne, particularly King *Ethelred's* two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfred*, then in *Normandy*. In order to effect his Pur-

He is treacherous in his Proceedings.

pose, the Author of the *Encomium Emmae* says that he forg'd a Letter to these two young Princes in the Name of Queen *Emma* their Mother, earnestly inviting them into *England*: Wherein, personating her, 'She seem'd to chide them gently for their Delay, in not coming over to inspect their own Affairs; since they could not but know that it daily confirm'd the Usurper in his Power, who omitted no Artifices to gain the chief Nobility over to his Party; yet also as-

sur'd them that the *English* Nation had much rather have one of them to be their King; and in conclusion, urg'd them to come as speedily and as privately as they could, to consult with her what Methods were most proper to be taken. This Letter was sent to the two Princes in *Normandy* by an express Messenger, with Presents also, as from their Mother; which they innocently and joyfully receiving, return'd answer by the same Hand, That one of them would be with her shortly, naming both the Time and Place. *Alfred* the younger was judg'd most proper for this Affair, who at the appointed Time, with a few Ships, and a small Number of *Normans* on board, appear'd on the Coast, and no sooner landed, but fell into the Snare that Earl *Godwin* had laid for them, being sent purposely to betray them. For being deluded into a Belief that he was sent for by the King then at *London*, he was in the Way met by Earl *Godwin* at *Guilford*, who with all seeming Friendship kindly entertain'd him, but in the Night surpriz'd the Prince and made him Prisoner, with all his Company, to the Number of about six hundred *Normans*. Most of these were us'd with the

A Massacre of the Normans.

greatest Barbarity, put to various Kinds of Torments and cruel Deaths; and being twice decimated, every tenth Man suffer'd without Mercy. The unfortunate Prince was brought to *London*, and by the King sent bound to *Ely*, where he had his Eyes put out as soon as he landed; and being deliver'd up to the Monks to be kept there, out of Pain and Grief he dy'd soon after in their Custody. This did not satisfy King *Harold*, for soon after he banish'd the Mother

Emma banish'd &c.

Queen *Emma* out of the Kingdom, tho' Winter was then begun. She retir'd not into *Normandy*, because, as some alledge, Duke *William*, the base Son of her Nephew *Robert*, was then in the *French* Court, and some add, that her Son *Edward* was gone into *Hungary* to consult with his Cousin *Edward*, whom *Canute* had formerly banish'd thither. Therefore she went directly to *Flanders*, where she was courteously receiv'd by *Baldwin* Earl of that Country, who pitying a distressed Lady and Queen, assign'd her *Bruges* for her Habitation, and munificently provided for her during her whole Continuance.

After two Years this Queen was visited by her Son *Harde-canute* out of *Denmark*, and they comforted themselves with the Hopes of better Fortune, that either the Hearts of the *English* would relent, or the Usurper by some other Means finish his Days or his Reign. *Harold* on the other Side, encourag'd by Possession, omitted nothing that might serve to exclude them, or any other Pretenders; and accordingly provided himself with a Fleet, the only Bulwark of the Island, for the furnishing of which every Port in the Nation was oblig'd to pay eight Marks of Silver to every sixteen Ships. This Tax so exasperated the *English*, that it gave Occasion to the *Welsh* to commit several Acts of Hostility;

A. D. 1039.

Harold disliked.

for

for the quelling of whom *Edwin* Brother to Earl *Leofric*, *Turkil* and *Algeat* Sons of *Essi*, with several other Noblemen lost their Lives. But these Things could not accomplish the Hopes of the Banish'd, which was left to be effected by Death, which not long after on the sixteenth Day of *April* seiz'd upon King *Harold*, after he had reign'd with no Reputation four Years and as many Months. He was bury'd at *Westminster*, and left neither Wife nor Child behind him. As for his Laws we have only one mention'd by Mr. *Selden*, which was, That whatsoever *Welsh* Man, coming into *England* without Leave, was taken on this Side *Osfa's* Ditch, should lose his right Hand.

18. 3. HARDE-CANUTE.

A. D.
1040.

Harde-canute
is crown'd King

He revenges
himself upon
Harold's
Friends.

Godwin and
others appease
him

Harde-canute
lays heavy
Taxes upon the
Nation.

III. The States of the Land as well *English* as *Danes*, that had stood up for the Interest of *Harold*, now seeing him fallen, thought it most advantageous to make way for their Peace, before *Harde-canute* should command their Obedience by his Sword: Therefore they unanimously sent Messengers to him at *Bruges*, where he continu'd with his Mother, humbly desiring him to come over, and receive the Crown as his Right. Hereupon he hasten'd to *Denmark*, there to settle Affairs, and from thence with sixty Ships and many Soldiers he came over in the Month of *August*, and landing at *Sandwich* was there joyfully receiv'd, and both by *English* and *Danes* admitted, and crowned King. Having obtain'd the Kingdom, he perform'd but little worthy of his Condition and Station, but made use of that Advantage only to please and gratifie his exorbitant Passions. His first Undertaking was to shew his Resentment against *Harold*, for the Injuries offer'd to himself and his Mother, whose Body he caus'd to be digg'd up by *Alfric* Arch-Bishop of *York*, Earl *Godwin* and others, the Head to be cut off, and both that and the Trunk to be cast first into a Ditch or Privy, and then into the *Thames*, where being caught in a Fisherman's Net, it was by some of his Relations convey'd to Land, and bury'd in a Burying-Place of the *Danes*, which constant Tradition affirms to be the Church and Church-yard of *St. Clements Danes* in *London*. Following on this Course of Revenge, which some stile by the Name of Piety to his Relations, he deservingly depriv'd *Living* Bishop of *Worcester*, who was concern'd in the barbarous Treatment of his Brother *Alfred*; but within a Year he was appeas'd with a Sum of Mony, and restor'd him. *Godwin* that subtle Earl found Means to purchase his Peace with an extraordinary Present, which was a Gally with a gilded Stern, wonderfully rigg'd, furnish'd out with all Conveniencies both for War and Pleasure, and mann'd with eighty choice Soldiers, every one having upon each Arm a Golden Bracelet weighing sixteen Ounces, an Helmet and Corlet finely gilt, a *Danish* Scimitar adorn'd with Silver and Gold hung on his left Shoulder, in his left Hand a Shield with gilt Bos and Nails, and in his Right a Lance, which in the Language of the *English* was call'd a *Tegar*. This uncommon Present was not sufficient 'till he also took a solemn Oath, 'That Prince *Alfred* lost not his Eyes by his Advice or Desire, but in that he merely obey'd King *Harold*, then his Sovereign Lord; which Oath was also taken by most of the Nobility of the Land.

At the same Time he enquir'd after such as had been cruel to his Relations, and much incurr'd the Displeasure of the People by a new Tax he laid, for the Payment of eight Marks to every Rower in his Navy, and twelve to every Officer, a Burden so heavy, that every one repented their helping of him to the Crown. However he collected the Tax with all Rigour, insomuch that two of his Officers for that purpose call'd *Feader* and *Turstan*, going to *Worcester*, were slain by the People. The King highly incens'd sent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, *Godwin* of the *West-Saxons*, *Siward* of the *Northumbrians*, and others with great Forces, and Orders to kill all the Men, to burn the City, and waste all th

the Country. Terrify'd with this News, all the People fled, the Country Men to several remote Parts, and the Citizens to a small Island in the *Severn* call'd *Beverage*, which they fortify'd and valiantly defended, 'till Peace was granted them, and free Liberty to return home; but they found their City plunder'd and burnt. Appeas'd with this Act of Severity, *Harde-canute* began to show a better Temper, and shortly after he gave a kind Entertainment to *Edward* his Brother, the Son of King *Ethelred* and *Emma*, who now return'd home, after a tedious Exile in *Normandy*. To his further Commendation he took care to prefer his Sister *Gunhilda* to be Wife of *Henry* the *German* Emperor; a Lady of admirable Beauty, who in her Father's Time had in vain been courted by several Lovers. Her Brother sent her forth with all imaginable Pomp and Splendor, the Nobility both accompanying her to the Sea, and greatly contributing to the Expences, besides what the King's Exchequer could furnish. But Covetousness was not this Prince's Crime, for he delighted in extravagant Expences, especially in Banquets and Feasting; and he allow'd four Meals a Day in his Court, which *Huntington* attributes to his Bounty, as rather desiring that Meat should be taken away untouch'd from such as were invited, than that such as were not invited should complain of Scarcity. As *Harde-canute* liv'd so he dy'd in his beloved Custom of Feasting, at *Lambeth* at a Nuptial Entertainment, which with great Splendor was solemniz'd between *Tovy* a *Danish* Nobleman, and *Gorthy* the Daughter of *Osgod Clapa*, a great Lord of the same Nation, in the Height of his Mirth and Jollity, carousing with the Bride and some of the Company, he suddenly fell down speechless, and dy'd on the eighth Day of *June*, in the Flower of his Age, after a short Reign of two Years and almost two Months.

He wastes Worcester-shire.

He marries his Sister to the Emperor.

His strange Death.

Such was the End of this dissolute young Prince by that Vice which was too familiar to the *Danish* Nation, which to the Cruelty they shew'd before they got Possession of the Land, they afterwards added Gormandizing and Drunkenness. But as he exceeded all in this kind, so tho' he was born in *England*, and consequently might have naturally follow'd the Customs of that Country, yet out of Simpathy with the Humour of the *Danes*, he bore most Affection to them; nay and suffer'd them most insolently to domineer over the *English*. So that we are told, If a *Dane* met an *English* Man upon a Bridge, the latter durst not move 'till the former pass'd over; and if the *English* Man did not bow in the most humble Manner, his Head should be broken, or for his Clownishness he should be severely bastinado'd. And according to *Knigh-ton*, this *Harde-canute* so far increas'd this Insolence, that upon every *English* Family he impos'd a *Dane* as their Lord and Governor; which confirm'd the Occasion of the Word *Lordane* formerly mention'd. The same Vices of Luxury and Effeminacy, which had procur'd Slavery to the *English*, were now come to the Height in the *Danes*, and, as in all Changes of States, caus'd their Ruin in this Nation, and made way for another Revolution. Not that the *English* were much reform'd, for they still retain'd such Distempers, as within a few Years procur'd the intire Destruction of their Empire; but being unreasonably insulted and oppress'd, upon the Death of *Harde-canute* they found Means to throw off their Yoak, and to slay and banish the most insolent and tyrannical of that Nation. And as the old *Romans*, for the Expulsion of their Kings, annually solemniz'd the *Fugalia*, so the joyful *English* in Imitation of them, being freed from the *Danish* Tyranny, instituted the annual Sports of *Hock-Tide*, which signify'd the Times of Scorning or Triumphant; of which there are some Reminders to this Day. *Harde-canute* dying without Issue, and *Denmark* being then embarrass'd with Troubles, with him expir'd, not only the Dominion, but in Effect all Attempts or Invasions of the *Danes* in *England*; which tho' they had been continu'd, and often renew'd with mighty Numbers, for two hundred and fifty five Years from their first Invasion, left no considerable

The Danes decline.

Change of Laws, Customs, Language or Religion, nor other Traces of their Establishment besides the many Castles they built, and the many Families they left behind them, who in a few Years came to incorporate and make a Part of the *English* Nation without Distinction.

C H A P. VI.

The Monarchy of the English Saxons restor'd; From the Death of Harde-canute, to the Death of Harold the last King of the English Race, and the final Period of the Saxon Empire by William Duke of Normandy.

Containing the Space of about 24 Years.

19. 16. *EDWARD the Confessor.*

A. D.
1042.

Earl Godwin
a Friend to
Edward.

By whose Inter-
est he is
crown'd King
of England.

I. **T**HE *English* being happily deliver'd from the Power of the *Danes*, took the Advantage of the last King's dying without Issue, and began to cast their Eyes upon the Posterity of the unfortunate King *Ethelred*, particularly *Edward*, the Son he had by Queen *Emma*. However this Prince was still at a Loss, not knowing what Methods to take for his Safety, 'till at length he resolv'd to cast himself upon the Counsel and Fidelity of Earl *Godwin*, who being sent to for a friendly Conference, for some Time consider'd in his Thoughts whether he should acknowledge him or not, but at length consented to converse with him. *Edward* gaining Access, was ready to fall at his Feet, which when he would not suffer, he related the sad Story of his Brother *Harde-canute's* Death, and with great Promises begg'd his Assistance towards his safe Return into *Normandy*. *Godwin* gave him this unexpected Answer, *That he had better live gloriously a King in England, than ignominiously to dye an Exile; that the Crown did of Right belong to him, as the Son of Ethelred, and Grandson of Edgar, one who was ripe in Years, inured to Toils, and taught by Experience how to administer publick Affairs, and by his own Afflictions how to prevent those of his People. To effect this there would be no Obstacle, if he would confide in him, whose Interest was so great in the Land. Therefore on Condition he would establish a firm Friendship with him, prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, he should shortly see himself a King; tho' now as one shipwrackt in his Fortunes, and a Man banish'd from all Expectations, he implor'd the Aid of another Person.* This Prince's Circumstances were such, as not to reject so fair Proposals, but to agree to every Thing, and comply with the State and Condition of the Times; and whatsoever he requir'd he promis'd by Oath. *Godwin* was a Man fitted by Nature for the managing such an Affair, having a very smooth insinuating Tongue, so eloquent and prevailing, that he could work upon the Affections of the People as he desired, and draw them with Ease to any Thing he design'd. He procur'd a Council to be summon'd to *Gillingham*, where persuading some by his Authority, some by Promises, and others being already inclin'd to favour *Edward's* Cause, he easily brought over a great Majority to his Party; the rest who made Opposition, were overpower'd at present, disgrac'd, and afterwards banish'd out of the Land. On *Easter Day*, which this Year fell on the third of *April*, he

was

was crown'd at *Winchester* by the two Arch-Bishops, *Edsi* of *Canterbury*, and *Alfric* of *York*, assisted with other Prelates, of whom *Living*, Bishop of *Worcester*, much contributed to the compleating this Design. This happen'd about ten Months after the Death of *Harde-canute*, so that this Alteration requir'd some considerable Time, and probably found as considerable Opposition, notwithstanding the great Power of Earl *Godwin*. And thus was the Monarchy of the *English* restor'd to the *English* Royal Blood, and the People so unexpectedly deliver'd from the *Danish* Tyranny, were exceedingly transported with Joy, yet still making way for another Revolution, which they little imagin'd was so near.

msb. *Edward* was now near forty Years of Age, of a soft and complying Temper; and being the Creature of Earl *Godwin*, he conform'd himself wholly to his Dictates and Advice. The first material Thing he did, was to seize on the Treasure of his Mother *Emma*, then at *Winchester*. The Cause alledg'd was, that she had been hard and unkind to him in the Time of his Exile and greatest Necessities; and in reality, she is believ'd to have born too little Affection, either to *Ethelred* or his Children: But *Godwin* however seems to have been the Instiller of this Treatment into the King's Mind, bearing a secret Hatred against her, for concerning her self about the Cruelty shewn to her Son *Alfred*. *Simeon* expressly says, that King *Edward* did it by the Advice of *Leofric*, *Godwin* and *Geward*, who accompanying him from *Glocester* to *Winchester*, he came suddenly to her, and took away all the Gold, Silver or Jewels she had then in Possession; to which *Matth. Westminster* adds, that he yet commanded that she should be supply'd with Necessaries, and be free from all further Molestation. But how fair soever his Actions were towards his Mother, *Godwin* took care that he should deal justly with him, in the Marriage of his Daughter *Egitha*, which about this Time he procur'd to be solemniz'd. The Lady for her admirable Perfections and Qualifications might well deserve a Crown; so that this was none of those many Things wherein the Earl impos'd upon the King. *In-gulph* the Abbot, who in his Youth had often been pos'd by her both in Grammar and Logick, testifies that she was most beautiful, most chaste and virtuous, but especially noted both for her Humility and Learning, favouring nothing of the Insolence either of her Father or Brothers, but mild, modest, faithful and obliging, never doing any kind of ill Offices, so that it became a Proverb, 'That as a Thorn produces a Rose, so *Godwin* begot *Egitha*.'

He seizes on
his Mother's
Treasury.

He marries
Godwin's
Daughter *Egi-
tha*.

ms.Dm. *Edward* thus settled in the Throne, still thought himself not secure, while any eminent Persons of the *Danish* Blood continu'd in the Land. Therefore he banish'd *Gunhilda*, the Sister of King *Canute*, marry'd first to *Hacun*, and then to *Harold* both Earls, but now a Widow, who with her two Sons *Hem-mung* and *Turkill*, were oblig'd to leave the Land, go first to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, and then to *Denmark*. But while he thus thought to prevent Storms at home, he was threaten'd with a Tempest from the Northern World, where *Magnus* the Son of *Olaus* King of *Norway*, to revenge the Injury done here to his Father in the Reign of *Canute*, prepar'd to invade *England*. King *Edward* to secure himself, provided a strong Fleet, which lay expecting *Magnus* in *Sandwich Road*; but *Swane* King of *Denmark*, tho' he had no Reason to oblige the *English*, yet to hinder the Growth of a dangerous Neighbour, intirely diverted *Magnus* by making an Invasion of his Kingdom. This rais'd such Fewds between these two Northern Kings, that *Magnus* in revenge enter'd *Denmark* in the following Year, expell'd King *Swane*, and made himself Lord of the Country. Upon which *Swane* sent Ambassadors to King *Edward*, desiring him, That he would now return such Kindness as he had receiv'd from him, when he was in Danger. *Godwin*'s Opinion was for supplying him with a Fleet of fifty Vessels, both to requite *Swane*, and to give a check to the Success and Ambition of *Magnus*; but Earl *Leofric* and others thought it safer That the King should only be a Spectator, rather than to run the Hazard of

A. D.
1045.
He banishes
many of the
Danish Nobility

disobliging the prevailing Party, and bringing Danger upon himself. And tho' Swane had by his Invasion of Norway, done that which tended to the Repose of England, yet since he took those Measures purely from his own Interest, he could not take it amiss, if King Edward also should steer his Course by the same Compass. And their Counsel had this good Effect, that as Magnus, tho' he held the Crown of Denmark all his Life, offer'd no further Attempts upon England, so Harold Harvager his Uncle and Successor, as soon as he came to the Crown sent Ambassadors to King Edward, and made a solemn League and Alliance with him. This was look'd upon as a great Happiness to the Nation; but an Earthquake at Worcester and Darby, a Pestilence and Famine in many Places, much diminish'd the Enjoyment of it.

A. D.

1049.

He engages
with the Em-
peror against
Baldwin Earl
of Flanders.

While King Edward was free from Wars at home, he was engag'd by Henry the Emperor against Baldwin Earl of Flanders, with whom he had a Contest about a Palace of his Country, which the Earl had fir'd. Pope Leo and Swane King of the Danes assist'd by Land, and lest Baldwin should escape by Sea, he procur'd King Edward to secure the Coasts, which he perform'd, lying with his Fleet before the Port of Sandwich, 'till he understood that an Accommodation was made between them. In the mean Time Swane, the Son of Earl Godwin, having formerly been banish'd, or left the Land, for deflouring Edgitha Abbess of Chester whom he would have marry'd, came back from Denmark with eight Ships, pretending a great Desire to be reconcil'd to the King; and Earl Beorn, a Dane and his Cosen-German, undertook to make his Peace. The War being ended between the Emperor and Earl Baldwin, this Beorn and Godwin who commanded forty two Vessels, by the King's leave were remov'd to Pevensey; to which Place Swane came and sollicit'd his Cosen Beorn, according to Promise to carry him to the King at Sandwich, and obtain his Pardon. Beorn without Scruple repair'd to him, attended only with three Servants, but Swane having brought him to Bosenharn, where his Ships lay at Anchor, carry'd him on Board, caus'd him to be bound, and removing to Dartmouth, he there murder'd him, and threw his Body into a deep Ditch. The Inhabitants of Hastings took six of Swane's Ships, and killing all the Men, carry'd the Vessels to the King at Sandwich. Swane with the other two fled into Flanders, where he continu'd 'till afterwards Aldred Bishop of Worcester brought him back, and notwithstanding all this, reconcil'd him to this gentle King. Crimes of this Nature were at this Time but too common, and too little punish'd; such was the Wickedness of the English Nation, which now again fell into a dangerous Security, tho' the late dreadful Scourge was but just remov'd from their Backs. Nay at this very Time it was again shaken over them: For Osgod Clapa, having with his Wife, as well as other Danes, been banish'd the Land, had got together twenty nine Ships, which infested the Coasts of Essex, but after great Damage done, they met with a Storm, and two of their Ships being driven on Shore, the Men were all put to the Sword. But the English were not only put in mind of the late Danish Cruelties, but the Remembrance of the old Devastations from the Irish Scots was reviv'd on the other Side of the Isle; but with this Difference, that whereas formerly the Britains were Sufferers, now they were become Actors and Abettors. For, as Florent tells us, this same Year in the Month of August, certain Pirates from Ireland, with thirty six Ships enter'd the Mouth of the Severn, where joining with Griffen, King of South-Wales, they ravag'd the Country, and caus'd much Mischief. They proceeded in several Places with Fire and Sword, but whether they retir'd of themselves, or were suppress'd by the English Forces, we do not find.

The Sea-Coasts
infested by Pi-
rates.

A. D.

1051.

He is too kind
to Strangers.

The next Year but one, King Edward to comfort and relieve his People now oppress'd with Famine and Poverty, took off the Tax formerly mention'd call'd Danegeld, impos'd by his Father Ethelred, which had laid heavy upon them for thirty eight Years. But as this Effect of his Indulgence to them, tended much to their Ease and Conveniency, so other Acts of his Kindness to Strangers this

this very Year, prov'd of dangerous Consequence to the whole Nation. The Occasion began from *Eustace* Earl of *Boloign*, Father to the famous *Godfry*, and Husband to *Goda* the King's Sister, who having been to visit the Court, and returning through *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers was so rude with a Townsman in seeking for Lodgings; that in the Heat of Anger he provok'd him to kill him. The Earl with his whole Retinue going into the House where this Servant had been kill'd; slew both the Murderer and eighteen more who defended him; but the Townsmen running to Arms, reveng'd themselves by the Slaughter of twenty one more of the Earl's Servants, and the wounding almost all the rest. *Eustace* with much Difficulty escaping, with great Clamour hasten'd to the King, and being seconded by other *Norman* Courtiers, he rais'd him to that Fury, that he immediately order'd Earl *Godwin* to march to *Canterbury*, and punish the Citizens with military Execution. He on the contrary alledg'd, *That no Man was to be condemn'd unheard*, inwardly grieving that the King should favour Strangers more than his own Subjects; for many of them he had prefer'd to great Places, and Trust, both in Church and State; particularly *Robert* a *Norman* was made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *William* another of that Country Bishop of *London*, which much exasperated the *English* against the *Normans*. Being join'd with some others who lov'd their Country, *Godwin* urg'd; *That the chief Actors in the late Disorder should first be fairly try'd; in case they were found innocent to be dismiss'd, but if culpable to be fin'd, or undergo some corporal Punishment for the Breach of the King's Peace, and the Violence and Affront that they had offer'd to the Earl.* He further put him in mind, *That it was his Business to protect his People, and not to condemn them without due Process.* In conclusion he refus'd to obey his Commands, not regarding the King's Anger, which he conceiv'd would last but a short Time; but *Edward* displeas'd at his Behaviour, and being by others excited to Revenge, he call'd an Assembly of all the Nobility at *Glocester*. Most repair'd thither, only *Godwin* and his Sons appear'd not, suspecting that the Nobility were too much of the King's Humour, but immediately took to Arms. *Godwin* rais'd Forces out of his Earldom, which consisted of *Kent*, *South-Sex* and *West-Sex*; his Eldest Son *Swane* did the same in his, which contain'd *Oxfordshire*, *Glocestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Somersetshire* and *Barkshire*; and *Harold* the youngest Son out of his, comprising *Essex*, *East-England* and *Huntingtonshire*.

which occasions
Godwin and
his Sons to take
to Arms.

^{Imb.}
^{An.} These took up their Quarters at *Beverstan*, and spread a Report that their Forces were to march against the *Welsh*, who design'd an Irruption into *Herefordshire*; and *Swane* under that Pretence lay encamp'd with Part of his Army in those Parts. But the *Welsh* having some notice of this Artifice, prevented it by clearing themselves at Court, where *Godwin* and his Sons were render'd so odious, that the King's Army now immediately expected to march against them. *Edward* had sent to *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, and *Syward* of *Northumberland* to come and assist him in this Extremity; who after a little Time gather'd together a considerable Force, with which *Rodolph*, the King's Nephew by his Sister *Goda*, join'd himself. In the mean Time *Godwin* and his Sons proceeded into *Glocestershire*, and incamp'd at a Place call'd *Langtree*, from whence they sent to the King then lying at *Glocester*, and demanded Earl *Eustace* and his Company to be deliver'd up, together with such *Normans* and *Bulloignois* as held the Castle at *Canterbury*, upon Refusal denouncing War. The King was much surpriz'd at this Message, not knowing how to act; but upon hearing that the Forces of *Leofric*, *Syward* and *Rodolph* were on their March, he sent back the Messenger with an absolute Refusal. They were newly gone when the King's Forces arriv'd at *Glocester*, so enrag'd, that he with great Difficulty restrain'd them from marching immediately to engage with *Godwin*. *Leofric* and the wiser Sort, sensible of the Miseries of a Civil War, persuaded the King to come to a Treaty, of which they conceiv'd the greater Hopes, because *Godwin* had

who are forc'd
to quit the
Land.

William Duke
of Normandy
visits King Ed-
ward.

Queen Emma
undergoes the
fiery Trial.

had given Orders to his Sons not to engage first, but to defend themselves if they were attack'd by the King's Forces. They brought both Parties to this Agreement, that Hostages should be given on both Sides, and the whole Contest be referr'd to a further Debate to be held at *London*. The King having encreas'd his Forces out of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, went with them and his Nobility to *London*; and *Godwin* having done the like in *West-Sex*, repair'd to *Southwark*. The grand Council, by way of Satisfaction to the King, order'd *Godwin* and his Son *Harold* to appear before them unarm'd, and but with twelve Attendants, and to deliver up all their Forces into the Hands of the King. They pleaded *That they could not give up themselves into the Hands of their Enemies without sufficient Caution and Security, otherwise they were ready to surrender their Forces, and to obey the King in all Things that were consistent with their Honour and Safety; but to come unarm'd, and with so few Followers, was to hazard both their Lives and Reputations.* The King by this Answer was further exasperated, and thereupon an Edict was publish'd by Consent of the Council and Army, That *Godwin* and his Sons should quit the Land within five Days. His Soldiers dreading the Consequence, began to abandon him, so that finding it safest to give way to the Times, the Earl departed with his Wife *Gytha*, and three Sons, *Swane*, *Gyrth* and *Tosti*, into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, Father-in-Law to *Tosti*, with as much Treasure as the Ship could carry. *Harold* and *Leofwin*, his other Sons, went to *Bristol*, where taking a Ship that their Brother *Swane* had provided for himself, they sail'd into *Ireland*. *Harold's* Earldom was conferr'd on *Elgar*, the Son of *Leofric*; and the King to pursue his Indignation, depriv'd *Egitha* his Queen of all her Jewels and Treasure, and sent her away only with one Attendant to the Nunnery of *Warewell*, there to be kept in Custody by the Abbess his Sister.

The Enemy thus remov'd, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, with a great Train of *Normans*, came over into *England* to visit his old Friend King *Edward*, where he and his Retinue were nobly and magnificently entertain'd, richly presented, and imprudently led to the chief Castles and Forts, and shew'd the whole Strength of the Nation, and whatever else was in a short Time to be their own. Tho', as *Ingulph* assures us, there was yet no Expectation of his succeeding in the Kingdom, or at least no Mention made of it between the King and the Duke. About the same Year, we are told that Queen *Emma* was accus'd both of consenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and also of preparing Poison for *Edward*, and lastly of Incontinence with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*, and all this by *Robert* the *Norman*, whom the King had made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. Upon which Accusation, being closely confin'd to *Warewell*, she wrote to all the Bishops of *England*, who were her Friends, professing, *That she was more afflicted at the Scandal rais'd against the good Bishop, than at her own Infamy; and that she was ready to clear her Innocency by undergoing the severe Trial by Ordeale, and passing over red hot Irons.* Upon which the Bishops met, and had easily prevail'd upon the King to remit and forget all, but *Robert* violently oppos'd them, demanding of them, *How they durst defend a Woman guilty of so many Crimes?* concluding, *That if she would pass bare-foot and blindfold over nine red-hot Plow-shares, four steddly Paces for herself, and five for the Bishop, she might pass for Innocent.* Whereupon the Day of Trial was appointed, and before the King and all his Bishops, except *Robert*, she pass'd unhurt over all the Plow-shares; using these Words to her Leaders, as not knowing she was past Danger, *O Lord, when shall I come to the Place of my Purgation?* But having her Eyes uncover'd, and seeing herself at Liberty, she fell upon her Knees, and with Tears gave Thanks to her Deliverer; whereby she recover'd both the Love, and her former Estate of the King, with the Esteem and Applause of the People. In Memory of which she gave nine Mannors, according to the Number of the Plow-shares, to the Cathedral of *Winchester*, and beautify'd it with many rich Ornaments; as likewise

the King, repenting the Injury done to her, bestow'd on the same Church the Isle of *Portland* and other Possessions. The Substance of this remarkable Story is deliver'd both by *Bromton* and *Knignton*, and *Harpfield* has enlarg'd it with some Circumstances. But the ancient Authors, as *Malmesbury* and others, are wholly silent in this Matter; so that the Story is justly suspected, tho' not yet fully confuted. Of more Certainty we find that this famous Queen dy'd the Year after this suppos'd fiery Trial, and was bury'd in the Cathedral of *Winchester*.

Her Death.

An.
msb.

In the same Year *Griffin* the *Welsh* King made an Inroad into *Herefordshire*, and ravag'd a great Part of the Country; against whom the Inhabitants arose, and the *Normans* that held the Castle of *Hereford* sall'y'd out and engaging him were defeated, so that he return'd home with great Booty. Not long after *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of Earl *Godwin*, returning out of *Ireland*, pass'd with many Vessels up the *Severn*, and landing in the Counties of *Somerset* and *Dorset*, they plunder'd many Villages; and tho' great Numbers march'd against them, they put them to the rout, and having slain thirty principal Officers, besides many of the ordinary Sort, they return'd with much Booty to their Ships. King *Edward* alarm'd with the News, and expecting Earl *Godwin* as well as his Sons, order'd forty well-furnish'd Ships into *Sandwich* Road to prevent his Landing; but notwithstanding this Care, he found Means to come ashore undiscover'd in *Kent*, where he sent Messengers round about, and first engag'd the Inhabitants of *Canterbury* who own'd him as a Sufferer for their Sakes, then those of *Sussex*, *Essex*, *Surry*, and all the Sea-men of *Hastings*, and others of those Maritime Parts, who promis'd to live and dye with him. The Fleet having Notice of his Landing, some were sent to pursue him; but he concealing himself, they return'd first to *Sandwich*, and then came up to *London*. *Godwin* pass'd to the Isle of *Wight*, and coasted about 'till he was join'd by his Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin*. Yet still they forbore all Hostilities, but on the Coasts and elsewhere they drew over as many Men as they could, especially Sea-Men, and so made for *Sandwich* Road, from whence the News flew to *London*, and so startled the Court, that immediately Command was issu'd out from the King to all his Loving Subjects, to hasten and assist him in a Time of so great Necessity. Yet they delay'd so long, that *Godwin* had Opportunity to pass up the *Thames* as far as *Southwark*, where waiting for a Tide, he spent the Time in conferring with the *Londoners*, whom he procur'd to act according to his Designs. At high Water he advanc'd further, and no Opposition being made upon the Bridge, he row'd up by the Southern Bank 'till he met with his Land Army, which he drew up in Battalia formidable to the Spectators on the other Side; and now he directed his Navy towards the King's Gallies, shipping off his Men, and making all Things ready to follow. *Edward* by this Time on the other Side had gather'd together a competent Force, and all Persons expected an Engagement; but the Soldiers on both Sides agreed in this, that they were not willing to fight *English* against *English*, which gave the wiser Sort an Opportunity of mediating a Peace, by means of which the two Armies were speedily disbanded. The Effect of it was that *Godwin*, his Wife and Sons were restor'd to their former Honours and Estates, all except *Swane*, who as a Penance for Murdering his Cousen *Beorn* had undertaken a Pilgrimage bare-foot from *Flanders* to *Jerusalem*, and in his Return dy'd of a Cold he had got in *Lycia*. The King receiv'd his Wife *Egitha* the Earl's Daughter to her former Dignity; Right and Justice was now promis'd to all Men, and such *Normans* as had abus'd his Authority and given him ill Counsel, were banish'd the Land. Some few, as *Robert* the Deacon, *Richard* his Son-in-Law, *Alverede* the King's Groom, *Axfred* firnam'd *Cooksfoot*, and some others whom the King much favour'd, and who had done no ill Offices, were permitted to stay. But *Robert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *William* Bishop of *London*, and *Ulf* Bishop of *Lincoln* with their Followers with much

A. D.
1052.

Godwin and
his Sons return
with great
Power.

They are resto-
red.

Several of the
Normans ba-
nish'd.

Diffi-

Difficulty escap'd, and got over Sea: Yet afterwards *William* upon the Account of his good Temper was permitted to return. *Osbirne* and his Companion *Hugh* surrender'd their Castles, and by Leave of Earl *Leofric*, pass'd through his Government into *Scotland*, where they were entertain'd by King *Macbeth*. In this same Year on St. *Thomas's* Night happen'd so violent a Tempest, that it overturn'd many Churches and Houses, and broke and tore up by the Roots an innumerable Quantity of Trees.

A. D. 1053. In the following Year, *Res* the Brother of *Griffin* King of *South-Wales* being taken Prisoner, as a publick Enemy, for the many Insolencies he had committed, was by Command of King *Edward* put to Death at a Place call'd *Bulendum*, and his Head sent to him at *Glocester*. This afforded sufficient Matter for Discourse, but as little Reports are suppress'd by greater, this was soon quash'd by the Rumour and Talk about the Death of Earl *Godwin*, which happen'd the same Year at *Easter*. King *Edward* celebrating this Feast at *Wimchester*, and *Godwin*, as his Custom was, sitting at the Table with him, was suddenly seiz'd with so violent a Distemper as struck him speechless, and threw him down from the Seat where he sat. His three Sons, *Harold*, *Tosti* and *Gyrth* being present, remov'd him into the King's Chamber, hoping it was but a Fit that would not last long; but he lay in that languishing Condition four Days, and dy'd on the fifth, and was bury'd in the old Monastery. This is the usual Account of his Death; to which the *Norman* Monks, and such as write in favour of them, add other Circumstances, which much shew his Guilt, or their Malice. They relate, that Mention being made at the King's Table of *Alfred* his late Brother, he thereupon look'd very angrily at *Godwin*; and he to vindicate himself, readily reply'd, *That he perceiv'd that upon every Mention made of that Prince, he cast a frowning Countenance upon him: But, added he, let not God suffer me to swallow this Morsel, if I am guilty of any Thing done, either towards the taking away his Life, or against your Interest.* After which Words, he was choak'd with the Bit he had just put into his Mouth, immediately sunk down, and never recover'd. But whatever was the Manner of his Death, he was a Man of an active and a turbulent Spirit, not nicely conscientious either in gaining or keeping, and not to be vindicated in his forcing his Sovereign to what he pleas'd. But had he not been so great a Lover of his Country, and an Enemy to Strangers, those who wrot in the *Norman* Times, and who durst not but write what would please their Masters, would have dismiss'd him without this Story, and with a fairer Character. His first Wife was the Sister of King *Canute*, who was kill'd by *Thunder*, a Judgment which was believ'd fell upon her for her Cruelty, for she made Merchandise of selling handsom Boys and Girls into *Denmark*. By his second Wife he had six Sons, *Harold*, *Swane*, *Wined*, *Tosti*, *Gyrth* and *Leafwin*; his Earldom of *West-Sex* was given to his Son *Harold*, and the Earldom of *Essex*, which *Harold* had before, was conferr'd on *Algar* the Son of *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*.

Earl Godwin dies.

His Character.

A. D. 1054. In the next Year, *Syward* the valiant Earl of *Northumberland* was sent with a powerful Body of Horse and a strong Fleet into *Scotland*, where he fought a Battel with *Macbeth* King of that Country, whom he defeated, with the Deaths of many of his *Scots*, and such *Normans* as had before gone over to him; and quite expelling him, he made *Malcolm* King in his stead, according to the Orders he had receiv'd from King *Edward*. But this Victory was purchas'd with the Lives of many of the *English* and *Danes*, besides *Syward's* own Son, of whose Death when he heard, he demanded *Whether he had receiv'd his Wound before or behind?* and when he was answer'd *Before*, he declar'd himself *Glad, otherwise he should not have thought him worthy of Burial.* King *Edward* having sent this Earl into the North to fight, about the same Time he sent *Alfred* Bishop of *Worcester* with great Presents, to treat with the Emperor of *Germany* about his Cousen *Edward*, the Son of King *Edmund Ironside*, and of sending him out of *Hungary* into *England*; for having no Issue of his own to succeed

Earl Syward makes Malcolm King of Scotland.

Prince Edward sent for out of Hungary.

succeed him, and the Sons of *Godwin* being very powerful, he took Care for his nearest Kinsman, to whom the Crown of Right should belong. But *Syward* Earl of *Northumberland* did not long survive his Victory, and his Son's Death, dying the following Year at *York*, where he was bury'd in the Monastery of *St. Mary's* without the Walls, built by himself, according to *Ingulph*, tho' *Simeon* speaks of his being interr'd at a Monastery call'd *Galmanko* of his own Erection. *Huntington*, who gives him the Epithete of *Consul Rigidissimus*, tells us his Disease was a Dyfentery, and that he was highly afflicted that he should end his Days in such a Manner. Therefore perceiving his Death to approach, he cry'd out, *How asham'd am I, that I could not dye gloriously in one of the many Battels I have fought, but be thus reserv'd to the ignominious Death of Beasts: Arm me with my impenetrable Corslet, gird me with my faithful Sword, and set my Helmet upon my Head; give me in my left Hand my large Buckler, and in my right my gilded Scimiter, that being a valiant Soldier, like a Soldier I may die.* Thus couragiously he spoke, and as he spoke, he dy'd standing in that honourable Posture he desir'd. His Son *Walteof* being very young, his Government was bestow'd on *Tofti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*.

Syward's Death.

About the same Time King *Edward* in an Assembly held at *London*, banish'd Earl *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*, without any Cause says *Simeon*, but *Huntington* writes, that he was publickly convicted of Treason. Whether guilty or not, he thought himself so aggriev'd, that he went over into *Ireland*, and there procuring a Fleet of eighteen Piratical Vessels, he with them sail'd to *Griffin* King of the *Welsh*, desiring his Assistance against his Sovereign King *Edward*. *Griffin* ready to serve him in this Particular, soon rais'd a considerable Force, and joining with *Algar* invaded *Herefordshire*, against whom the King's Nephew *Rodulph* made Head, one of small Courage, who meeting them two Miles from *Hereford*, hors'd all the *English* contrary to their accusom'd Way of Fighting; which only serv'd them for the greater Conveniency of flying; for when the Battel was scarce begun, *Rodulph* with his *French* and *Normans* first began to run, which soon occasion'd the rest to follow, who in their Flight lost about five hundred Men, besides what were wounded. *Griffin* and *Algar* swell'd with this Success enter'd *Hereford*, where they slew several Canons who in their Habits would have maintain'd the great Door of the principal Church against them; which done they burnt the Monastery with all its Ornaments and Relicks, kill'd several of the Citizens, took more Prisoners, plunder'd and burnt the City, and departed with great Spoils. The King highly alarm'd at these Actions, commanded Forces to be rais'd throughout *England*, which rendezvousing at *Glocester*, he committed the Conduct of them to Earl *Harold*, who marching speedily into *Wales*, encamp'd beyond *Straddale*, where *Griffin* and *Algar* durst not face him, but knowing him to be a Man both of Skill and Vigour, they retir'd into *South-Wales*. *Harold* finding the March difficult, left the greatest Part of his Forces to observe their Motions, and with the rest return'd to *Hereford*, which he strongly fortify'd. During this Employment, the two Commanders thinking it best to obtain Peace, sent to desire a Meeting at a Place call'd *Byligesleage*, where a firm Peace and Amity was concluded; in Pursuance of which *Algar* sent away his Ships, and went himself to the King, by whom he was restor'd to his former Command. But *Griffin* the next Year broke the Peace on his part, by setting upon *Leofgar* Bishop of *Hereford*, whom he slew together with his Clerks, and *Agelwoth* Vice-Earl of the County, and many others.

Earl Algar rebels.

He is restored.

In the following Year, *Edward* the Son of King *Edmund Ironside*, at the Desire of his Uncle came into *England* out of *Hungary*, being by him design'd for his Successor; but not long after he dy'd at *London*, and was bury'd at *St. Paul's* Church, leaving behind him one Son nam'd *Edgar Etheling*, and two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Christina*. Not long after he was follow'd to a better Life by Earl *Leofric*, who dy'd in his own Village of *Bromleage*, and

A. D.

1057.

Prince Edward comes into England and dies.

Earl Leofric dies.

was bury'd in a Monastery of his own Founding at *Coventry*, a pious charitable Man, and the *Nestor* of his Age, one to whose Counsels several Kings, and the whole Nation had often been oblig'd. He was succeeded by his Son *Algar* in his Earldom, which soon miss'd him, he being banish'd a second Time in less than a Year after his Father's Death, yet by the Assistance of *Griffin*, the *Welsh* King, who would not desert him, and a Fleet of *Norway* Men, which by Chance came into his Aid, he shortly after by Force recover'd his Government: So successful was Treason in these vicious Times. The following Year 1060, *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* came and gave a Visit to King *Edward*, and contracted so great a Friendship with his Neighbour *Tosti*, who brought him on his Way, that they became sworn Brethren, tho' to what Effect, the Event shew'd within two Years; for *Tosti* being gone to *Rome* with *Aldred* Arch-Bishop of *York*, his sworn Brother *Malcolm* took the Advantage of his Absence, and cruelly wasted the Places under his Government, and broke the Peace of *St. Cuthbert* in the *Holy Island*, as *Simeon* complains. While *Malcolm* thus distress'd the Northern Parts, *Griffin* King of the *Welsh*, both by Sea and Land severely harass'd the West, which occasion'd King *Edward* from *Glocester* to dispatch *Harold* with a Party of Horse, soon after *Christmas*, to surprize him, if possible. Yet *Griffin* got Notice of his coming, and with Difficulty escap'd; but abandoning most of his Ships, *Harold* commanded them to be burnt, and so return'd. About Rogation Week with a considerable Fleet *Harold* set Sail from *Bristol*, and compassing the greatest Part of *Wales*, he join'd himself to the Horse, with which his Brother *Tosti* by the King's Order met him, and did such Damage to the Country, that the *Britains* yielded themselves to him, deliver'd up Hostages, consented to pay Tribute, and entirely renounc'd *Griffin* their King. At present *Griffin* escap'd, but in the following Year he was taken by *Griffin* King of *North-Wales*; and being for his perfidious Dealings punish'd with Death, his Head, together with the Head of his Ship, were sent as a Present to *Harold*. He sent them to King *Edward*, who was so generous as to bestow the Dominions of *Griffin* upon his two Brothers, *Blechgent* and *Rithwalan*, who in the Presence of *Harold* swore Allegiance to him, to obey him both by Sea and Land, and engag'd to pay whatever had been paid out of the Country to the former Kings of *England*. *Griffin* left behind him a Son nam'd *Caradoc*, who was highly dissatisfy'd to find his Inheritance thus made over to his Uncles; therefore when *Harold*, as a Curb to the Country and his own Conveniency of Hunting, had erected a stately House upon the *Severn*, furnish'd with the choicest Provisions, *Caradoc* out of Disdain and Revenge, suddenly came down with a Party, kill'd all the Artificers, demolish'd the House, and took away all the Provisions.

Thus was *Harold* disappointed in those Parts; but soon after his Brother *Tosti* was in greater Danger, from a Conspiracy rais'd against him in his own Government of *Northumberland*; occasion'd by an Officer nam'd *Gospatrick*, with whom having a Contest, his Sister Queen *Egitha* caus'd him to be slain at Court. This Quarrel being espous'd by the Friends of *Gospatrick*, two of them, nam'd *Ganiel* and *Ulf*, were treacherously drawn in, and murder'd in *Tosti's* Chamber. These Actions, with the intollerable Exactions upon the Country, so incens'd the Inhabitants, that three or four of the principal Men, viz. *Ganiolbarn*, *Demstan* and *Gloineorn*, with four hundred others in Arms, enter'd *York*, and first slew two of *Tosti's* Household Servants, who were flying from the City, and the Day following, above two hundred more of his Attendants, on the North Side of the River *Humber*. Then breaking open his Treasury, they rifled all they could find, and departed. Upon which *Tosti* made great Complaints to the King, and at his Desire, his Brother *Harold* was appointed to accommodate this troublesome Affair. But as they were going into the North for that purpose, the whole Country in a manner met them

The Scots infest the North of England:

And the Welsh the West.

which ended with the Death of their King.

The Misbehaviour of Tosti one of Earl Godwin's Sons

them at *Northampton*, and afterwards at *Oxford* vehemently oppos'd the Designs of *Tosti*, declaring, *That they were free Men born, and as freely educated; That they would not indure the Insolence of an Earl; for they had learnt from their Ancestors to chuse either Death or Liberty.* They continu'd so unanimous and resolute, that in a short Time they procur'd *Tosti* and his Ministers to be all banish'd. He went over with his Wife to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, his Father-in-Law, and *Morchar*, the Son of *Algar*, according to the Country's Request, was made Earl of *Northumberland* in his room. This was the most probable Occasion of *Tosti's* Banishment; tho' *Huntington*, who had heard many Stories of hated Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, gives us a different Account; namely, That *Tosti* being jealous of the King's Favour towards his Brother *Harold*, openly assaulted him in his Presence at Dinner; and afterwards when *Harold* had prepar'd an extraordinary Entertainment for the King at *Hereford*, *Tosti* slew several of his Servants, and put their mangled Limbs into the Butts of Wine and other Liquors, making a barbarous Jest, *That they should not want pickled Meats.* The same Author says, that the King foretold, *That the Destruction of their Family was nigh, and that the Wrath of God would not much longer be deferr'd:* For, adds he. they were arriv'd to that Degree of Barbarism and Cruelty, that if they lik'd the House or Possession of any Man, they would by Night procure the Owner to be murder'd, with all his Children, to get his Estate: And these were at that Time the chief Justiciaries of the Kingdom.

He and his Agents are banish'd.

But if the King upon this or some other Occasion predicted the Ruin of the Sons of *Godwin* to be just approaching, it so far prov'd true, that their ill Stars began to operate about this Time; for *Tosti* was not only banish'd the Land, but *Harold* was driven from it by the very Winds and Seas. Being at his House at *Bosenham* in *Sussex*, a Place unjustly obtain'd by his Father, *Harold* for his Recreation with some of his Retinue, took a Fisher-Boat on the Sea; but sailing a little further than they design'd, a Tempest arose, and drove them cross the *English* Channel to the Coasts of *Normandy*, where they were oblig'd to land in the Territories of the Earl of *Ponthieu*. The Inhabitants of that Country, according to a barbarous Practice usual in most Sea-Coasts, immediately seiz'd upon the Earl and his Followers, took them Prisoners, and put Fetters upon them. *Harold* upon this hired a Messenger to go to *William* Duke of the Country and acquaint him, *That he was sent over by the King of England, by his Word and Presence to confirm what other lesser Envoys had only whisper'd; but that he was detain'd Prisoner, and hinder'd from the Discharge of his Message by Gwido Earl of Ponthieu.* Upon which *Harold* by the Command of Duke *William* was immediately set at Liberty, and by *Gwido* conducted to his Court; where being honourably entertain'd, he was also invited to an Expedition into *Little Britain*, where at that Time the *Norman* Duke made War. By his Wit and Valour he so well recommended himself to the Duke, that he was highly esteem'd by him; to whom, that he might also the more endear himself, he promis'd by a solemn Oath, That when King *Edward* dy'd, he would deliver up the Castle of *Dover* to him, which was then under his Command, and procure him to succeed in the Kingdom of *England*. Upon which Promise the Duke's Daughter, as yet too young for Marriage, was contracted to him; and he was sent home with very rich Presents. This is the Account that *Malmesbury* and some others give of this important Accident. But *Ingulph* tells us, That King *Edward* now grown old, perceiving his Brother *Edgar Etheling* both in Body and Mind unfit to govern, and on the other Side Duke *William* his Kinsman by the Mother of great Merit and Renown, sent Arch-Bishop *Robert*, to acquaint the Duke with his Purpose of making him his Successor, not long before *Harold* came thither. But if the Substance of this be true, it must be by some other Messenger, for Arch-Bishop *Robert* was dead long before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, That *Harold* went into *Normandy* by the

A. D. 1065.

His Brother Harold driven into Normandy

He promises William the Crown of England.

the King's Permission, or Connivance, to free his Brother *Wulnod*, and his Nephew *Hacun* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had taken Hostages of *Godwin*, and sent into *Normandy*; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold* that his Voyage thither would be to the Detriment of all *England*, and his own Reproach; and that Duke *William* then inform'd *Harold*, That *Edward* before his coming to the Crown had promis'd him that he should succeed him, if ever he obtain'd it himself. Lastly *Matthew Paris* believes him driven to *Normandy* by a Tempest, where to gain his Liberty he made a Promise contrary to his Intentions, and enter'd into that secret Confederacy out of Necessity.

King Edward
founds St. Peter's
Church in
Westminster.

He dies.

His Character.

Whatever the Occasion of his Promise and Engagement was, the Time drew near, that he should be put to the Trial. For now approach'd that Year, that dreadful Year to him, and his *English-Saxon* Nation, signaliz'd by a famous Comet, which according to *Ingulph* portended that great Change of Government, that slaughter of the People, and that great Calamity which shortly fell upon the Land. King *Edward* declining in Years and Strength daily grew weaker, yet kept his *Christmases* at *Westminster*, and assisted at the Dedication of *St. Peter's* Church there, which he had founded, or at least re-edify'd it with great Magnificence, and by a Charter granted it many Immunities and Privileges, to which was annex'd the first great Seal us'd in *England*. But on the fifth Day of *January*, having receiv'd the Blessed Eucharist, he recommended his Soul to God, and quietly departed this Life; to the exceeding Grief of the miserable People. According to his Commands he was bury'd in his late Dedicated Church with great Solemnity; having reign'd from the Death of *Harde-canute* twenty three Years, six Months, and twenty seven Days. This Prince is noted for his great Innocence and Simplicity, being much inclinable to Devotion and Religious Exercises; and we are told that he was the first King of *England* that by Touching cur'd that Distemper call'd the *King's Evil*. He is said to have been so chaste, that never as a Husband enjoy'd his own Wife, tho' a very beautiful Lady; for which, as well as his other Virtues, and particularly his Charity to the Poor, he is commonly stil'd *St. Edward the Confessor*. But he was indeed but a weak and easie Prince, and too liable to be mis-led by the Suggestions of those about him, as may be observ'd in his severe Proceedings against his Mother and Wife: Tho' that very easiness of Nature is in him reckon'd for a Virtue, as appears from this Story related by Abbot *Ailred*: This King being in an Afternoon laid down upon his Bed to repose himself, with the Curtains close about him, and no Person in the Chamber, a Boy employ'd in the meaner Offices of the House came in, who seeing none in the Room, and finding the Chest open where *Hugolin* the Chamberlain kept the Money for the King's ordinary Expences, he run hastily to it, and filling his Pockets with Money departed: All which was thorough the Curtains seen by the King, who without Disturbance let him pass. The Boy finding his Success, resolv'd to make a second Attempt; and coming to get more, the King call'd out to him, *Sirrah, you had best be content with what you got, for if Hugolin comes, he'll not only whip you severely, but take away all you have stolen*. Upon this the Boy fled, and when *Hugolin* came in, and express'd much Passion for the Money that he mis'd, the King calmly bad him rest contented, *For, the poor Rogue that has it, wants it more than we*. So that in short, we may rely upon *Malmesbury's* Character of this Prince, That if we consider his Simplicity, he seem'd very unfit for Government; yet by reason of his Virtue and Piety towards God, he was so directed by him, that the most Politick and Courageous Kings have scarce ruled more happily: For during his Reign the Kingdom was never invaded by Foreign Enemies, nor disturb'd by Civil Contentts, but what were easily suppress'd.

Yet it was the Misfortune of the Nation, as well as himself, that he was formerly driven into Banishment, and living in another Country, was moulded into the Humour, Fashions and Customs of it, and out of good Nature constrain'd to be grateful to such as had well deserv'd of him in his Necessities, more than

than the Temper, if not the Interest of his own Subjects could bear. Yet most of the People in Compliance and Conformity with him did so transform themselves into Foreign Shapes, as foretold their Subjection in a short Time to those the Manners and Usages of whom they had already assum'd; so that the Conquerors had nothing to do but to Master their Bodies, since their Minds and Affections were theirs already. *Ingulph*, an Eye-Witness, informs us, That *Edward* being bred up in *Normandy*, through his long Continuance in that Country was almost chang'd into a *Frenchman*, and brought great Numbers over with him, whom he promoted to various Dignities, and highest Places of Trust. Thus introduc'd, all the Nation began to leave off their *English* Customs, and to imitate the Manners of the *French*: All the Nobility in their Houses spoke the *French* Tongue, as an Instance of Gallantry, made their Writings and Letters after the *French* Fashion, and became assum'd of their own Usages, both in these and other Matters: And this Humour, together with the Vices of the Nation, more and more encreas'd, 'till at length to those they admir'd they became Slaves and Vassals: So much was that Saying verifi'd, 'That where a Foreign Tongue prevails, it is reckon'd half a Conquest. The Laws of this Prince His Laws. have bore a great Reputation, being collected from those of the *Mercians*, *West-Saxons* and *Northumbrians*, as well as from those of *Alfred*, *Edward* the Elder and *Edgar*, reduc'd into one Body, and writ in *Latin*, of which we have still some Remains. But when the Reader hears the Laws of *St. Edward*, so much applauded, and so much contested after the Conquest, he is to remember that the *English-Saxon* Laws are there meant, which were in a great Degree the Fountain of those which to this Day we term the *Common Law*, tho' the Forms of Pleading and Process were afterwards brought in by the *Normans*. But they receiv'd their Denomination from King *Edward*, as being in Effect the last King of the *Saxon* Race, and one whose Memory the People reverenc'd, for the high Reputation he had gain'd for his great Sanctity, and Clemency to his Subjects. In this Prince the Royal Regnant Line of the *West-Saxon* Kings, which from *Cerdic* the first of them had Dominion in *Britain* five hundred and forty seven Years, receiv'd its Period.

20. 17. H A R O L D.

den. msh. II. Tho' the Glory and Happiness of the *West-Saxon* Family was now at a Period, yet this did not put an End to the *English* Empire, and in its own Fall involve the Fate of the Nation: This was reserv'd to be the Work of an inferior House, out of which a Stranger should arise to pull down the whole Fabrick, and bury himself in its last Ruins. King *Edward* being dead, three laid Claim to the Crown; first *Edgar Etheling*, the undoubted Heir, as being Grand-Son to King *Edmund Ironside*, who was Elder Brother to the King last in Possession. The next was *William* Duke of *Normandy*, the Kinsman of the late King by his Mother *Emma*, being her Brother's Grandson, one who in Blood could find no Pretext, but upon the Kindness and Promise of his deceas'd Kinsman. The last was *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwin*, who could produce no shew of Right by Descent, but positively alledg'd the late King's Designment, and thought he could plead more Merit than both the other. *Edgar* was too much a Stranger, and had neither Time nor Ability in Estate or Mind to make any more Interest than what mere Conscience had wrought in the Minds of the People, which is usually very feeble and infirm upon such Occasions. *William* was a glorious Prince, and as such acknowledg'd, but between him and *England* was a Ditch so deep and spacious, that the Danger was too far distant to be much regarded. *Harold* was a noble and popular Man, the greatest Minister of the deceas'd King, one of great Valour and dextrous Conduct, civil and obliging, and of such Qualifications as fitted him for a Crown; and what was more advantageous,

A Dispute about the Succession.

A. D. 1066.

Harold is elected King.

vantagious, he had all the Court and Grandees at his beck, whom he had either oblig'd by his Kindness, or won by his Authority. He therefore took the immediate Advantage of his Power, and being declar'd Successor by the late King, on the same Day that he was bury'd, he assum'd the Title, and was crown'd King, being chosen, as *Simeon* assures us, by the Princes of all *England*. Only a Manuscript Chronicle in the *Cottonian* Library relates, That when King *Edward* laid upon his Death Bed, Earl *Harold* came to him, and desir'd him to nominate him for his Successor, to whom the King reply'd, *That he had already made Duke William his Heir*. But the Earl and his Friends still persisting in their Request, the King turning his Head to the Wall, reply'd, *When I am dead, let the English make either the Duke or the Earl their King*: Which if true, shews that it was but a Consent in part, which was also extorted from him.

He begins laudably.

Harold being made King immediately proceeded to the Performance of many laudable Actions: He repeal'd many hard and antiquated Laws, and made others that were better; he became a Patron to Churches and Monasteries, and seem'd not only to respect, but to reverence the Bishops, Abbots, Monks and all the Clergy; to all good Men he shew'd himself humble and obliging, to the Vicious he declar'd an Aversion, commanding all his Officers to detect and punish all Thieves, Robbers and Disturbers of the publick Peace; and in conclusion, he made it his Business to defend his Country both by Sea and Land. But both his own Fate, and that of the Nation was too urgent to permit him long to continue these Methods. On the 24th of *April* a dreadful and unusual Comet appear'd with great Lustre for seven Days; seen, as was reported, throughout the World. The first Mischief believ'd to have been portended by it, was from *Harold's* own Brother *Tosti*, who having been banish'd chiefly by his Procurement, and unable to bear his Brother's high Preferment, was excited by so much Envy and Indignation, as to endeavour his certain Ruin. For which purpose he sail'd out of *Flanders* with some Ships to the Isle of *Wight*, from whence having forc'd Money from the Inhabitants, he practis'd Piracy upon all the Coasts 'till he came to *Sandwich* Haven. *Harold* being then at *London*, immediately got ready both a strong Fleet, and a considerable Party of Horse, resolving like a good Warrior to go in Person to *Sandwich*; which being made known to *Tosti*, he took all the Seamen with him he could find, and sail'd to the Coasts of *Lincolnshire*, where he burnt many Villages, and kill'd many Men: But *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and his Brother *Morchar* Earl of *Northumberland*, hasten'd into those Parts with an Army, and soon constrain'd him to abandon the Country. From whence he sail'd into *Scotland* to King *Malcolm*, where he continu'd the whole Summer. In the mean Time King *Harold* sail'd to the Isle of *Wight*, and ply'd all Summer 'till the middle of *September* about those Coasts, having also a Land Army plac'd to the best advantage on the Sea Side. For he expected a more formidable Invader than his Brother *Tosti*, namely the great *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who before had sent Messengers to him to remind him of his Promise and Oath, and to require a Performance of what had been agreed between them. *Harold* thought it very unreasonable to require such a Performance of one actually in Possession of a Kingdom, and who was come to it by the unanimous Consent of the Nobility and People. Therefore he made Answer, *That what he then promis'd was in Captivity, when he wanted his Liberty, which could not be called his own Act, since it was extorted by Necessity*. But supposing what he had done had been voluntary, it could not have been valid, since as King of *England*, he could not marry a Foreigner, without the Assent of the States of the Nation, much less alter the Succession and Right to the Crown, without their Knowledge, Consent and Allowance. He insist'd further, *That since the Duke's Daughter was dead, the marrying of whom was the Foundation of the Alliance, all Obligations were dissolv'd*. To these Reasons *Harold*, thinking himself sufficiently powerful, added Contempt, according

His Brother Tosti disturbs his Government.

Duke William reminds him of his Promise.

according to *Matth. Paris*, and sent away *William's* Ambassadors on lame and maimed Horses.

This Usage was highly provoking to Duke *William*, who thereupon made the utmost Preparations for an Invasion. In the mean Time King *Harold*, having expected him all the Summer, and now concluding that he had deferr'd his Voyage 'till the next Spring, remov'd all his Forces from the Southern Coasts, and march'd towards the North, where he was call'd by a new Storm that threaten'd him from those Parts. This was rais'd by his Brother *Tosti*, who applying himself to *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, join'd Fleets with him, and sail'd up into the River *Humber*, and next into the *Ouse*; where landing at a Place call'd *Rickale*, they march'd to *York*, and took it by Storm. Before *Harold* could arrive in these Parts, the two Brother Earls, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, with considerable Forces march'd against them, and upon the twentieth Day of *September*, at *Fulford* on the *Ouse*, engag'd them with great Bravery, and with good Success in the Beginning: But after a long Fight, the *English* unable to sustain the Violence and Numbers of the *Norwegians*, retired with the Loss of many of their Men, both in the Field of Battel, and in the adjoining River. Upon this, the *Norwegians* receiv'd from the Inhabitants of *York* five hundred Hostages, and leaving there a hundred and fifty of their own, return'd towards their Ships. Five Days after the Battel, King *Harold* arriv'd at *York*; from whence marching to a Place upon this Occasion since call'd *Battel-Bridge*, he engag'd their whole Forces, and after a terrible Resistance both *Harold Harvager* and *Tosti* were slain, and the Victory remain'd to the *English*. But we ought to remember what *Malmesbury* tells us of one *Norwegian*, who with incredible Valour keeping the Bridge a full Hour against the whole *English* Army, with his single Resistance retarded their Victory; and scorning to accept of Quarter, 'till no Man daring to grapple with him, as too strong and desperate, he was at length shot dead with an Arrow; and by his Fall open'd the Passage of Pursuit to a compleat Victory. But *Olave* the King of *Norway's* Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, who had been left with many Soldiers to guard the Ships, upon furrendring themselves, and giving Hostages and Oaths never to return to *England* as Enemies, were permitted freely to depart with twenty Ships, and the small Remainder of their Army. The Body of *Tosti* being known by a Wart between his Shoulders, was carry'd to *York*, and there bury'd. In the Plunder of the Field, if we may believe *Adam Bremensis*, so great a Quantity of Gold was found, that twelve lusty young Men were scarcely able to bear it on their Backs. Whatever the Quantity was it prov'd of dangerous Consequence to King *Harold*, who being flush'd with Success, and excited by Covetousness, impolitickly took that and all the Plunder to his own Use; which so disoblig'd his Soldiers, in defrauding them of the Price of their Blood, that they began to renounce his Interest, and repented of their former Services; which was so much the more dangerous, because he was so much weaken'd by the two last Battels, losing most of his best Men, and Flower of his Army. This Error was no sooner committed, but as he sat feasting in a triumphant Manner at *York*, he receiv'd the uncomfortable News, that the *Norman* Duke was landed with very numerous and disciplin'd Forces, from which Time we may date the Fall and Ruin of this Prince.

Tosti joins with the King of Norway.

They are both defeated and slain by Harold.

Harold is impolitick.

Here it will not be improper to look a little back, and give some short View and Account of this famous and fortunate *William* Duke of *Normandy*. This Prince was Natural Son to *Robert* the Sixth Duke of *Normandy*, by *Arlotta*, the beautiful Daughter of a Skinner in *Falaise*, with whom he fell in love, as she stood gazing at a Door, while he pass'd through the Town, from whose Name, according as some conjecture, was deriv'd the Word *Harlot*. But notwithstanding his dishonourable Birth, when he was about nine or ten Years of Age, his Father declar'd him his Successor, and caus'd his Nobles and chief *Norman* Subjects to swear Fealty to him, and afterwards carry'd him to do
Homage

An Account of William Duke of Normandy.

Homage to *Henry* the First, King of *France*, for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, according to the Custom of the former Dukes. Then delivering him to the Guardianship of that King, and to the Care of the Duke of *Bretaign*, he made a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in which Journey he dy'd; leaving the Young Prince to be the Founder of his own Fortunes, rather than the Heir of his Father's; which he found expos'd to all the Difficulties arising from the Tenderness of his Age, the Reproach of his Birth, a suspected Guardian, a disputed Title, and a distracted State. For upon the first News of Duke *Robert's* Death, the Nobles of *Normandy*, who were intrusted with the Government during the Son's Minority, found themselves involv'd in great Difficulties, by the open Factions of some Noblemen, who envy'd their Greatness, and by the private Practices of others, who being descended from some of the former Dukes, resolv'd to set up themselves, but at first conceal'd their Designs, and join'd with the common Murmurers against the present Administration. The Governors were still faithful to their Trust, and judg'd the Presence of the young Prince necessary to support their Authority and his Title; they thereupon prevail'd with the King of *France* to send him into *Normandy*, which he did with great Honour to himself, and Kindness to his Pupil, as well as Satisfaction to all his Loyal Subjects; but to the great Disappointment of those who pretended their Discontents were only against the Governors, and not the Succession.

His Troubles
and Bravery.

No Prince ever came so early into the Cares and Burdens of a Crown, nor ^{ibid.} felt them longer; engag'd in Toils and Difficulties, in Hardships and Dangers; his Person expos'd to the Arms of Enemies, and the Plots of Assassins; his Reign embroil'd by the Revolts of his Subjects, and the Invasions of his Neighbours; and his whole Life spent in the necessary Defence of his own Title and Dominions, or in the ambitious Designs of acquiring greater. Yet none ever surmounted all with more Constancy of Spirit, Prudence of Conduct, and Felicity of Fortune: For he had a strong and active Body, and a brave and vigorous Mind; and seem'd to have been born more for a Heroe, than a happy Man. His first Contests arose from the Pretenders to the Succession, who favour'd by the Defects of his Birth, found so many Followers at home, and such Assistance from Neighbours abroad, that they rais'd great Forces, and constrain'd the young Duke to appear, not only at the Head of his Councils, but of his Armies too, before he was eighteen Years of Age. These Civil Wars continu'd long, with many various Successes, bloody Encounters, defeating of Troops, surprizing, besieging and relieving of Towns, and wasting of Countries; till at length *William* by his Vigilance, Bravery and Industry totally subdu'd, not only the Forces, but the Courages of all his Competitors and Enemies at home, and constrain'd them to quit both *Normandy* and *France*, and to seek new Fortunes in several Parts of *Italy*, as *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicily*.

When Duke *William* had subdu'd all his Domestick Foes, another appear'd ^{ibid.} from abroad more formidable than any of the former: This was *Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, who was not only a Prince of great Power, but was also strengthen'd by the Assistance of the King of *France* himself, who jealous of the *Norman* Greatness was very ready to join in the Reducing of an aspiring Prince. To which End he encourag'd, if not set on foot the Earl of *Anjou's* Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, gave him his Assistance to justify his Claim and pursue it by Arms, and by Degrees engag'd in an open and declar'd War against the Duke. This he prosecuted with much Passion and Violence, appear'd himself in the Field with his Nobility, and threaten'd, *That nothing but the Ocean should stop the Progress of his Arms*. On the other side Duke *William* proceeded with invincible Bravery, and with such a Presumption of Success, that he scorn'd to set upon his Enemies by Surprise, but sent them Notice of the very Day he would give them Battel; a sort of Courage unknown to this present Age. After many Successes, he at length brought the Contest to the Decision

Decision of two fierce Battels. The first ended in an intire Victory on the Duke's Side, with the Slaughter of three Parts of his Enemies, amounting to above thirty thousand Men. This Loss rather enrag'd than discourag'd the King of *France*, who gave neither himself nor his Enemies any Quiet 'till he had engag'd the *Normans* in a second Battel, with greater Forces and Fury on both Sides, but the same or worse Success than the former. For in this the King of *France* lost the Flower of his Army, the greatest Part of his Nobles, and with great Difficulty escap'd himself in Person. Yet that but little avail'd this unfortunate Prince, who was so sensible of his Loss, and Dishonour, as he conceiv'd, gain'd by so unequal a Match, that he had not the Courage to survive it long, but dy'd with Grief of it, and left Duke *William* a calm and peaceable Reign. This gave him Opportunity in a short Time to enlarge his Dominions, first by the Earldom of *Mans*, and next by Part of the Dukedom of *Bretaign*: After which he liv'd in Peace for a considerable Space, 'till he disturb'd his own and his Neighbours Quiet by new and greater Adventures.

His great Successes.

*Malmsh.
Camden.
kc.*

This happen'd not long after by Means of the Death of King *Edward* the Confessor, from whom he had receiv'd, or pretended a Promise of being his Successor to the Crown of *England*, and likewise the Assistance of *Harold* the present Possessor. But when *Harold*, as we before related, refus'd to make any Compliance, this valiant Prince, not doubting his usual Train of Prosperity, resolv'd to obtain that by Force of Arms, which he could not gain by Arguments. But knowing he was to grapple with a stout and resolute Prince, and a powerful Nation, he us'd more than common Diligence and Application. And first assembling the Estates of *Normandy*, he represented to them his Claim to the Crown of *England*, the Wrong done him by *Harold*, and his Resolutions of righting himself; the Glory as well as Justice of the Enterprize, the Prospect of Success from his own Right, and the Hatred of the Usurper in *England*, as well as the Friends and Intelligences he had in that Kingdom; the Greatness of the Riches and Possessions by the Conquest of his Enemies, and the Share he design'd for his Friends and Followers, according to their Zeal and Contribution towards the Support of this Cause. At first he met with great Opposition and Backwardness, and many Difficulties were started; but the Vigour and Bravery of this Prince, together with the Hopes of Fame and Riches, soon dissipat'd all Doubts and Obstructions; so that his Subjects became very unanimous in joining in this extraordinary Design. He kept all his Soldiers in pay the whole Year, and tho' at great Charges he hired others from adjacent Parts. He us'd great Caution and Wisdom in the Choice of his Men, lifting such as were tall and of a hardy Constitution. His Captains and Officers were excellently skill'd in warlike Affairs, and of a mature Age both to govern themselves and others; not heady rash young Men, who by their Heat and Indiscretion often ruin an Army. And indeed he was admirably well serv'd at that Time, his Prelates striving who should excel each other in Acts of Religion and Piety, and his Nobles in Deeds of Magnanimity and Generosity; so that *Malmesbury* admires how they should so much degenerate in his Time, within the Term of sixty Years; not considering the luxurious Effects of Wealth and Prosperity, of great Possessions, and Affluence of all Things in a new conquer'd Country. As to the Pretences us'd by Duke *William* against *Harold*, *Brompton* with great Probability reduces them to these three Heads. First to revenge the Death of Prince *Alfred* his Cosen, who had been formerly murder'd by the Means of Earl *Godwin*. Secondly to restore Arch-Bishop *Robert*, Earl *Odo*, and the rest of the *Normans*, unjustly banish'd in the late Reign. And Thirdly *Harold* had contrary to his Oath possess'd himself of *England*, which as well by the Right of Consanguinity, as by that of a double Promise, ought to be his.

He prepares to invade England.

His Pretensions.

*Malmsh.
kc.*

The Duke, assisted to his Expectation by his own Subjects, began to work upon the Hopes and Ambition of his Neighbours; and being fam'd in all Parts for

Many Princes
join with him.

The Pope fa-
vours him.

His Forces.

for his Wisdom, Conduct and Bravery, he found a Concurrence in his Design from many Princes his Friends, and some who had been his greatest Enemies. He was assisted with Money or Soldiers by the Dukes of *Britain* and *Brabant*, the Earls of *Flanders* and *Bologne*, and his ancient Competitor the Earl of *Anjou*; by many Princes of *France*, the most consider'd in that Court, as the Duke of *Orleans*, Earls of *Poitou* and *Maine*, excited by the Glory or Advantage of the Enterprize, at the Time when the Infamy of their King gave them no Hopes of Action at home, and left that Crown unconcern'd at what pass'd abroad. The Emperor sent some choice Troops, and experienc'd Commanders, to serve in this Expedition; and Pope *Alexander* induc'd by the Fame of the Duke's Piety and Virtues, and possess'd with the Justice of his Cause, sent him a consecrated Banner with several Reliques; which in those Times was thought sufficient both to justify his Title, and to sanctify his Arms. Having receiv'd the Banner as a good Omen, he assembled his Nobility and Officers at *Lillibone*, where laying open the whole Cause to them, they promis'd to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, which Resolution he cherish'd by Promises of great Rewards, according to the Merit of their Actions. His whole Fleet is said to have consisted of nine hundred Sail, but others increase the Number to above a Thousand; being all small flat-bottom'd Vessels, fit for transporting Men and Horses. Of which an Anonymous Writer, about the Reign of his Son *Henry*, has given us the Particulars; *William* his Sewer the Son of *Osbern* supply'd him with sixty Vessels: *Hugh* his Nephew, afterwards Earl of *Chester*, with as many; *Hugh de Mumfort* with fifty Ships, and sixty Soldiers; *Romus* the Eleemosynary of *Tescan*, afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*, with one Ship and twenty Men. *Nicolas* the Abbot of *St. Audoen* supply'd him with fifteen Ships and a hundred Men: *Robert* Earl of *Angus* with sixty Ships: *Gerold* the Sewer with as many: *William* Count of *Deurons* with eighty Ships: *Roger* of *Montgumeri* with sixty: *Roger de Baumont* with sixty: *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux* with a hundred: *Robert de Mortimer* with a hundred and twenty: And *Water Gisfard* with thirty Vessels and a hundred Men. Besides these, from others of his Dependants he had many other Ships, from every one according to his Abilities. His Wife *Matilda* for the Honour of the Expedition caus'd a Ship to be made nam'd *Mora* in which he himself cross'd the Sea, having on the Prow a Child of Gold with the right Hand pointing to *England*, and with the left holding an Ivory Whistle in his Mouth; for which the Duke her Husband afterwards assign'd her the County of *Kent*.

He puts to Sea,

and lands near
Hastings.

With all these Advantages the valiant Duke began and finish'd his mighty Preparations, by a generous Concurrence of his own Nobles and Subjects, and a Confluence of most of the bold adventurous Spirits in the neighbouring Provinces, led on by the Desire of Glory or of Gain. In the Month of *September* they all rendezvous'd at *St. Valerie* a Port Town, where they staid many Days for a Wind, which Stay caus'd the common Soldiers to murmur, condemning their Leader for attempting to gain another Man's Country, and alledging, *That his Father had miscarry'd in the like Design, and that it was fatal to the Family to be obstructed by Heaven in their Endeavours after Things too high for them.* The Duke was sensible of the Danger of such superstitious Suggestions, therefore by the Advice of his Council, he caus'd the Reliques of *St. Valerie* to be brought forth and expos'd for the obtaining a fair Wind; and immediately after their Expectations were fully answer'd. The Soldiers then very chearfully call'd to each other to put out to Sea, and the Duke himself being the first that went on Shipboard, by his Example hasten'd the rest. Following close to the Admiral Gally, they had a fair and quick Passage; and after they had refresh'd themselves, they landed at or near *Hastings* on the Coast of *Sussex*. At the Duke's first touching upon Land, his Foot slippt by Accident, and threw him down upon the Ground; which a Soldier observing he immediately turn'd it to a good Omen, and cry'd out aloud, *That he had already*

already taken Possession of England. As soon as his Army had landed, he strictly charg'd them not to plunder or commit any Outrages, declaring, *That they ought to spare those Things which would shortly be their own.* For fifteen Days he continu'd with his Army in a quiet and peaceable manner, either to expect the Event of his Claim and to consider how to proceed, or to build a Fort to have recourse to in Case of Extremity; for he had order'd his Ships to be burnt, according to *Camden's* Account, that his Men might think of nothing but Death or Conquest. where he builds a Fort.

Maimsb.
Piffar.
&c.

William's Arrival was accompany'd with some of those fortunate Hits, Circumstances or Accidents which usually attend upon Conquests. *Harold*, who had expected him all the Summer, was now absent and in the North; where he not only weaken'd his Forces by two bloody Encounters, but after that highly disgusted his Soldiers by defrauding them of their Share of the *Norwegian* Spoils. So that he was just ripen'd for Ruin, when in the midst of his Jollity at *York* he receiv'd the fatal News of the Duke's Landing in *Sussex*; and being now to lose all, his Fate hurry'd him to Resolutions and Actions quite contrary to those of him who was to raise himself out of his Misfortunes. His Adversary proceeded with the utmost Caution and Judgement, and he with a continu'd Precipitation, neither allowing Time for gathering together his Troops, nor for Consultation upon so weighty an Affair; but all bloody as he was, and with a slender Force hasten'd towards the Place where the *Normans* lay, as if the Fortune of *Cæsar* had been devolv'd upon him, because of his late Northern Success. Coming to *London* all in a Flame, he would not tarry for such Supplies as were on the Way to join him, but hurry'd into *Sussex*, with a Resolution to engage the Enemy, before a third Part of his Army could well be put in order. Yet he sent some Spies to survey the Number and Strength of the *Normans*, who being discover'd, Duke *William* with uncommon Courtesy caus'd them to be shown through all the Camp, and to be sent back with Rewards. At their Return they much applauded the Magnificence and Confidence of the Duke, and declar'd to *Harold* that all the Army seem'd to be Priests, because they had their Faces and Lips close shaven; contrary to the Custom of the *English* who then wore large Mustachoes. The King smiling at their Simplicity, reply'd, *That he well knew those they had seen to be no Priests, but valiant Soldiers.* His Brother *Gyrth*, a Youth of Courage and Knowledge above his Years, upon this took occasion to advise him *Not to fight in Person, since he could not deny but either by Choice or Compulsion he had given William his Oath: Therefore he ought to withdraw himself, and permit him and the rest to try their Fortune, who were never oblig'd by any Oath, and might justly fight in Defence of their Country. If he fought, it was to be fear'd that Death or Flight would be his Fortune; but if the same befel them, he might either succour them flying, or revenge their Deaths.* *Harold* would by no means harken to this Advice, thinking it tended to his Dishonour, and that a King's declining to meet Death at the Head of his Army, would be such a Mark of Cowardice as would blemish the Actions of all his Life. And being push'd on by his unlucky Fate, he hastily sent away the Monk who brought him these Proposals, 'That either he should resign his Kingdom; Or hold it of him; Or else try the Justice of his Cause by their two single Swords in the fight of both Armies: Or in case *Harold* should refuse all these, he was ready to submit to the Apostolick See. His Answer was, *God, and the Swords of the Nation, should decide the Controversie.* No Hopes of Accommodation appearing, both Parties prepar'd to fight the next Morning: The *English* are said to have spent all the Night in Singing and Drinking, and the *Normans* in much Devotion, and receiving the Sacrament. Harold's Rashness.

He marches against Duke William.

He rejects William's Proposals.

He prepares for Battle.

131.

The memorable Day being come, which was to decide the Fate of the Nation, the *English* were drawn up into a close Body arm'd with Battel-Axes and Shields, and by the Standard stood the King on Foot with his Brothers, that

Both Armies
engage.

Harold slain,
and the English
defeated.

Causes of the
Conquest.

the Danger being common, none might think of flying. The Front of the *Normans* consisted of Foot, most of them Archers, flank'd on each Hand with a Wing of Horse, in which consisted the great Strength of their Army. The Duke himself cheerfully and audibly declar'd, *That his Cause was just, and that God would respect it accordingly,* and call'd for his Armor, which being brought to him in a hurry, his Corset was put on the wrong Way, which Error he corrected by this pleasant Conceit, *He now perceiv'd that his Dukedom was chang'd into a Kingdom.* At the Head of his Army he put the Soldiers in mind 'of the Valour and Renown of their Ancestors, and of the Success 'and good Fortune of his own Arms, and concluded with Confidence of Victory 'from the Guilt and Perjury of the present Usurper of the *English* Crown. The *Normans* upon this began with the famous Song of *Rowland*, by the Martial Example of that Heroe to rouse and excite themselves to Imitation; and imploring the Divine Assistance advanc'd against the *English*, who were as ready to meet them, tho' the Ground they stood on was strait and inconvenient. The Fight began with great Fury, Order and equal Bravery on both sides; in which the *English* were severely gaul'd by the thick Showers of Arrows from the *Norman* Long-Bows, before the Battel join'd; which was a Weapon then unus'd in *England*, and thereby the more surprizing, the Wounds coming from Enemies so far distant, and not suddenly to be reveng'd. But when they came to a close Fight, the *Normans* were hew'd down by the *English* Bills after a deplorable manner; and their Points were so strong and so close together, that no Charges of the *Norman* Horse could break the *English* Ranks, tho' the Duke assaulted them so often, and with so great Bravery, that he had three Horses kill'd under him in the Attempt. But finding them to continue firm, he at length by a Signal caus'd his Men to feign a sudden Flight; upon which the *English*, easily deceiv'd by their Courage as well as Hopes, began such an eager Pursuit, as caus'd them to dissolve their Ranks, which otherwise had been impenetrable. The Sight of this gave Occasion to the *Normans* to return, and fall with fresh Fury into the disorder'd Body of the *English*, so that they soon broke them, and drove them to a rising Ground. Yet in their Flight they often rally'd, and sold their Lives at very dear Rates; and part of them having gain'd a Hill, when the *Normans* climb'd up after them, by casting down Stones quite over-power'd them. In another Place, by their Knowledge of the Country, being more dextrous in passing a Ditch, they made an exceeding Slaughter of their Enemies, and fill'd it up with their dead Carcasses. Thus the Success remain'd doubtful, and the Battel vastly bloody, from nine a Clock in the Morning 'till it grew dark, when *Harold*, after he had discharg'd all the Parts of a skilful Commander and valiant Soldier, was shot into the Head with an Arrow and dy'd. His Death turn'd the Scale, and caus'd the *English* to betake themselves to flight. With *Harold* fell his two Brothers *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*, with the greatest Part of the *English* Nobility; so that *William* remain'd a compleat Victor, who by his noble Courage, Diligence and Conduct well deserv'd the Success. He shew'd himself generous to his dead Enemy, and without Ransom gave his Body to his Mother, tho' she had offer'd large Sums for it; and when, as it lay in the Field, a certain Soldier by way of Contempt gave it a Wound in the Thigh, he immediately cashier'd him for so mean and cowardly an Action. *Harold* dy'd on the 14th Day of *October*, after a short but vigorous Reign of nine Months, one Week and two Days; and was by his Mother's Care bury'd at *Waltham* in a Church of Canons founded and endow'd by himself.

Thus ended the Empire of the *English-Saxons* in this Nation, who from their first Entrance under *Hengist* and *Horfa*, had kept Possession and with some Interruptions held Dominion for about six hundred and seventeen Years. And here it may justly be said, that notwithstanding the Valour and Conduct of the *Normans*, the *English* were the chief Forgers of their own Fortune; and they behav'd themselves as if they desir'd to be slav'd by those whom they admir'd,

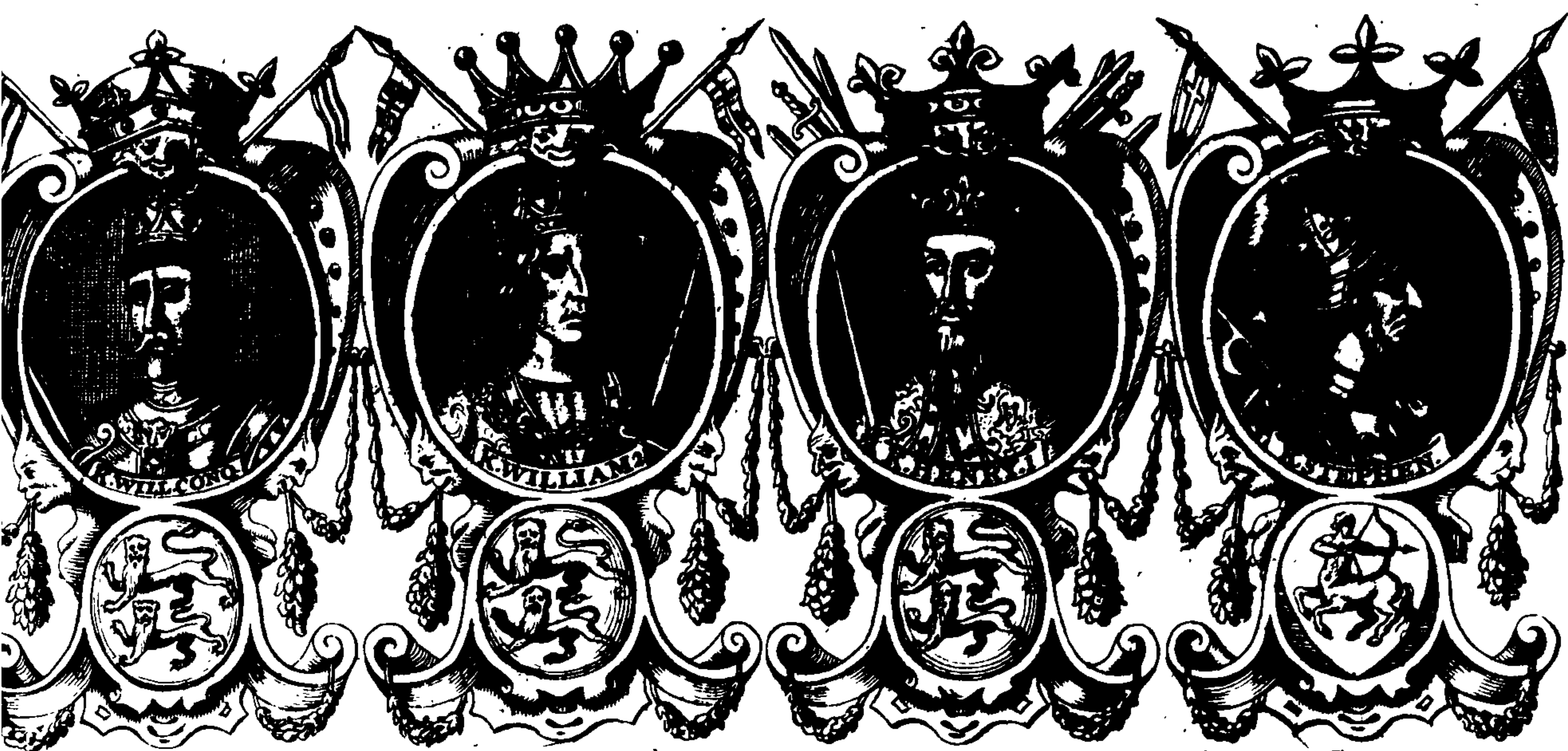
and

and imitated only in the worst of their Qualities. For besides the late Mismanagements of *Harold*, in other Respects a wise Prince, the Nation and Nobility were divided into Factions, and could not agree upon the Person to succeed him; and *Edwin* and *Morchar* retir'd with Discontent into *Northumberland*, not regarding the Safety of their Country, because their ambitious Purposes were not gratify'd. A firm Union, and a wise Management must still have put a stop to *William's* Arms; but instead of Preparation for expelling the common Enemy, the Nobility became Enemies to one another, and strove for that Crown which the Duke had already got, on the Point of his Sword, tho' not on his Head. These were prodigious Miscarriages, not incident to any who had their Reason, but absolute Effects of such vicious Tempers as infatuate Mens Minds, enervate the Power of their Souls, and render them abject, and ripe for Servitude. Such were the *English* at this Time, as we are assur'd from *Malmesbury*, who being of *English* as well as *Norman* Descent, professes that he had no Prejudice to either Nation, and declares, That for some Years before the Arrival of the *Normans*, Piety and all good Literature became so unfashionable even among the Clergy, that contenting themselves with a very small Share of Devotion, as well as Learning, they could scarce read Divine Service; and to understand Grammar was next to a Miracle. The Monks were clad in fine Stuffs, and observ'd not the Rules of their Orders. The Nobles were given up to Gluttony and a dissolute Life, neglected the Service of the Church, made a Prey of the common People, debauch'd their Daughters whom they had in their Service, and then turn'd them off to the Stews. While the meaner Sort spent Night and Day and their whole Substances in Rioting and Drunkenness, and those other Vices which effeminate Mens Reasons. From hence it came to pass, that being carry'd away with Temerity and Fury, rather than true Valour, they engag'd with Duke *William*, and brought such Calamities upon themselves and their Country. In Sum, the *English* then wore their Cloaths short, cut their Hair, loaded their Arms with golden Bracelets, mark'd their Skins with divers Images, would eat 'till they surfeited, and drink 'till they vomitted; which last Vices they communicated to the Conquerors, in all Things else following and admiring their Modes. But our Author would not have this understood of all, but of the *English* in general; for to his Knowledge, there were many good Men both among the Clergy and Laity. 'But,' adds he, as the Mercy of God often permits the Bad as well as Good to enjoy the like Prosperity; so his Justice does not always exempt good Men from partaking in the common Calamities of their Country. Since Divisions and Factions, Immorality and Impiety occasion'd such great Miseries to our Ancestors, we ought carefully to remember this one Maxim, That the same Causes ordinarily produce the same Effects.

*The Divisions
and Corruptions
of the English.*

The End of the First Book.

T H E



History of England.

B O O K II.

From the first Entrance of William commonly call'd the Conqueror, to the Death of King Richard the Third, and the Union of the two Families by King Henry the Seventh.

Containing the Space of about 419 Years.

C H A P. I.

The Norman Line; From the first Entrance of Duke William, to the Death of King Stephen, and the Restoration of the Saxon Line by King Henry the Second.

Containing the Space of about 88 Years.

S E C T. I.

The Reign of King WILLIAM the First.

Containing 20 Years, 10 Months, and 26 Days.

I. **H**AVING got through the Reigns of our *Saxon* Monarchs, we begin to remove from Twilight to Day-light, and a clearer Prospect of Affairs; being now arriv'd at that memorable Period when the State of *England* receiv'd great Alterations in Laws, Language, Customs, Fashions, Fortifications, Buildings, and in most Things besides Religion. So that from these extraordinary Mutations, we are to begin with a new Account of *England*, now larger in Extent and Dominion abroad,

A. D.
1066.
Reg. 1.

more

more in State and Ability at home, and in a short Time more in Fame and Reputation in the World. All which proceeded from that Branch of the Northern People call'd by the Name of *Normans*; who having for many Years receiv'd more of the Sun and Civility than the *English* themselves, are thus described by the judicious *Malmesbury*. They were at this Time a People very curious in their Cloathes, choice in their Diet, but without Excess; train'd up to War, and scarce knowing how to live without it; quick in attacking their Enemy, and when open Force was too hazardous, over-reaching them by Cunning and Stratagem, or corrupting them with Money. They built large Edifices, tho' they liv'd in them at a moderate Expence; apt to envy their Equals, and desirous of surpassing their Superiors, yet defended those who were subject to them, from the Violence of Strangers. While they were pleas'd they were faithful to their Sovereign, but upon a slight Occasion they would renounce their Fidelity, judging of their Perfidy according to Success, and changing Sides for Advantage; yet being Lovers of Humanity, they treated Strangers with the same Respect and Civility as they did themselves, nor did they disdain to marry with those who were subject to them. And this must be own'd for their Honour, that by their coming hither they reviv'd the Discipline of the Christian Religion, then almost extinct in *England*: Whence, as our Author observes, might be seen Churches new built in the Towns and Cities, and Monasteries erected after a nobler Way of Architecture, insomuch that the whole Country began to flourish after an extraordinary Manner. These Advantages the Nation in general obtain'd by this Change, tho' it prov'd fatal to many noble Families in particular; to which Advantages we may add, That the *English* Nation for above five Hundred Years before had been but little known for any Atchievements abroad, 'till King *Canute* made use of their Assistance in his Wars against the *Swedes*: But after this, we shall find that this Nation under the Conduct of their Princes of the *Norman* Race made a nobler Figure abroad, and in a short Time conquer'd that Country by which they had been before subdu'd.

Duke William
marches into
Kent.

Kent submits.

The first of these Princes that govern'd this Nation was the renowned *William*, who was about forty two Years of Age when he gain'd that famous and decisive Battel at *Hastings*. There like a wise General, who design'd to make the best Advantage of his Success, he resolv'd to leave no strong Place behind him; so having left a sufficient Garrison in his late built Fort at *Hastings*, he march'd from thence to *Romney* in *Kent*, and reveng'd himself upon the inhospitable Inhabitants of that Place, for the Slaughter of some of his Men, who by Mistake had landed there. He continu'd his March along the Coast to *Dover*, to which Castle great Multitudes had fled for Refuge, as to a Place then thought impregnable; yet all these at the first Approach of the Conqueror, without Resistance yielded to his Mercy. After which, continuing about eight Days in the further Fortification of the Castle, and leaving there his sick Men, he march'd from *Dover* towards *London*, when in a short Time the Body of the *Kentish* Men came in to him voluntarily, swearing Fealty, and giving Hostages for Security; whereupon the City of *Canterbury* presented him with her Submission by certain Deputies sent for that Purpose. This Relation being made by *Pictavienses*, who was himself an Eye-Witness to these Transactions, may serve sufficiently to confute that vulgar and plausible Story of the *Kentish* Men meeting this Conqueror with green Boughs, and their procuring from him a Confirmation of all their Privileges.

William marches
towards
London.

The Duke, having reduc'd all *Kent* to his Subjection, receiv'd Intelligence that *Stigand* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, together with the Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, being supported by the City of *London* and its Mariners, intended to set up *Edgar Etheling*, the true Heir, for their King; upon which this valiant General resolv'd to prevent all such Attempts, and therefore marching towards *London*, he encamp'd not far from the City. From thence certain Companies

panies fall'y'd out against him, but with five hundred Horse he easily repuls'd them, killing great Numbers as they pass'd the Bridge; and here began the Miseries of *England*. The Duke seem'd resolv'd before this to use all gentle Methods, and to reduce the *English* by kind Usage; but finding they made head against him, and put him to further Trouble and Danger, he chang'd his Purpose, and proceeded with greater Severity. For upon this unfortunate Sally, he commanded or permitted all the Buildings South of the *Thames*, now call'd *Southwark*, to be destroy'd by Fire. But not being able as yet to enter the City, he resolv'd first to subdue the Countries lying South-West on the other Side of the *Thames*, and thereupon march'd towards *Wallingford* in *Barkshire*, where he permitted his Soldiers to ravage several Parts of the Country. In the mean Time *Aldred* Arch-Bishop of *York*, *Wulfstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, with *Edgar Etheling* himself, and other Noblemen, confounded in their Designs, and transported with Fears, quitted *London*, and repaired to the Duke at *Berkhamsted* in *Hertfordshire*, where submitting themselves, they swore Fealty to him, and upon their giving Hostages, he made a firm League or Contract with them; nevertheless he still permitted his Men to burn and plunder all the Way they march'd, which is reasonable to understand of such Places as had not yet submitted to him. The Nobility submit.

Hav. Almsb. The Feast of *Christmas* approaching, the Duke with all his Army march'd up towards *London*, and was met by all the chief Men of the City; at which Time all the Bishops and Lay Nobility requested him That he would accept the Crown, declaring, *That they had been always accusom'd to obey Kings, therefore they were ready to acknowledge him for their Sovereign*. Upon which he immediately consulted with his greatest Intimates, and shew'd much Aversion to his Acceptance of that Honour at present; but all persuaded him to a Compliance, *as being to their Knowledge the unanimous Desire of his whole Army*. He weighing all Things, could not but yield to the Importunity of so many Petitioners; therefore staying near *London*, he sent some of his Men before to erect a Fortrefs and Place of Security in the City, and to prepare all Things fit for such a royal and magnificent Solemnity. The Day design'd for his Coronation was *Christmas*-Day, and *Stigand* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* being under some Censures from the Pope, the Ceremony was perform'd by *Aldred* Arch-Bishop of *York*; who first in a neat short Speech demanded of all the *English* there present, *Whether they did consent to have the Duke crown'd King?* who all chearfully and unanimously gave their Assents. At the same Time the like Question was put to the *Normans* by the Bishop of *Constance*, and the same Approbation given. Duke *William* being thus elected King, as *Pictavienses* expresses it, *Aldred* in the Abby Church at *Westminster* set the Crown upon his Head, and plac'd him on the Throne in the Presence of all the Bishops, Abbots and Lay Nobility: And the old Book of *Ely*, as also *Florence* of *Worcester*, gives us the Form of the Coronation Oath which he took before the Clergy and Laity at the High-Altar, being the same in Effect with that of the *English-Saxon* Kings; Namely, *'That he would protect the Holy Church and its Governors; That he would govern all the People subject to him prudently and justly; That he would ordain and keep just Laws, and wholly forbid all Rapines and unjust Judgments;* to which *Malmesbury* also adds, *'That he would behave himself mercifully towards his Subjects, and would govern both the English and Normans by the same equal Law*. After this he never claim'd any Power by pure Conquest, but as a regular Prince submitted himself to the Orders of the Kingdom; being desirous to have his Testamentary Title, weak as it was, to make good his Succession, rather than his Sword. They offer William the Crown

Hav. *William* being thus establish'd in his Throne, immediately began to perform all Things worthy of his Dignity; so that he seem'd inflam'd with a new Zeal for the attempting great and noble Actions, using his utmost Endeavours both in Divine and Secular Affairs. In the first place he distributed great Quantities William crown'd King.

A. D.

1067.

Reg. 1.

*His laudable
Government.*

ties of Treasure found in *Harold's* Exchequer among his faithful Friends and Followers; as also many rich Gratuities which he bestow'd on the Monasteries, and large Alms to the Poor. He likewise presented the Pope with a great Sum both in Gold and Silver, besides the Standard of King *Harold*, in the doing of all which he was much assisted by the Benevolence of all the Cities, and of several great and wealthy Men, to obtain the Favour of their new Lord. While he staid in *London* he order'd all Things justly, wisely and mercifully, some of which tended to the particular Honour and Advantage of that City, while others prov'd highly beneficial to the whole Nation; and in all other Matters he chiefly consulted the Good of the Church and Kingdom. He enjoin'd all his great Men *to observe Equity in all their Actions, and ever to regard that Eternal Monarch by whose Assistance they had been victorious; and tho' they were Conquerors, they ought not to oppress the Vanquish'd, who were Christians as well as themselves, lest by Injuries they should provoke those to rise up against them whom they had already subdu'd.* Next he restrain'd the Common Soldiers by severe Edicts from violating the Chastity of Women, or so much as frequenting Taverns and infamous Houses; he also strictly prohibited all Murders, Robberies and Tumults. Thus as he bridled the People by Arms, so those very Arms were restrain'd by just Laws, appointing Judges to inflict severe Punishments upon those common Soldiers who should dare to transgress his Orders; and for a Time he was no more partial to the *Normans*, than to any other Nation then in his Service.

*All submit to
him.*

These were the happy Beginnings of this King's Reign; but he not staying ^{*Ibid.*} long in *London*, retired to a Place not far off call'd *Berking*, 'till the Fortrefs he had begun at *London* was finish'd; for he found it absolutely necessary to curb the fickle Humours of that great and stubborn People. For his greater Security he plac'd *Norman* Garrisons in *Winchester*, *Dover*, and many other Places; and in Memory of the great Battel he obtain'd over King *Harold*, he gave Orders for the Building of that noble Monastery near *Hastings* call'd *Battel-Abby*, which he endow'd with great Privileges and Immunities. During his Stay at *Berking*, the powerful Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, came and submitted themselves to the King's Mercy and Clemency; in which they were follow'd by many other Noblemen of great Note, to whom he generously restor'd their Estates which had been forfeited, and having taken their voluntary Oaths of Fidelity, he receiv'd them into his Favour. As for *Edgar Etheling*, who was sometimes call'd *England's Darling*, to alleviate the Regret he might receive by the missing of a Crown, he not only shew'd him great Favours, but also conferr'd upon him very large Possessions. After this he made a Progress into divers Parts of the Kingdom, in all Places ordering such Things as were not only advantageous to himself, but also to his People in general. And now wherever he travell'd he found none to oppose him, nor the Roads any ways obstructed, all Men willingly submitting themselves to him; whilst he look'd upon the Common People with a benign Aspect, commiserating their Condition, and ordering his Men to treat them with Mercy, especially when he observ'd the poor Widows with their little Children upon their Knees imploring his Clemency. And this is the Account that King *William's* Chaplain *Pictavienses* has given us of the two or three first Months of his Reign.

*He visits Nor-
mandy.*

II. King *William* having establish'd all Things for the Nation's Security and his own Subjection, resolv'd to make a Journey into his own Country of *Nor-mandy*, and accordingly committed the Government of this Nation to his Brother *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and his Cosen *William Fitz-Osbern*. The Re-moving so soon from a new gain'd Country, looks like a Strain of his usual Courage and fearless Temper; but yet like a politick Prince he took extraordinary Pledges along with him, such of the Nobility as were most potent, particularly Arch-Bishop *Stigand*, the two great Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earl *Walthef*, with

with several of the chief Nobility, and also *Edgar Etheling* himself. With this noble Train he arriv'd at *Normandy*, and celebrated the Feast of *Easter* at the Abby of *Fescamp*, where he was met by *Rodolph* the potent Father-in-Law to the King of *France*, with great Numbers of the *French* Nobility, the handsomest of whose Youth envy'd the Beauty and Gracefulness of the young *English* Gentlemen; while others were ravish'd with the Richness and Magnificence of the King's Habit, as well as those of his Attendants, as also the Quantity of his Silver and Gold Plate, which, says our Author, would be incredible to relate. So that when these Noblemen return'd home, they were fill'd with Praises of the Magnificence, and especially the Generosity of King *William*, who pass'd all that Summer, and the Beginning of the following Winter in this Country.

While *Normandy* was thus happy, the *English* were severely oppress'd, according to *Vitales*, by *Odo* and *Fitz-Osbern* in their Governments, especially those in *Kent*, who being highly exasperated, took Occasion from the Absence of *Odo* and *Hugh Montfort* with a considerable Force, to send to *Eustachius* Earl of *Bulloign*, then the King's Enemy, inviting him to join with them in the Surprizal of *Dover* Castle. He agreed with them in the Design, and pass'd over in the Night with a Fleet fill'd with chosen Soldiers, and joining with them attack'd the Castle; but finding the Defendents more resolute and numerous than they expected, he drew off with his Men to his Ships, and return'd home; after which he was reconcil'd to the King, and was honour'd as one of the greatest Personages about him. About the same Time *Edrick*, surnam'd the *Forester*, in the County of *Hereford*, call'd in the Assistance of two Kings of *Wales*, and ravag'd several Parts of that Country. These Transactions were sufficient to hasten the Return of the King, who leaving the Government of *Normandy* to his Wife *Matilda* and his Son *Robert*, cross'd the Sea into *England* in *December*; where he was now to satisfy three Sorts of Men, First such Adventurers, with whom he had not yet clear'd; Next those of his own People, who justly expected a Recompence, but being very numerous, some were to live upon Promises; Lastly the People of this Kingdom, by whom he was now chiefly to subsist. Being arriv'd at *London*, he treated the *English* Bishops and Nobility with much Subtlety and Officiousness, granting them what they ask'd, and freely hearing them what they offer'd; but at the same Time began to have a stricter Hand and Eye over them than before, and exacted a severe Tax upon the *English* Nation, which was that of *Danegeld*, which had been remitted by *Edward* the Confessor. Upon which Occasion *Malmesbury* informs us that *Aldred* Arch-Bishop of *York* lov'd *William* as his Son, and honour'd him as a King, while he carry'd himself with Temper and Justice towards the *English*, but when he levy'd this unreasonable Tax, he sent Messengers to him concerning it; but they being roughly treated, he took the Liberty to denounce a Curse against *William* and all his Progeny. Which had such an Effect upon the King, that he immediately sent Friends to appease the Arch-Bishop, but before they got to him, he dy'd with Grief. But some Time before he dy'd, he had the Honour to crown the King's Wife *Matilda* with great Solemnity, who in the same Year was deliver'd of a Son, nam'd *Henry*, afterwards King of *England*.

The Taxes and Impositions seem to have been the Occasion of a fresh Rebellion this Year in the West; for the City of *Exeter* refus'd to swear Fealty to the King, or admit of a Garrison there, tho' they offer'd to pay Contributions: But not being satisfy'd with that, he sent this Message to them, *That he was never us'd to such Subjects*; therefore tho' it was Winter, he march'd in Person with an Army against it, always placing the *English* in the Front. Approaching near the City, the chief of the Citizens came out to meet him, begging Peace, promising Obedience, and depositing such Hostages as the King demanded; but in the mean Time the ordinary Townsfolk refus'd to deliver up the City, where-

Disturbances in England.

The King returns.

A. D.
1068.
Reg. 2.
3.

*Matilda crown'd.
Henry I. born.*

Exeter rebels.

whereupon he commanded his Army to make their Approaches to it. Then bringing one of the Hostages before the Gates, he there put out his Eyes, and beginning to batter and undermine the Walls, the Inhabitants implor'd his Mercy, which he readily granted, by the Mediation of those who first came over to him, with the Clergy, who all begg'd Pardon for the Folly and Obstinacy of the Common People. So all Things were forgiven them, and they had their Goods secur'd from the Violence of the Soldiers, by placing Guards at the Gates to keep them out. But *Githa*, Mother to King *Harold*, with many Citizens escap'd and fled with great Riches into *Flanders*. Here within the Walls the King chose out a Place for the Building of a Castle, and left *Baldwin* the Son of Earl *Gilbert* to see it compleated, and with many stout Soldiers to remain there in Garrison. Not long after this Expedition the King thought fit to divide the Lands among his *Norman* Commanders, as well as those of other Nations; which is to be understood, only of the Lands of those who had been in Arms against him in the Battel of *Hastings*, and of those who were engag'd in the late Insurrections; all which he look'd upon as forfeited Estates. And this appears plainer from the Controversie between *Warren* the *Norman*, and *Sherburn* the *Englishman*, whose Lands tho' the King had given them to *Warren*, yet when *Sherburn* alledg'd in Court, *That he never bore Arms against the King, that he was his Subject as well as the other, and held his Lands by the Law establish'd among all his Subjects*, the King himself gave Judgement against *Warren*, and commanded that *Sherburn* should hold his Land without Molestation.

It is reduc'd.

The King divides the Lands among the Normans.

Edwin and Morchar rebel.

They are receiv'd into Favour.

Edgar Etheling goes into Scotland, and marries his Sister to that King.

One Insurrection was no sooner quell'd, but another more dangerous began, by means of Earl *Edwin*, who after Promise of one of the King's Daughter's in Marriage, was unjustly disappointed. This and some other Affronts provok'd him and his Brother *Morchar* to take up Arms; and being both very powerful and popular, many in the Northern Parts, where their Governments lay, came in to their Assistance, as also their Nephew *Blethyn*, Prince of *North-Wales*, with a great Number of *Welshmen*. Upon this, the King as a vigilant Commander inquir'd into all Places of Strength that might be serviceable to their Retreat; and to prevent their seizing of them, he fortify'd such as were most advantagious, as the Castle of *Warwick*, which he now built, and committed to the Custody of *Henry de Beaumont*, afterwards made first Earl of *Warwick*. At the same Time he built *Nottingham* Castle, and gave the Custody of it to *William Penderel* a *Norman*; which vigorous Proceedings so discourag'd the two Earls, that doubting of Success, they soon begg'd the King's Mercy, and were generously receiv'd into Favour. Upon which the Inhabitants of *Tork* deliver'd up the Keys of their City to the King, who was now ready to besiege it; but still doubting of their Fidelity, he immediately rais'd a Fortrefs in the City, and mann'd it with a strong Garrison. In his Return, he built Castles or strong Forts at *Lincoln*, *Huntington* and *Cambridge*, and plac'd in each of them valiant Commanders. Upon which *Archil* a potent Nobleman of *Northumberland* made his Peace with the King, and deliver'd his Son to him as an Hostage; likewise *Egelwin* Bishop of *Durham* was now receiv'd into Favour, and by his Mediation, a Peace was concluded with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* who had been a Favourer of this Insurrection. But this continu'd not long, for about Autumn following, Earl *Gospatrick*, with several of the *Northumbrian* Nobility, fearing to be imprison'd as many others at that time were, drew over Prince *Edgar Etheling* to their Party, and with him, his Mother *Agatha*, and his Sisters *Margaret* and *Christina*, pass'd by Sea out of *England* into *Scotland*, where being kindly receiv'd by King *Malcolm*, they remain'd all that Winter in Peace. And *Malcolm* was so affected with the Beauty and Virtues of the Lady *Margaret*, that about two Years after he marry'd her himself; by whom the Blood of our ancient Kings was preserv'd, and conjoin'd with the *Normans* in King *Henry* the Second, and by that means became *English* again.

Little Sax. At Sim. Dr. &c.

J. Weß. tales. cc. In the mean Time King *William* us'd all Methods possible for his own Security, *The King's Care.* and the bridling and disarming the *English*; particularly he commanded every House-Keeper to put out both Fire and Candle at eight of the Clock at Night, at which Hour, in every City, Town and Village, he caus'd a Bell to be rung, by the *French* call'd *Conorefew*; which is partly yet in use, and in Name very near it, commonly call'd *Corfew*. But notwithstanding these Precautions, *Godwin*, *Edmund* and *Magnus*, Sons of the late King *Harold*, coming out of *Ireland*, landed in *Somersetshire*, engag'd with *Eadnoth*, formerly their Father's Master of the Horse, slew him with many others, and taking large Booties both in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, return'd again to *Ireland*. These were unsettled Times, often accompany'd with Troubles and Disturbances; when several *Norman* Gentlemen and Persons of Quality, uneasie in the Nation, took their leaves of the King, and return'd into *Normandy*. *Divers Norman Gentlemen return home.* Besides Commanders and Officers, great Numbers of the common Soldiers, tired with the perpetual Desolation of the Country, where they saw nothing but Rapines and daily Slaughters committed, not only by themselves, but by the Natives issuing out of the Woods and other Retreats, killing what *Normans* they could, desir'd now to be disbanded, that they might return and live in Peace in their own Country; which Request was readily granted by the King, who kindly dismiss'd them, having first well paid and rewarded them for all their Services.

im. Dun. cc. The next Year was remarkable for new and greater Troubles in the North, *A D. 1069. Reg. 3. 4.* which began to break out upon the Arrival of *Robert Cumin*, the new Governor at *Durham*; who, not being so cautious as valiant, lying securely as he thought in the City, was surpriz'd in the Night by the *Northumbrians*, and he and all the *Normans* except one, to the Number of seven hundred were massacred. And *New Troubles in the North.* while this Infurrection was on foot, the fugitive *English* in *Denmark* so far prevail'd with King *Swane*, that they procur'd his Assistance to recover their Rights, and his Kingdom, as was pretended; and accordingly he sent a Fleet of two hundred and Forty Sail well mann'd, under the Conduct of his Brother *Osbern*, and his Sons *Harold* and *Canute*. These arriving in the *Humber*, landed their Men in order to march to *York*, and ravag'd the Country through which they pass'd; and being shortly after join'd by *Edgar Etheling* and all his Associates from *Scotland*, they became very strong and formidable. Upon their nearer Approach to the City, the *Normans* who kept the Castle, fearing lest the Houses near them being pull'd down might serve the *Danes* to fill up the Ditches, set them all on fire, which so violently rag'd by reason of a high Wind, that it soon burnt all or most of that noble City, together with the Cathedral Church, *The Danes land.* the Monastery of *St. Peter's*, and a famous Library. But the Divine Vengeance severely punish'd this Barbarity, for before the City had done burning, the *Danish* Fleet arriv'd, and both the *Danes* and *Northumbrians*, besieging the Castles, quickly became Masters of them, with a terrible Slaughter of their Governor and three thousand *Normans*, very few escaping. After which the *Danish* Fleet, together with the *Northumbrians*, well loaded with Plunder, retir'd to their former Quarters. *York burnt.*

Testimon. eccles. im. Dun. cc. The King upon receiving this ill News immediately sent his Queen into *Normandy* for her greater Security, and threaten'd not only to chastise the Rebels, but to extirpate the *Northumbrians*. But before he march'd, wisely considering that these Discontents arose in a great Measure from his own Management and Partiality to the *Normans*, he began to show a greater Regard to the ancient *Saxon* Laws, and to curb the Insolence of his Countrymen, and withal recall'd many of the *English* Noblemen from Banishment, and made a firm League with them. Arriving in *Yorkshire*, which was then Part of the Earldom of *Northumberland*, he put most of the People to the Sword, and laid the whole Country waste, to prevent the *Danes* harbouring themselves there, who now with their *English* Confederates lay incamp'd at *York*. Here the King came to an Engagement with them, and routing the *Danish* Army, the *English* were so discourag'd. *The Danes routed.*

courag'd in the City, that they soon surrender'd it to the Conqueror. Yet *Malmesbury* represents this Victory as not so easily obtain'd, and informs us that the valiant Earl *Waltheof* in this Fight at *York*, cut off the Heads of a great many *Normans* one after another, as they would have forc'd a Gate which he took upon him to defend. After this Victory, the King soon became Master of the whole Country, and recover'd it from the *Danes* as much by Mony and Promises as by Force. *Edgar Etheling* retir'd into *Scotland*, and several of the Nobility were generously restor'd to Favour, particularly *Gospatrick* and *Waltheof*, the latter of whom the King so admir'd for his Strength and Valour, that in a short time after he gave him his Neice *Judith* in Marriage, together with the Earldoms of *Northampton* and *Huntington*. But the Country suffer'd miserably in this War, all the Northern Parts being so depopulated by the *Danes* and *Normans*, that between *York* and *Durham* there remain'd no Town inhabited, but the Land lay waste and untill'd for above nine Years. This was also attended by so dreadful a Famine in all those Parts, that in this Year, as well as the next, the miserable Remains of the People were forc'd to feed upon Horses and Dogs, and even Man's Flesh, to save themselves from perishing.

The North laid waste.

A. D.

1070.

Reg. 4.

The King disposes of all Preferrments to the Normans.

III. King *William* having quell'd the Insurrections in the North, and in other Parts, from this Time began to show a greater Aversion to the *English*, whose Unconstancy he daily dreaded; therefore by hard Usage, Imprisonments and Banishments he constrain'd them to submit. He gave most of the Earldoms and Baronies, Bishopricks and Prelacies of the whole Nation to his *Normans*, and scarce permitted the *English* to enjoy any Place of Honour, Dominion or Power. To *William Fitz-Osbern*, Sewer of *Normandy*, he gave the Isle of *Wight* and Earldom of *Hereford*. He gave the Town and County of *Chester*, first to *Gherbod a Flemming*, then to *Hugh of Almonches*. To *Roger Montgomery* he first gave *Arundel*, and then *Chicester*, and afterwards the County of *Salop*. To *Walter Giffard* the County of *Buckingham*; to *William Warren* the County of *Surrey*; and to *Ralph Guader* the Earldom of the *East-Angles*. And to many other noble Persons, he distributed many Cities and Towns, with great Power and Honours; and to many Strangers and others of mean Quality, he gave many Titles and Honours, insomuch that they had here in *England* Clients and Dependents far richer and more powerful than their Fathers were in *Normandy*. But to his two half Brother's *Odo* and *Robert* he was profuse in his Gifts and Honours. The former was Earl of *Kent*, a Count Palatine who gave Laws like a King, and Justiciary of *England*, the chief Man for administering Justice under the King; and after the Death of *Fitz-Osbern*, he made him Vice-Roy of the whole Kingdom. He had besides for his Share one hundred eighty four Lordships or Mannors in *Kent*, and two hundred fifty five more in other Counties. *Robert* had the Earldom of *Cornwall* given him, in which he had two hundred eighty four Lordships, besides five hundred fifty eight more in other Counties.

Vitalis &c.

He reduces the Clergy to Subjection.

Nor did the King think himself secure only by having all Persons in Secular Authority his Dependents, and at his Command; but he also brought the Clergy, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, and all Degrees of that Function under his Subjection. For the Bishopricks and Abbies which held Baronies, hitherto free from all Secular Service, were now put under Military Service; and according to his Will and Pleasure he appointed how many Knights and Soldiers they should find in Time of War, and drove many Ecclesiasticks out of the Kingdom, who refus'd to submit to this hard Constitution. He did not only charge their Lands with the Tenure of Knights Service, but also quarter'd Soldiers which he had hired in *France*, *Germany* and *Spain*, in all Monasteries of *England*; who were not only a Charge to their Purses, but also Spies upon their Actions. Nor did he think this enough to restrain the Power of the Clergy, who then bore the chief Sway in the Government; but by the malicious Advice of *Fitz-Osbern*,

Osbern, and others of his Council, he search'd all the Monasteries, and took away the Mony which the richer Sort of *English* out of Fear of his Severity had secured there, and commanded it to be carry'd into his Exchequer. *Mat. Paris* says he robb'd all the Monasteries of their Gold and Silver, not sparing their Shrines and Chalices: And yet he did not think himself secure from the Power of the Clergy in that Age, 'till he had brought into *England* most of the Laws and Usages generally observ'd in *Normandy*, and had made such Bishops, Abbots and Governors, who would in all Things submit to his Ordinances; and therefore all Divine and Human Matters were chiefly according to his Will and Pleasure. To this purpose a great Council was held at *Winchester*, eight Days after *Easter*, at the Command of the King, and the Consent of the Pope; in which *Stigand* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was depriv'd, together with *Agelmar* Bishop of *Elmham*, *Agelrick* Bishop of *Selfey*, and several Abbots; the King promoting this Work, that he might put into their Places Men of his own Nation, for the Security of his new acquired Kingdom. He also kept several Bishops and Abbots in Prison during Life, without any evident Cause, and without Condemnation by Synods or Secular Laws, purely out of Jealousie that they endeavour'd for a new Revolution. Yet in his new Promotions he generally acted with Wisdom and Honour, and for the most part advanc'd Men of Piety and real Worth. Particularly he gave the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* to *Lanfranc*, an *Italian* of great Learning and Abilities, then Abbot of *Caen* in *Normandy*: The Archbishoprick of *York* was given to *Thomas Chandon* of *Bayeux*, and the Bishopricks of *Winchester*, *Elmham* and *Selfey*, to his three Chaplains, *Walkelin*, *Arfast* and *Stigand*. And notwithstanding many Acts of Severity and Injustice, which were often the Effects of Danger and Necessity, this Prince generally endeavour'd to promote Peace and Piety in the Nation.

Several de-priv'd.

Paris.

But the *English* Nation was now so far disgusted, that they resolv'd to endeavour to throw off the *Norman* Yoke; and accordingly they assembled a numerous Army, and once more set up *Edgar Etheling* for their King; *Fretberic* Abbot of *St. Albans*, a rich and powerful Man, being the chief Promoter of this Design. Upon which the King became very uneasie, fearing at last to lose that Kingdom which he had acquir'd with so much Blood. Wherefore by the wise Advice of Arch-Bishop *Lanfranc*, he began to deal more gently with the *English* Nobility, and proposing to them Terms of Peace, he invited them to a subdolous Treaty; who suspecting no unfair Design, under the Conduct of Abbot *Fretberic* met the King at *Berkhamstead*, where after many Debates, he in the Presence of the Arch-Bishop solemnly swore upon the Holy Evangelists, and the Relicks of the Church of *St. Albans*, 'That he would observe the good, approv'd, and ancient Laws of the Kingdom, which the holy and pious Kings, his Predecessors, and chiefly King *Edward* had ordained: By which the *English* being satisfy'd, all return'd to their Habitations. But the King, who had conceal'd his Intentions, within a few Days after privately and suddenly endeavour'd to ruin those separately, whom united he could not overcome; which he perform'd by killing some, dispossessing others, and outlawing many more, to the Breach of his Oaths, and the great Affliction of the *English*. Upon this Prince *Edgar* fled again into *Scotland*, and several of the *English* Nobility into *Denmark*, and some into *Norway*, pursuing any Methods to avoid the *Norman* Yoke. Abbot *Fretberic* fled into the Isle of *Ely*, where he shortly after ended his Days; upon whose Death the King kept the Abby of *St. Albans* vacant in his Hands, and very much oppress'd it by cutting down the Woods, and impoverishing the Tenants; and unless he had been restrain'd by the Reproofs of Arch-Bishop *Lanfranc*, he had irreparably destroy'd that noble Foundation.

The King swears to the Laws of King *Edward*.

But to no purpose.

Edgar flies into *Scotland*.

An. 1071.

About the same Time the great Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, suspecting the Success of their Affairs, privately retired from Court, designing a new Rebellion; the former in his Passage towards *Scotland* was betray'd by his own Followers,

A. D.
1071.
Reg. 5.

Morchar and
others rebell in
the Isle of Ely.

lowers, and slain; *Morchar* betook himself to the Isle of *Ely*, where he met with *Egelwin* Bishop of *Durham*, *Siward* surnam'd *Barne*, *Walter* Bishop of *Hereford*, and many other great Men of the *English*. These daily increasing, sent for *Hereward*, a Person renowned in many Places for his extraordinary Valour, to be their chief Commander; particularly urging him on the Behalf of *Thurstan*, then Abbot of the Place, and his Monks, who were Owners of the Isle; and upon their Account the same was fortify'd against the King. Not long after, the King, who never gave Time to Insurrections, march'd down against these Male-Contents, and by the Assistance of his Marriners, stopp'd up all the Passages on the East Side of the Island, and built a Castle at *Wesbich*; and on the West Side he made a Bridge from the Continent to the Isle, two Miles in length. Yet still he met with great Difficulties and Resistance, 'till after the Loss of many Men, he was advis'd to seize all the Lands and Goods belonging to the Monastery, that were out of the Isle, and divide them among his Soldiers, in order to oblige them to greater Care and Vigilance. This being effected, and the King's Power increasing, the Monks after a Consultation with their Abbot resolv'd not only to submit to the King, upon Condition he would honourably restore all their Lands, but also to give him a thousand Marks, and accordingly sent their Proposals; which were readily and graciously accepted, and the Island peaceably deliver'd into his Hands. The Noblemen were all constrain'd to submit to the King's Mercy, only the valiant *Hereward* with a few Followers with great Difficulty escap'd over the Fens, and got into *Scotland*. Then the King, having cut off the Hands and put out the Eyes of many of the common Soldiers, let them go; but for Earl *Morchar*, with the Noblemen and Gentlemen taken with him, he sent them to several Prisons; and Bishop *Egelwin*, being sent to *Abingdon*, there starv'd himself to Death. The better to secure the Island to his Obedience, the King quarter'd forty *Norman* Knights in the Monastery, obliging the Monks not only to find them Subsistence, but also their usual Wages.

They are re-
duc'd.

A. D.

1072.

Reg. 6.
7.

The King mar-
ches into Scot-
land.

Both Kings
come to a Trea-
ty.

The King having happily finish'd this Adventure, found that the Root of all his Dangers was in *Scotland*, which Country had always been a Sanctuary for his Enemies and the Male-Contents of his Kingdom, and now the Receptacle of his Competitor Prince *Edgar*. Therefore to put an End to all future Disputes, and also to revenge some late Devastations made in *England* by the King of *Scotland*, he resolv'd to invade that Kingdom in Person, and accordingly with a powerful Army enter'd *Galloway*, where the Soldiers were more harass'd in passing over the barren Mountains and Marshes than pursuit of the Enemy; wherefore he was oblig'd to turn another Way, and march directly towards King *Malcolm's* Army in *Lothian*, with a Resolution to finish the War with one Battel. But *Malcolm* wisely considering the Danger to which he was expos'd, sent Ambassadors to King *William* with Terms of Agreement; and the other considering the Hazards of a Battel in a difficult and unknown Country, accepted of his Terms, on Condition that he should take an Oath of Fealty to him, and all Offenders on both Sides be pardon'd. And hereupon King *Malcolm* did his Homage to King *William*; but whether for all *Scotland*, or the *Low-Lands*, or for *Cumberland*, Authors are not well agreed. In the Memory of this Treaty there was a Stone Cross erected in the Middle of the Mountains of *Stanemore* in *Richmondshire*, which was call'd the *Royal Cross*, having the Arms of both Kings engraven on the several Sides of it, which was for the future to serve as a Boundary between the two Kingdoms, the Remainder of which was to be seen in *Camden's* Time. And here with the universal Change brought about in *England*, the Kingdom of *Scotland* is likewise observ'd to have had no small Share: The former great Recourse of the *English* into *Scotland*, both to attend the Queen and her Brother *Edgar*, as well as for their own Safety, not only introduc'd the *English* Language, into the Court and Country, but also the Fashions, Vanity of Apparel, Riot, Luxury and Excess of

Sax. An.
Tugoh.
Pol. 17.
&c.

of the *English*, much to the Damage and effeminating that hardy and warlike Nation. And many of the *English*, forsaking the Place of their Birth and Habitation, were receiv'd into the Favour of that King; who being by his Liberality there settled, have since that Time propagated, and brought forth Branches of many noble Families, whose Posterity continue to this Day. And we are inform'd that about this Time were the Degrees and Titles of Honour first known in that Country, as Duke, Earl, Baron and Knight; and the nobler Sort of the *Scots*, in Imitation of the *French* and *English*, began to be call'd by the honourable Titles, from the Names of their Families, or the best of their Possessions.

ulph. In this Year, a Contest of another Nature was also decided, which was between the two Arch-Bishops of this Kingdom, *Lanfranc* and *Thomas*, who being lately return'd from *Rome*, by the Pope's Order a great Synod was held concerning the ancient Dispute of the Jurisdiction of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* over the other at *York*; where the Matter being fully debated on both Sides, at length the Synod gave Sentence in favour of the See of *Canterbury*, in the Presence of the King, the Pope's Legate, the Bishops and Abbots of several Orders; and the Decree was subscrib'd by the King, Queen, and chief of the Nation.

A Contest between the Sees of *Canterbury* and *York*.

u. An. **IV.** For about seven Years, King *William* had met with Disturbances only in his new acquir'd Kingdom; but now having surmounted these Difficulties, he was disquieted with new Troubles from the King of *France*, who this Year renew'd the ancient Contest, and invaded his Dominions about *Normandy*. Upon which the King without Delay transported a powerful Army into *Normandy*, as well *English* as *Normans*; and in a short Time, chiefly by the Valour and Bravery of the *English*, he retook the City of *Mans*, and the Province of *Maine*, which had lately revolted; but not without great Spoil in destroying of Vineyards, and burning of Cities and Towns. Here *Edgar Etheling* came to him out of *Scotland*, who was graciously receiv'd with all his Followers, and he himself honourably maintain'd in the King's Court, where he was generously allow'd a Pound Weight of Silver for every Days Expence: A rare Example of a prevailing Conqueror, shew'd upon a Man so unconstant, who had twice broken his Oath of Fidelity, and dangerous so near his Person, as being the only Competitor of his Crown. But this Prince dealt more roughly with the new Pope *Gregory*, who about this Time by Letters demanded an Oath of Fealty from him for the Crown of *England*, to be held of the *Roman* See; alledging, 'That the Royal Power next under God was to be subject to the Care and Government of the Apostolick Jurisdiction. To whom King *William* return'd a free Answer, in which he utterly deny'd any such Authority, and he was so far from paying him any such mean Submission, that *Eadmer* assures us, He would not permit any Subject in his Dominions to acknowledge any Man for Pope, but whom he had first allow'd of, nor so much as to receive his Letters, unless they had been first shewn to himself.

A. D.

1073.

Reg. 7.

The King's Wars against France.

Prince Edgar receiv'd into Favour.

u. An. While the King continu'd in *Normandy*, a dangerous Conspiracy was form'd against him in *England*, not only by some of the *English*, but also *Norman* Nobility; which was occasion'd by *Ralph de Waher*, Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who having marry'd *Emma* the Daughter of *Roger* Earl of *Hercford*, Cosen to the King, without his Consent, was so transported with the Greatness of the Alliance, and the Power of Wine, that on the Wedding Day he perswaded his Guests into a Rebellion. With whom the Bride's Father readily join'd, together with *Waltheof*, lately made Earl of *Northumberland*, with several other Barons, Abbots and Bishops. But Earl *Waltheof* repented the next Morning, alledging that he was deluded and overcome with Wine, and immediately went to *Lanfranc* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, confess'd the whole Design, and receiv'd Absolution from him; by whose Advice he also went into *Normandy*, discover'd

A. D.

1074.

Reg. 8.

A dangerous Conspiracy.

discover'd all to the King, and threw himself upon his Mercy. But the rest returning to their several Castles, began the Rebellion with all their united Forces, and confederating with the *Welshmen*, they burnt and plunder'd many of the King's Towns: But the Governors of his Castles, together with the People of those Countries, soon frustrated their Designs; for *Wulstan*, Bishop of *Worcester*, with a great Number of Men, and *Egelwin*, Abbot of *Evesham*, with his Tenants, being sent for to his Assistance with *Urse*, Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, and *Walter de Lacy* and his Men, all marching together prevented the Earl of *Hereford* from passing the *Severn*, and joining with Earl *Ralph* at the appointed Place. At the same Time *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Godfrey* Bishop of *Constance*, being incamp'd near *Cambridge*, hinder'd Earl *Ralph* from marching any further; who seeing his Designs thus disappointed, retired to *Norwich*, where committing the Castle and the Garrison to the Custody of his Wife, he took Ship, and sail'd over into *Bretaign*, and from thence into *Denmark*. But his Opposers took as many of his Followers as they could find, and either kill'd or disabled them; and the King's Lieutenants laid close Siege to the Castle of *Norwich*, which at length surrender'd, and the Countess, with those of her Party, by the King's Permission left *England*, and went over to her Husband in *Denmark*. Not long after, Earl *Ralph* with *Cannute*, Son to *Swane* King of *Denmark*, and a certain Earl call'd *Hacun*, return'd to *England* with two hundred Sail of Ships; but finding no great Prospect of Success, they withdrew into *Flanders*.

Which is quell'd

The King's Severity.

A. D.
1075.
Reg. 9.
Waltheof be-
liev'd.

The English oppress'd.

King *William* now return'd from *Normandy*, and some Relicks of the Rebellion remaining in the West, he hasten'd thither, where he soon put an End to all Tumults, and us'd the Conspirators with great Severity, cut off the Hands of some, put out the Eyes of others, hang'd some upon Gibbets, and those who escap'd best, suffer'd Banishment. Nor could Earl *Waltheof* himself escape Punishment, notwithstanding he had reveal'd the Conspiracy; for after the King had tax'd him with Ingratitude, he caus'd him to be beheaded at *Winchester*, tho', as it is said, he had before promis'd him his Pardon, his great Possessions being his greatest Enemies; for he was Earl of *Northumberland*, *Northampton* and *Huntington*, which Dignities were by the King thought more fit for his *Norman* Subjects; and the Desire of a new Marriage excited his Wife *Judith* not a little to promote his Death. His Body being bury'd at the Abby of *Croyland*, his Tomb soon became so famous for pretended Miracles, and the King thereby so far disoblig'd, that he depriv'd the Abbot of the Place, and put in *Ingulphus*, one of our most considerable Historians. By reason of this Conspiracy *Malmesbury* excuses the King's future Severity to the *English*, and says he scarce found any of them faithful, which so exasperated his Temper towards them, that he depriv'd the more Powerful of them first of their Mony, then of their Lands, and afterwards many of them of their Lives. So that from about this Time we may date that remarkable *Epocha*, which the same Author mentions in another Place, and which had continu'd to his own Time, namely, That *England* was then become the Habitation of Strangers: So that it is certain when he wrot, that tho' many *English* Men enjoy'd Estates, yet there was no Native original *English* Man, who was Earl, Bishop, or Abbot; but, adds he, Foreigners devour the Riches of *England*, and eat out its very Bowels.

The King goes into France.

The King having with his usual Success suppress'd all Disturbances, and committed the Earldom of *Northumberland* to the Care of *Walcher* Bishop of *Durham*, went a third Time into *Normandy*, enter'd *Bretaign* with an Army, and there besieg'd the Castle of *Dole*, which belong'd to the rebellious Earl *Ralph*; but the Garrison so long defended it, that *Philip* King of *France* found Time to relieve it, and raise the Siege; so that the King was oblig'd to return into *England*, and to pass this and the next Year in Peace. During which Time, according to *Brompton*, a great Synod was held in *St. Paul's Church* in

Mistaken
Ingulph.
&c.Himself
Hoc
&c.

in *London*, under Arch-Bishop *Lanfranc*, the use of Ecclesiastical Synods being 'till then almost obsolete in *England*. In this the Precedency of Bishops in Synods and Councils was determin'd, and the chief Thing ordain'd was, That severall of the Bishops Sees should be remov'd from smaller Towns to Cities: By Virtue of which, the See of *Selfey* was translated to *Chichester*; that of *Wells* to *Bath*; that of *Shirburne* to *Salisbury*; that of *Dorchester* to *Lincoln*; and that of *Litchfield* to *Chester*, which was afterwards remov'd first to *Coventry*, and then to *Litchfield* again. About the same Time also the See of *Elmham* was remov'd to *Thetford*, and not long after to *Norwich*.

A. D.

1076.

Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.*The Removal of several Bishops Sees.*

After King *William* had, as he imagin'd, finish'd all Wars and Contests both at home and abroad, a less suspected and more unnatural War broke out in *Normandy*, which with some Intermissions lasted two or three Years. This was occasion'd by his eldest Son *Robert* whom he had left in *Normandy*, a Gentleman of an aspiring and prodigal Temper, who being openly assist'd by *Philip* King of *France*, and privately encourag'd by his own Mother *Matilda*, boldly laid Claim to the whole Dukedom of *Normandy*, alledging his Father's Promise made to him when he first gain'd *England*. Accordingly being assist'd by the *French* King, he vigorously invaded the Country, burnt severall Towns, and made great Devastations. The King, tho' at first discompos'd at the News of his Son's Insolence, yet believing it had no deeper Root, but what would soon wither or be cut off by his Presence, gather'd immediately what Forces he could raise, and with an Army of his *English* Subjects sail'd over now to invade *Normandy*, as he had done formerly to invade *England* with the *Normans*. In the first Year, after no very great Struggles on either Side, a Truce and a Peace was made; but in a short Time Duke *Robert*, restless in his Ambition, broke through all Obligations, enter'd into new Acts of Hostility, and at length press'd very hard upon his Father near the Castle of *Gerboret*. At which Place they came to a general Battel, which was very obstinate on both Sides, in which Duke *Robert* furiously encounter'd his Father unknown to him, and not only wounded him in the Arm with his Lance, but dismounted him. King *William* thus fallen, immediately call'd for a Horse, storming to see his Blood split in his own Land, which had never been drawn by the Weapons of Foreigners, and in a great Rage threaten'd Revenge. *Robert* knowing his Father's Voice hastily alighted, and in his Arms took him from the Ground, humbly desiring his Pardon for this unknown Fact, and Forgiveness of his rash Attempt; then mounting him upon his own Horse, he brought him in Safety out of the Throng, who now seeing himself too weak to withstand the Enemy, left the Honour of the Field to *Robert*, with the Loss of great Numbers of his Men, and the Wounding of his Son *William Rufus*. This uncommon Accident in a short Time after brought both Parties to an Accommodation; and Peace being made, *Robert* return'd into *England* with his Father, but could never wholly regain his Favour. This was the only considerable Defeat the King receiv'd in his whole Life; in all the rest of which he was so successful, that even Foreign Nations dreaded his very Name.

A. D.

1077.

Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.*The King's Son Robert rebels in Normandy.**The King worsted.**A Peace made.*

During the Time of these Wars, the better to secure the City of *London*, the King laid the Foundation of a strong Castle or Citadel, surrounded with a large deep Ditch, lying on the East Side of the City, now call'd the *Tower of London*; the chief Surveyor of which Work was *Gundulph*, Bishop of *Rochester*. Therefore those who would have it founded by *Julius Caesar* are much mistaken, unless they can prove that the King only built it upon some old Foundation laid by him; which yet is not probable, since no Author relates that ever *Julius Caesar* came to *London*. About a Year after, Duke *Robert* marching into the North against King *Malcolm*, founded another remarkable Castle upon the River *Tine*, at a Ford or Passage where before stood a small Village call'd *Monkcester*, from certain Monks who liv'd there in great Austerity and Retirement: But after the Building of this Fortrefs, it was from thence call'd *New-Castle upon Tine*, which Name it still retains.

A. D.

1078.

Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.*The Tower of London built.**New-Castle built.*

A. D.

1080.

Reg. 14.
15.

A general Survey made of the Nation.

Domesday-Book.

The King's Revenues.

and Forces.

V. King *William* had now so firmly establish'd his Affairs both at home and abroad, that for the last seven Years of his Reign he met with no very considerable Disturbances; so that he had leisure to apply himself to the Arts of Peace, and the Orders of the State, in which he was no less skilful and vigorous than in those of War. In some Things he proceeded laudably and honourably, in others severely and arbitrarily, and in all Things considerately and politickly. One of his great Designs was to make a general and compleat Survey of the whole Nation, which he began this Year, and did not finish it 'till six Years after. This great Work was manag'd and carry'd on by particular Commissioners, who were some of the greatest Earls and Bishops of the Nation; who by the Verdict or Presentment of Juries, or certain Persons sworn in every County, Hundred or Wapentach, enquired and noted down what Arable Land, Pasture, Meadow and Wood every Man had, and what was the Extent and Value of them in the Time of King *Edward* the Confessor. And also at the same Time, the Survey was made by Counties, Hundreds, Towns or Mannors, Hides, half Hides, Virgates and Acres of Arable Land, Meadow, Pasture and Wood. Also they noted what Mills and Fishings, and in some Counties, what and how many Free-Men, Sock-Men, Villains, Borders, Servants, young Cattle, Sheep, Swine, working Horses, Hives of Bees, &c. belong'd to every Town and Man- nor, and whole they were; always in every County putting down the King's Name first, and after him all the great Men in Order, that held of him in Chief, with Numbers plac'd before them, for the easier finding them in the Book, as may be seen in the Catalogue of Tenants in Chief, or the Possessors of such Lands at the Time of the Survey. All *England*, with Part of *Wales*, was describ'd, except the three Counties of *Westmorland*, *Cumberland* and *Northum- berland*; and the Description or Survey written was in two Books, now call'd the great and little *Domesday-Book*, remaining in the Custody of the Vice- Chamberlains of the Exchequer. The little Book contains only the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Essex*. The Reason given for the Name of *Domesday* is, That it was no more lawful to depart, or appeal from what was in it, than from the Day of *Dome*, or last Judgment. And being the highest Record in the Kingdom, it was then, and still continues to be a decisive Evidence in any Trial where there is Occasion to refer to it.

This great Survey did not only increase, but also much more ascertain the Revenues of the Crown, which then consisted of several Branches: As first the Crown Lands, which consisted of one thousand four hundred and twenty two Ma nors or Lordships in several Counties, besides several Farms and Lands in *Middlesex*, *Shropshire* and *Rutlandshire*. These with the Escheats forfeited to the King for Felony or Treason, or reverted to the Crown for want of Heirs, together with the Kents reserv'd of the Baronies and Lands he gave to his Fol- lowers, rais'd a vast Revenue in Mony. Another Branch was a Land-Tax call'd *Hidage*, which this King found here before his Arrival in the Time of *Edward* the Confessor, as appears every where in *Domesday-Book*. A third Branch was Tolls and Customs for many Cases, Wardships, Knights Fees, Forfeitures, Fines and pecuniary Punishments for Murder, Manslaughter, Batteries, Fightings, Trespasses, Misdemeanor, &c. which were all redeem'd and satisfy'd by Pe- nalties and Fines, as well now as in the *Saxons* Times. Not to proceed to every Particular, in short this King's Revenue in general was so very great, that *Vitales* assures us that it was computed at above one thousand and sixty Pound of Sterling Mony every Day of the Year, besides his Gifts, Presents and pecuniary Punishments; which was an immense Sum in those Days, amounting to near four hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*, and which now by a moderate Com- putation may be valu'd at five Millions of our Mony. Besides this vast Revenue, he had a mighty standing Army, especially of Horse, with which he made good his Acquisitions without any Expence or Charge out of his Exchequer: For the same

same Author affirms, that he so distributed the Lands of *England* to his Followers and Soldiers, that he had sixty thousand Knights or Horsemen constantly at his Command, to be employ'd in any Expedition where Occasion requir'd.

As this King was careful as to his Revenues and Power, so was he no less diligent as to Laws and Government; and upon pretence of Justice and Piety, or else of Necessity and Safety, he abolish'd several ancient *Saxon* Institutions, and made several new, besides great Changes in others. He also caus'd the Laws of the Kingdom, which had been anciently written in *Saxon*, and by *Edward* the Confessor publish'd in *Latin*, now to be translated into *Norman*. He order'd all Pleas in the several Courts to be made in the same Language, as likewise all Petitions presented to the King, and all Orders of Court and Council. This introduc'd new Terms, new Forms of Pleading and of Process, new Names of Offices and of Courts; and with them all the Customs and Subtelties of the *Norman* Pleas and Conveyances, instead of the old *Saxon* Simplicity. Among the *Saxons* it was usual to grant Lands and Houses by bare Words, and with the Delivery of some trivial Gift, as an Horn, a Sword, an Arrow, or a Helmet; yet the Honesty of those Times left them little subject to any Disputes or Contentions. But this Prince reduc'd all Grants to Writing, to Signature, and to Witnesses, which in Time introduc'd more Cavils and Actions, than former Methods. He appointed Justices to preserve the Peace, and to administer Justice in every County, pursuant to what was us'd in the former Reigns. For the Pleas of the Crown, and those of greater Moment between Subjects, he created learned and noble Judges, and ordain'd four Terms each Year, consisting of a certain Number of Days, wherein Justice should be duly administer'd, and all Suits heard in such Places as the King should appoint, and find most convenient. Besides these Orders he instituted the Courts of Chancery and the Exchequer; the first for tempering the Rigor of Laws, according to the Dictates of Conscience and Equity; and the other for determining all Actions concerning the Revenues of the Crown, and punishing unjust Officers who levy'd or receiv'd them, as well as backward Paymasters. By these Changes he also abrogated the Judiciary Power exercis'd by the Bishops in each County where Justice was administer'd; where the Bishop with the Alderman, or Earl of each Shire, sat as Judge in those Courts, which had not only increas'd their Authority but also their Revenue, by a Share they had in the King's Fines they levy'd.

But whatever Innovations and Changes were made in all other Things, the Government of the Peace and Security of the Kingdom seems to have been continu'd as before; and particularly he retain'd the Use of that famous Law, not yet wholly disus'd, call'd *the Borough Law*, by which every free Man of the Commons of *England* stood as Surety for each others good Behaviour, every Borough or Tything being oblig'd to produce their Criminals to Justice; by which means Innocence became every Man's Interest, as well as Duty, since they were otherwise to share in the Penalty. In the Beginning of his Reign the Kingdom had been much infested with Outlaws and Robbers, and many *Normans* were secretly murder'd by the *English*, as they pass'd alone upon the High-Ways or the Fields, especially in the Night. To remedy which Mischief, he impos'd a heavy Fine upon the Hundred where the Body of any *Norman* should be slain, whether the Authors of the Fact were discover'd or not. All Adulteries by his Laws were made equal with Manlaughters and Murders; and for all Rapes and Robberies, he caus'd them to be punish'd so severely by cruel Mutilations of Members, and Hardships of Labour, as left them miserable Spectacles, or Warnings of their Crimes, during the rest of their Lives. By the Rigor of these Courses, and suppressing of Idleness and Luxury, the chief Causes of such Offences, he in Time reduc'd the whole Realm to such Security, that it is recorded that in his Time a fair Virgin with a Purse of Gold in her Hand, might have travell'd through the Nation, without any Danger to her Honour, or her Money.

His Laws and Institutions.

His Regulations.

Not-

He makes the
New Forest in
Hampshire.

His Partiality
to the Nor-
mans.

Notwithstanding many excellent Laws and Regulations, which greatly display'd the Wisdom and Abilities of this Prince, several of his Actions were misinterpreted and dislik'd, and others were too apparently blameable to admit of any Vindication, as favouring too much of the Tyrant and Oppressor. Particularly after an arbitrary manner he dispeopled the South-Western Parts of *Hampshire*, destroy'd all the Towns and Villages, with thirty six Mother Churches, turn'd out the poor Inhabitants, for above thirty Miles together, and made a Forest for wild Beasts, which the *English* then call'd *Itene*, and at this Time *The new Forest*: Of which *W. Mapes*, who liv'd in the next Age, severely observes, That the Conqueror took away great Quantities of Land from God and Men, and converted it to the Use of wild Beasts, and the Sport of his Dogs. This he did either to make a more easie Access for his *Normans* into *England*, in case of Insurrections; or to indulge himself in his Hunting, or else to raise Money by Methods, tho' never so unjust. For he, more merciful to Beasts than to Mankind, appointed most grievous pecuniary Fines, and other more severe Penalties, to be inflicted on those who should presume to trespass upon his Game and Retirement. But the Divine Vengeance seem'd to have pursu'd him not long after in the untimely Deaths of several of his Posterity: For his second Son *Richard*, was in this Forest goared by a Deer, or poison'd by a pestilential Blast; his third Son *William* was afterwards casually slain by an Arrow in the same Place; and his Grandson *Henry*, by his Son *Robert*, while he hotly pursu'd his Chace, was caught up by a Bough, like *Absolon*, and left hanging 'till he dy'd. Besides several Acts of Injustice and Oppression, this King in a particular Manner disoblig'd the *English* by his apparent Partiality to his Countrymen the *Normans*: For he did not only give them the greatest Preferments, introduce their Customs, and publish his Laws in their Language, but also endeavour to make their Language to be general in the Nation. To which End, he caus'd many Schools to be erected for teaching that Tongue, which was a Bastard *French*, not well understood by the *French* themselves, and scarce at all by the *English*. But his Endeavours were in a great Measure frustrated by the Over-Ballance of the Numbers of the Nation, in Proportion to the Strangers, and by a general Aversion in the *English* to change their Language, which they thought would occasion the final Overthrow of their Liberties. So that in this very Reign, instead of the *English* speaking of the *Norman*, the *Normans* by means of Intermarriages, ordinary Commerce and Conversation, began generally to use the *English* Tongue, which has ever since compos'd the main Body of our Language, tho' chang'd like others by Mixture of many new Words and Phrases, not only introduc'd by this great Revolution, but by the Uses and Accidents of each succeeding Age.

He seizes upon
his Brother Odo.

In the midst of his Partiality to the *Normans*, this Prince shew'd so much Justice, that he would spare none who were guilty of great and known Crimes. Nor would he pass by his Brother *Odo*, whom he had made Bishop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, and on whom he heap'd such great Honours and Favours. This Prelate, aspiring to the Papal Chair, had purchas'd a magnificent Palace at *Rome*, whither he was going with a noble Retinue, and a vast Treasure, when the King came suddenly upon him in the Isle of *Wight*, where he was ready to set Sail, and seiz'd him with his own Hand, when he could not persuade those about him to do it, since he alledg'd *he was a Clergy-Man, and not to be sentenc'd without the Judgment of the Pope*; but the King reply'd, *he seiz'd on him not as a Clergy-Man, but as Earl of Kent*; whereupon all his mighty Riches were taken from him, and his Estate confiscated: The Crimes the King laid to his Charge were the grievous Oppressions of the People during his Government, and the Seduction of his Subjects to forsake the Realm without his Leave; for he had engag'd *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, with many Knights and other Persons of Quality, to attend him in his Journey to *Rome*. This happen'd in the Year 1082, after which, for four or five Years, 'till the last of the

this Reign, we find but little of Moment; only in the Year 1084 the King laid a heavy Tax of no less than six Shillings upon every Hide of Land throughout *England*; being threaten'd with an Invasion from the *Danes*, against whom in the next Year he rais'd a vast Army, but found no great Service for his Soldiers. In the same Year his Queen *Matilda* dy'd in *Normandy*,
Matilda dy'd. to her Husband's great Affliction. In the next, *Edgar Etheling* having obtain'd the King's leave, went into *Italy* with two hundred Knights, from whence he pass'd into the Holy Land with *Robert* the Son of *Godwin* to fight against the *Saracens*; but his Sister *Christina* had some time before vow'd her self a Nun in the Monastery of *Rumsey* in *Hampshire*.

Calmsb. The last Year of this Reign, which was 1087, prov'd very calamitous to *England* by reason of the malignant Feavers and Famines that destroy'd vast Numbers; also sudden Fires consum'd several of the principal Cities in the Nation; and *St. Paul's Church*, with the greater and better Part of the City of *London*, were burnt to the Ground. In which Year King *William* having settled his Affairs in *England*, and taken new Oaths of Fidelity from the Nobility, pass'd over into *Normandy* with a powerful Army, to revenge himself upon the King of *France* for former Injuries; but not long after a Truce was made between them for a considerable Time. This was well observ'd on King *William's* Part, 'till the King of *France* indiscreetly took an Occasion to jest upon his great Corpulency, for which he was then in a Course of Physick, declaring, *That his Brother of England was gone only to lay his great Belly at Roven, and he doubted he must be at the Charge to set up Lights at his Up-rising.* This Scoff from a young King so rous'd and exasperated the old Warrior, that he swore a desperate Oath, *That as soon as he was Church'd, he would save him the Charge of setting up of Lights, and come himself, and light a thousand Fires in the Bowels of France.* Accordingly in *August* following, the King to make good his Oath, enter'd *France* with a mighty Army, destroy'd all the Corn and Fruits, committed great Ravages, and burnt many Towns and Villages; after which he besieg'd the City of *Mante*, took it soon after, and burnt it, commanding the Fire to be continu'd 'till all the Buildings and Churches were burnt to the Ground. But the King being too eager in his Revenge, his Body was soon inflam'd by the Warmth of the Season, as well as the Heat of the Fires; and then in his Retreat, upon leaping over a Ditch on Horse-back, he so bruis'd the Rimm of his Belly against the Pummel of the Sattel, that he was soon thrown into a dangerous Distemper that ended his Days.
The King goes into France.
He is provok'd by the King.
He receives a Hurt.

Mer. The King finding his Death approaching, began to be apprehensive of his future Happiness, and to think upon Acts of Mercy and Charity, and order'd great Sums to pious Uses, particularly for the re-edifying those Churches he had burnt in *Mante*. He likewise gave Order for the setting at Liberty the Earls *Morchar*, *Roger* and *Syward*, as also *Wulnoth*, Brother to King *Harold*, whom he had kept Prisoner from his Childhood, together with all others who were in Custody, either in *England* or *Normandy*; not excepting his Brother *Odo*, who not without much Intercession was releas'd. *Vitales* tells us that a little before his Death, he made a solemn Speech to his Sons and Friends about him, 'wherein he recounted many charitable Deeds and munificent Gifts of
His last Speech. his own, but withall he acknowledg'd with infinite Sorrow, that he had been brought up in Wars, and polluted with Blood, and that he had been guilty of many Cruelties and Oppressions in relation to the *English*. Here he bequeath'd to his three Sons his whole Estate; to his eldest Son *Robert* the Dukedom of *Normandy*; but for the Kingdom of *England*, having obtain'd it by so many Crimes, he durst leave it to none but God; tho' his Desire was, that *William*, his most obedient Son, might enjoy it after his Decease. But to *Henry*, his third Son then living, he left five thousand Marks in Money, without any Territories. His Son *Henry* complaining of this, and asking,
What

His Death.

What he should do with the Money, unless he had some Place to secure it; he in a propheticall Manner is said to make Answer, *That in Time he should enjoy all the Honour that he himself had, and that he should exceed both his Brothers in Glory and Riches.* Then to prevent any Disturbances in *England*, he wrot a Letter to Arch-Bishop *Lanfranc* in favour of his Son *William*, who having receiv'd it with his Father's last Benediction, immediately hasten'd towards his new Kingdom. The King having settled his Affairs concerning this Life, the better to prepare for the next, caus'd himself to be remov'd to the Village of *Hermuntrade*, near *Roven*, to avoid the Noise of that City, where shortly after, with all the Marks of Devotion, he departed this Life, upon *Thursday* the ninth Day of *September*, *A. D.* 1087, in the sixty first Year of his Age, and the fifty second of his Dukedom, after a tumultuous and glorious Reign of twenty Years, ten Months, and twenty six Days, reckoning from the Battel of *Hastings*. His Body was ungratefully abandon'd by all his Servants, and with the utmost Privacy convey'd to his own Church at *Caen*, where the very Soil was challeng'd by a Country Gentleman, and a Sum of Money laid down, before it was permitted to be bury'd; so that he who was Lord of so many Territories, now wanted Ground enough for a single Grave.

His Character.

This was the End of this great Monarch *William* the First, commonly call'd the *Conqueror*, who tho' he had that Name given him in all Ages, yet he obtain'd and enjoy'd the Crown of *England* by such a Concurrence of various Circumstances, that it may in a great measure be said of him as was said of *Augustus*, that he came to the Empire neither by Conquest, nor Usurpation, nor Inheritance, nor Election, but by a strange Mixture of all these together. To determine the Matter nicely is very difficult, and not so material as some would have it; but which way soever we admit of his Accession to the Throne, we find, that being once possess'd of it, he acted as all wise Princes ever have done, that is labour'd by all Methods to continue himself in it. In which he illustriously display'd both his Wisdom and his Valour; having to encounter not only the Troubles rais'd by a discontented Kingdom and a rebellious Dukedom, but also the whole Power of *France*, *Denmark*, *Scotland* and *Wales*; all which he bravely surmounted with an uninterrupted Course of Prosperity; so that scarce any Prince ever made a greater Figure in History. As to his bodily Perfections, ^{Maimb. &c.} he was well proportion'd, of a vigorous and healthful Constitution, of a noble Presence, sitting or standing; of a masculine Beauty, in which there was a Mixture of Majesty and Severity; and had so great a Strength, that few of his Court could draw his Bow. As to those of his Mind, he was both wise and active, penetrating in his Designs, daring in his Enterprizes, and steady in the Prosecution of them. All agree that he was chaste and temperate, pious, valiant and great in all his Actions, especially in such as exprest his Royal State and Dignity. His Pastimes were chiefly Hunting and Feasting, in the latter of which he always display'd his Grandeur, annually keeping the Feasts of *Christmas* at *Glocester*, that of *Easter* at *Winchester*, and that of *Whitsuntide* at *Westminster*; to which Places he summon'd all the great Men of the Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity, that Foreign Ambassadors might be Witnesses of his extraordinary Magnificence; at which Times he was more easie of Access, and shew'd great Instances of Bounty and Indulgence to all Men. Yet among his many Virtues, he is much accus'd of being of a covetous, rapacious and cruel Disposition, which produc'd innumerable Acts of Injustice and Oppression; which others think were rather the Effects of his Policy, the Necessity of his Affairs, and the Inconstancy and frequent Rebellions of those Subjects who had sworn Allegiance to him. But in the Prosecuting of such he oftentimes shew'd uncommon Generosity, pardoning the same Offenders two or three Times over; Earl *Walthef* being the only Nobleman that was put to Death in his Reign. He was of so brave and fearless a Temper, that contrary to the Policy of other Kings, he promoted his only Rival *Edgar Etheling*, after he had been twice

twice in Arms against him, and gave him a Revenue suitable to his Quality. The rest of the *English* no doubt might have been happy under the Government of this Prince, who was really a Promoter of Piety, Learning, and all that was Great; but being degenerated in their Morality and Virtue, divided in their Interests, and impolitick in struggling for that Liberty they had actually given up, great Numbers of them brought themselves under the most extream Miseries and Oppressions. But *England* in general gain'd great Honour and Advantages by this Conquest, as will appear more plainly in the succeeding History.

S E C T. II.

The Reign of King WILLIAM the Second.

Containing 12 Years, 10 Months, and 22 Days.

I. **K**ING *William* left three Sons behind him, *Robert*, *William* and *Henry*, of whom the two youngest obtain'd and possess'd the Crown of *England*. Before his Breath was departed, young *William* knowing his Father's Intentions, posted for *England* with *Bloet* the Household Chaplain, together with Earl *Morchar* and *Wulnoth*, who for a while he kept as Prisoners, 'till he had seiz'd all his Father's Treasure at *Winchester*, which amounted to sixty thousand Pounds in Mony, besides Gold, Jewels and Plate, an immense Sum in those Days. In obtaining of which he is said to have been much assisted by his Father's Steward *Eudo*, who before his Arrival had secur'd not only *Winchester*, but also *Dover*, *Pevensey*, *Hastings*, and other Castles on the Coasts. After which, still fearing his elder Brother's Interest, he apply'd himself with his Letters to Arch-Bishop *Lanfranc*, by whom he had been both educated and knighted; and to remove all Obstructions, he solemnly swore, 'To preserve Justice, Equity and Mercy throughout his Kingdom, and also to defend the Peace and Liberty of the Church, and in all Things to observe the Arch-Bishop's Directions. Upon which, and other Promises made to the Nobility, he soon procur'd so great an Interest, that upon Sunday the twenty seventh Day of September, he was crown'd King at *Westminster*, by the two Arch-Bishops of the Nation, in the Presence of most of the other Bishops, and many of the Nobility.

This Prince, who from his ruddy Complexion, or red Hair obtain'd the common Name of *Rufus*, was now about thirty one Years of Age, and in the Vigour of his Youth; being bred up to the Sword, he was naturally warm, rough and haughty, more courageous than pious, and more gallant than good. Yet in the former Part of his Reign, being in a great Measure govern'd by the wise Councils of *Lanfranc*, he acted in many Things worthily and honourably; and was very careful in the Distribution of his Father's Treasure to those pious Uses mention'd in his Will. But his Natural Temper, and his Want of Primogeniture, soon rais'd a great Faction in the Nation against him, who favouring the Pretensions, and liking the Person of his elder Brother *Robert*, occasion'd great Troubles and Disturbances. The chief of this Party was his Uncle *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, who tho' he had been lately restor'd to all his Honours and Dignities, yet envying the Power and Interest of Arch-Bishop *Lanfranc*, he made no better use of them, than to endeavour to ruin both him and his Sovereign. And drawing into this Conspiracy his Brother *Robert*, Earl of *Hereford*, with many others of the *English* Nobility, he wrote Letters to his Nephew in *Normandy*, urging him to hasten into *England*, and recover his Right,

A. D.

1087.

Reg. 1.

William Rufus comes over into England.

He is crown'd King.

A Faction rais'd against him.

A. D.

1088.

Reg. 2.

which he did not doubt but by his Means would be effectual. The Business thus forwarded, and the *English* daily resorting into *Normandy*, assur'd Duke Robert of a happy Success; but having before liv'd above his Fortunes, his greatest Obstruction was Want of Money. Therefore applying himself to his youngest Brother *Henry*, who had much Gold and no Land, he furnish'd himself by Mortgaging to him the County of *Constantine*, a Province in *Normandy*; and then sent to *Odo*, that he should expect his Landing in the West of *England* by a Day prefix'd. Upon this the Bishop assum'd more Courage, and shew'd himself first in the Action; and fortifying *Rocheſter*, began to disturb the County of *Kent*. urging his Accomplices to follow his Example, which was accordingly perform'd; For in the West *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, assisted by *Geffrey* Bishop of *Constance*, seiz'd upon *Bath* and *Berkley*, with a great Part of *Wiltshire*, and strongly fortify'd the Castle of *Bristow* against King *William*: In *Norfolk*, *Roger Bigot*, in *Leicestershire*, *Hugh Grentemeisnil* did extreamly waste those Counties: *Roger Montgomery*, with his *Welsh* Men, assisted by *William* Bishop of *Durham*, *Barnard* of *Newmerch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer*, all *Normans*, with Fire and Sword pass'd the Country of *Worcester*. And these Insurrections were so dangerous, and Duke Robert so favour'd, that in the Judgment of *Gemeticensis*, had he hasten'd his Arrival, and pursu'd the Opportunity, he might with no great Difficulty have obtain'd the Crown of *England*.

King *William* observing the Posture of his Affairs, vigorously proceeded to the suppressing these Insurrections; and to that end he assembled many Bishops, Earls, and natural *English*, with *Lanfranc* at the Head of them; and declaring his Intentions, with the Addition of many specious Promises, they all assur'd him of their Assistance. Then ordering his Fleet to guard the Seas against his Brother Robert's intended Descent, he march'd in Person against his Uncle *Odo*, and in *May* besieg'd him in *Rocheſter*, together with *Eustathius* Earl of *Bullogn*, *Robert de Belesme*, and many other Noblemen, and Persons of inferior Rank, who in vain expected the Assistance of Duke Robert, who was detain'd only by Ease and Sloath from his promis'd Expedition. These were at length forc'd out of the Town into the Castle, where many perish'd by a raging Sickness, and being press'd with many other Necessities, they sent a Message to the King, That upon Condition they might enjoy their Lands and Estates, they would deliver up the Castle, and for the future serve him faithfully as their natural Lord. But the King, provok'd by their Behaviour and these Proposals, solemnly swore, That he would take the perfidious Rebels by Force, and destroy them with all Kinds of Deaths; and when his Nobility, who had many Friends and Relations in the Castle, perswaded him to Moderation, he return'd them this remarkable Answer, That whosoever spar'd Perjur'd Men, Robbers, Plunderers and Traitors, depriv'd all good Men of their Peace and Quietness, and laid a foundation of innumerable Mischiefs to the Virtuous and Innocent. But at length, overcome by the Intercession of his faithful Friends the Bishops, with the *English* Noblemen, and other loyal ancient Barons, he granted the Besieg'd their Lives, pardon'd the Loss of their Limbs, and gave them leave to pass out of the Castle with their Horses and Arms, but without Hopes of ever enjoying their Lands and Estates during his Reign. Whereupon they were all forc'd to quit the Kingdom, as was also Bishop *Odo*, who now irrecoverably lost all his Honours, and vast Estate in *England*.

After this King *William* bestow'd the Estates of these banish'd Noblemen upon others, who had serv'd him faithfully during this War; which tho' it was now happily and unexpectedly finish'd, it was chiefly the Effect of some politick Methods which the King took at the Beginning of these Commotions. For it was not by open Force that he quell'd this great Defection of the *Normans*, but by publishing, That he would ease all his Subjects, and especially the Native *English* of their great Taxes, promising them better Laws, with the free Liberty of

of Hunting in his Forest; as also by deluding some of the chief *Norman* Noblemen with large Promises, and specious Pretences. Thus he insinuated himself to *Roger Montgomery*, a Principal in the Insurrection, to whom he promis'd, *That he would willingly quit the Government, if he and those his Father had design'd his Curators should think fit*: Yet adding, *He could not conceive why they should be so violent against him: For if they expected Money, or an Augmentation of their Lands, they should not be disappointed, provided they did not question his Father's Will and Judgment, which by despising would hazard their own Safety; for the same Man who made him King, made them Earls and Noblemen.* With these and the like Insinuations the Earl was brought off from the Confederacy, which was then immediately broken, and the Nation reduc'd to quiet; all Parties concern'd either submitting or leaving the Kingdom.

^{mer.}
^{msb.} But no sooner was the King freed from his Fears, and well establish'd in his Throne, but forgetting all Oaths and Promises, he took quite contrary Measures, and us'd many Extortions and Oppressions. And being mildly admonish'd of his Breach of Faith by Arch-Bishop *Lanfranc*, he in a Passion reply'd, *Who can perform all that he has promis'd?* and would never after afford him a kind Look. Yet still the Presence of this worthy Man was some Awe and Restraint upon his Actions; but that was remov'd in a short Time after: For upon the 24th Day of *May* the Arch-Bishop dy'd, to the unexpressible Grief of all good Men, as being the most eminent Instance of Learning and Wisdom, as well as Piety and Charity, that this Age had produc'd. After which the King more openly shew'd his rapacious Inclinations; always covetous, yet never frugal, and still grasping and gathering, yet never filling his Coffers. And now discovering what before lay conceal'd, he immediately seiz'd the whole Revenues of the Archbishoprick into his own Exchequer, allowing only necessary Maintenance to the Monks, and kept that See vacant for almost four Years. He did the same by the See of *Lincoln*, and all other Churches and Abbies, as soon as they became void, which were never bestow'd and fill'd up so long as he could squeeze any thing considerable out of them; and when he could get nothing more, as *Eadmer* tells us, he would then sell an Abby so pillag'd to some Monk who would bid most for it. In short he was the first King of *England* who shew'd his Successors the dangerous Precedent of keeping the Bishopricks and their Livings vacant, and receiving the Profits himself. Which Grievances were complain'd of to Pope *Urban*; but he being imploy'd in new and uncommon Designs, had not leisure to endeavour a Redress of them.

A. D.

1089.

Reg. 2.

The King degenerates.

Lanfranc dies.

^{msb.}
^{ales.} II. King *William* having sufficiently secur'd his own Dominions at home, now cast his Eyes upon those of his Brother *Robert*, and suddenly made a Descent into *Normandy*, as *Scipio* did into *Africk*, resolving to revenge all former Injuries. And first he surpriz'd the Castles of *St. Valery* and *Albermarle*, with others upon the Sea-Coast; then pressing forwards committed great Devastations in the Country. *Robert*, finding himself unprovided, and knowing the instable Fidelity of his Subjects, apply'd himself to *Philip* the *French* King, imploring his Assistance against his hostile Brother. *Philip* joining with him, was soon stopp'd in his Progress by a large Sum of Money from King *William*; and so he return'd into his Country, with more Riches, and less Honour than he had before. Upon which King *William* became more and more successful, and not only the *Norman* Nobility began to favour him, but also the Citizens of *Rouen* the Metropolis, being brib'd by his Gifts and Promises, treated with him to betray the City, together with their sloathful Duke, into his Hands. One *Conon* a rich Citizen was the chief Conspirator, and had bargain'd with King *William* to receive his Forces into the City; but the whole Design being discover'd to the Duke, he immediately join'd with his younger Brother *Henry*, who upon the Account of ill Usage from him, was now setting up an independent Interest,

A. D.

1090.

Reg. 3.

The King goes into Normandy against his Brother.

terest, and fortifying those Towns that had been mortgag'd to him. *Henry* and his Followers threw themselves into the City time enough to secure it, tho' with great Slaughter of the resisting Citizens; *Conon* the chief Traitor was taken, and for his Punishment by *Henry's* Order was carry'd up into a high Tower, and from thence by his own Hands thrown out of a Window.

A. D. 1091. This Conjunction put a stop to King *William's* Arms, but in the next Year he resolv'd upon a second Attempt, which being begun, was soon ended by a Reconciliation and a Peace between the two Brothers, upon these Conditions:

Reg. 4. 5. ' That the Duke should yield to the King the County of *Eu*, and the Towns of *Fescamp* and *Cherburgh*, with all those Castles which had revolted from him; in ' Consideration of which the King should reduce the Country of *Maine* to the ' Duke's Obedience, with other Castles in *Normandy* then in Rebellion: That ' the King should restore to the *Norman* Noblemen all those Lands they had ' lost for their Adherence to the Duke, and to the Duke himself so much Land ' in *England* as was then agreed between them. Lastly, if the Duke should ' die without lawful Issue, the King should be his Heir, as he also the King's, ' upon the same Terms. For the Performance of these Articles twelve Barons

Henry left to himself.

He is besieg'd.

The King in Danger.

His Generosity.

Henry reduc'd.

on both Sides took their Oaths in the Behalf of their respective Princes; and King *William* in this Affair shew'd many Marks of Bounty and Magnificence towards the *Normans* and Strangers that resorted to him. But by this Treaty Prince *Henry* was quite left out and deserted, who finding those Towns abandon him, which in Justice ought to have asserted his Cause, betook himself to *St. Michael's Mount* as his last Retreat, from whence with his Soldiers he ravag'd the adjacent Country. To put a stop to him, his two Elder Brothers, now Confederates, join'd their Forces, and besieg'd that strong Fortrefs all the *Lent*, and lost many Men with little Success. During this remarkable Siege, the King riding alone some Distance from his Camp, saw several of the Enemy's Soldiers coming up to him; and trusting to his own Strength and Valour, boldly engag'd them, but in the first Encounter his Horse was slain under him, and himself thrown upon the Ground, with his Foot intangled in the Stirrup. Upon which Danger, and finding the Enemy ready to strike, he cry'd out, *Hold, Knave, I am the King of England!* which so surpriz'd the Soldiers, that they immediately took him up with great Respect, and brought him another Horse. The King springing into the Saddle, briskly demanded *Who was the Man that dismounted him?* and upon the Man's boldly showing himself, he swore his usual Oath, *That hereafter he should be his Knight, and he should receive the just Reward of his Valour.* In the mean Time Prince *Henry* was much distress'd for want of Water, and knowing Duke *Robert* to be of the milder Disposition, sent a Messenger to him desiring *That he might not be deny'd Water, but that he would subdue him by Force of Arms, and not by Thirst.* Upon which the Duke gave him liberty to supply himself; and being blam'd by his Brother *William* as impolitick, he reply'd, *What shall I suffer my Brother to die with Thirst; where shall we have another when he is gone?* But the King deriding the Duke's easie Nature, quitted the Siege, and return'd into *England*. However the Fortrefs was at last surrender'd to the Duke, and *Henry* permitted to go where he thought fit, who for some Years wander'd from Place to Place with one Knight, a Chaplain, and three Servants or Esquires. About the same Time *Robert* banish'd *Edgar Etheling* out of his Country, and the King depriv'd him of all the Lands that had been given him, who thereupon went into *Scotland* to King *Malcolm* his Brother-in-Law.

The King marches against the Scots.

Not long after, King *William* by Promises so far prevail'd with Duke *Robert*, that he brought him over into *England*, and had his Company in a new Expedition made against *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, who taking Advantage of the King's Absence had invaded *Northumberland*. King *William* prepar'd both a great Fleet and a numerous Army, tho' much to the Loss of either; for his Fleet was much shatter'd by Tempests, and many Men and Horses perish'd by Cold

Cold and Hunger in the barren Mountains. At length both Kings came to an Interview, where by the means of *Edgar Etheling* a Peace was concluded upon these Conditions: 'First, That *Malcolm* should yield the King the same Obedience, as he had done to his Father King *William*: Secondly, That the King should restore to *Malcolm* twelve Mannors, which he formerly held under his Father, and should also pay him annually twelve Marks of Gold. In Consideration of this good Office, the King was again reconcil'd to Prince *Edgar*; and thereupon both the Kings return'd home in Peace. But as these two Princes were made Friends, so much about the same Time the two Brothers again became Enemies: For Duke *Robert*, well perceiving the Subtlety of his Brother, and that he delay'd to perform the Covenants of the Treaty between them, went aboard his Vessels two Days before *Christmas*, and taking *Edgar Etheling* along with him, in great Displeasure pass'd over into *Normandy*.

A Peace concluded.

Thron. H. During the King's Absence in the North there happen'd the total Conquest of all the Country of *Glamorgan* and *Morgannie* in *South-Wales*, upon this Occasion. One *Eneon*, a popular Man, raising a Rebellion against *Rees* the Prince of *South-Wales*, drew over to his Side *Jestyn* Lord of *Glamorgan* and the neighbouring Parts, promising him to marry his Daughter. *Jestyn* finding their Faction too weak without foreign Assistance, sent *Eneon* into *England*, where he had so much Interest as to procure Aid against Prince *Rees*; and conferring with *Robert Fitz-Hamon*, a valiant Knight of the King's Bed-Chamber, he so far wrought upon his Martial Temper, that for a fix'd Salary he undertook the Service; and with twelve Knights, and a competent Number of Soldiers march'd into *Wales*, where joining with *Jestyn*, he in Battel kill'd Prince *Rees*, with *Conon* his Son. *Robert* having perform'd his Service, and designing to return, demanded his Pay according to Covenants, which *Jestyn* in some part deny'd, alledging that *Eneon* had exceeded the Bounds of his Commission. Upon which such Discord arose between these Friends, that it occasion'd a total Breach, and *Eneon* thus touch'd in his Reputation, join'd with the *English* against his own Countrymen, and coming to a Battel, *Jestyn*, and most of his *Welsh* Followers were slain. *Robert* finding so great an Advantage, soon conquer'd and possess'd himself of the whole County of *Glamorgan* with its Appendages; of which he gave certain Castles and Mannors to the twelve Knights that assisted him in this Expedition, as a Reward of their Service; some of whose Posterity enjoy part of those Lands to this Day. And this shews that the Ruin of the Princes of *Wales* proceeded more from their unnatural Divisions, than from the Power of their Invaders.

A great Part of South-Wales conquer'd.

Wales. H. In the following Year Prince *Henry*, who in a manner had been abandoned, began to recover himself, and gather Strength in *Normandy*, where he had the strong Sea-Port Town of *Damfront* privately deliver'd into his Hands; and this he made a Place of Refuge 'till such Time as he was reconcil'd to his Brother *William*, and sent for into *England*. About the same Time King *William* march'd with an Army into the North, where he re-edify'd the ancient City and Castle of *Carlisle*, which had been destroy'd by the *Danes*, and lain in Ruins above two hundred Years; and also granted large Privileges to the Place, which it enjoys to this Day. In the same Year *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester*, having in the last Reign remov'd his See to *Lincoln*, and there built a magnificent Church, that City with the Country about it was challeng'd by *Thomas* Arch-Bishop of *York*, as lying within his Diocese; which Claim the King privately encourag'd, 'till at length upon Payment of a large Sum of Mony to the King, *Remigius* obtain'd of him to declare in his Favour, and to oblige all the Bishops in *England* to repair to the Consecration of the New Church. Also the same Year, *John* Bishop of *Wells*, for a Sum of Mony paid to the King, had his Licence to translate the Bishop's See from *Wells* to *Bath*, ever since which this Bishoprick has been known by both these Titles.

A. D.

1092.

Reg. 5.

The King rebuilds Carlisle.

A. D.

1093.

Reg. 6.
7.Anselm made
Arch-Bishop of
Canterbury.The King re-
lapses.A War breaks
out with Mal-
colm King of
Scotland.

Malcolm slain.

Donald set up.

Duncan ob-
tains the
Crown.

In the Beginning of the succeeding Year, the King fell dangerously sick in *Glocestershire*, so that most Persons expected his Death; upon which all the Bishops, Barons and Abbots, who came to wait on him, and take their last leaves, persuaded him to Repentance, *and not to let the vacant Bishopricks out to Farm, as before, but to bestow them upon Men of Worth.* To which he readily yielded, and further made a Vow to God, *That if he recover'd, he would abrogate all unjust Laws, and ordain better in their stead.* In performance of which, he bestow'd the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet* his Counsellor, and the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury* upon *Anselm* a Norman Abbot of great Worth and Piety. But *Anselm* well knowing the Difference between the King's Disposition and his own, was extremely unwilling to accept of so great a Charge, till at length he was constrain'd by the Intreaties of the King, who seem'd very penitent, and the Persuasions of the Bishops and Noblemen, who had a high Opinion of his Sanctity. Before his Consecration he demanded several Things of the King, particularly to restore all the Lands belonging to the Church, which his Predecessor *Lanfranc* possess'd without Suit or Controversie. But as the King grew better in Health, he was more unwilling to restore all Lands, but would have reserv'd such of the Church Lands, as after the Death of *Lanfranc* he had given to his Courtiers, and expected *Anselm's* Consent to their holding of them by Hereditary Right. But this Arch-Bishop would by no means consent, that the Church should be in the least endamag'd in its Lands and Rights; from whence arose the first Difference between the King and him, about his Dignity, Bishoprick and Prelatship, which remain'd undetermin'd during this King's Life. And now the King being recover'd of his Sicknes, relaps'd to his former Miscarriages, and wholly alter'd and demolish'd whatever Good he had already done: For he commanded the Prisoners not yet releas'd to be kept more closely than before, and those already discharg'd to be taken up: And all Things were reduc'd to the same or worse State than before, and brought under the Management of those who rather endeavour'd to subvert, than defend Justice, and who took more care to get Mony, than to correct Offences. None were so rich as Treasurers and Collectors, none were so in favour as unconscionable Lawyers, and none so rewarded as scandalous Promoters; so that many were oblig'd to quit the Nation, and seek their Fortunes in Foreign Countries.

In these troublefom Times, *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* came to King *William* at *Glocester*, as before was appointed, for establishing a firm Friendship between them; but *William* refus'd to admit him into his Presence, unless he would do Homage to him in his own Court; which the other refusing in any Place, but in the Confines of both Kingdoms, according to Custom, a fatal War immediately broke out. *Malcolm* in a short Time invaded *England*, and made great Devastations as far as *Alnewick*; but *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, with a powerful Force unexpectedly set upon him near that Town, and not only overthrew his Army, but also kill'd both him and his Son *Edward*. The *Scotch* Historians say he was slain by Treachery, and that the virtuous Queen *Margaret*, hearing of the Death of her Husband and Son, sunk down with Grief, and could not three Days survive so great a Loss. Tho' *Malcolm* left a Son behind him nam'd *Edgar*, yet the Nobility of that Kingdom assembling, unanimously elected his Brother *Donald* to be their King, and expell'd *Edgar Etheling*, with the *English* then settled in *Scotland*; who taking with them the Children of *Malcolm*, found a kind Reception in *England*. But *Donald* did not long enjoy his Kingdom; for *Duncan*, natural Son to the late King, being then in King *William's* Court as an Hostage, desir'd to obtain his Assistance to gain his Father's Kingdom; and being furnish'd with a powerful Army of *English* and *Normans*, he march'd against his Uncle *Donald*, who had newly invaded *England*. Coming to a Battel, he routed his Forces, and forc'd him to fly into the Western Isles; upon which he was crown'd King of *Scotland*. In

Edm.

Sim.
Hag.
Floet
Sc.

the

the same Year *Rees* Prince of the *Welshmen* was slain in a Battel near *Brecknock* Castle; from which Time Princes ceas'd to rule in *South-Wales*, and the Kings of *England* accounted their chief Governors; but *North-Wales* enjoy'd its own Princes for above a hundred and fifty Years after.

III. King *William*, having fetled all Things in the North and West to his Satisfaction, was now disturb'd by his Brother *Robert* from the South, who charging him with Non-performance of Articles and Breach of Faith, occasion'd a new War to break out between them. Upon which *William* in *Mid-Lent* pass'd over into *Normandy*, where he had an Enterview with his Brother, about a Treaty of Peace, but could by no means come to an Agreement. However a second Meeting was appointed by the Mediation of their common Friends in the Fields of *Martius*, where those Barons who had formerly sworn to see the Peace observ'd on both Sides, charg'd all the Blame upon the King, who yet would neither acknowledge his Fault, nor perform the Agreement; but instead of that committed new Acts of Hostility, and by the Power of Mony, Promises and the Sword, gain'd the Castle of *Buers* and several others, which he garrison'd with his own Men. On the other Side the Duke, having obtain'd Assistance of the King of *France*, besieg'd and took the Castle of *Argenton*, with eight hundred Men in it, whom he made Prisoners; and after that besieg'd the Castle of *Holme*, 'till he forc'd *Peverel* the Governor, with all his Men to surrender at Discretion. Upon this great Success, the King immediately sent into *England*, and commanded twenty thousand Men to be rais'd and transported to him with all Expedition; which being muster'd at *Hastings*, the King's Treasurer, by his Order, told the Men, *That each, upon the Payment of Ten Shillings, might be dismiss'd from this bad Service.* By which Artifice the King had a considerable Sum of Mony sent him into *Normandy*, which he most of all wanted; and with which he so far prevail'd upon the *French* King, as to cause him to withdraw his Troops; so that Duke *Robert*, who before was proceeding with great Success, was now oblig'd to retire with no less Disadvantage.

A. D.

1094.

Reg. 7.

A new War
between the
King and his
Brother Robert

In the mean Time the *Welsh* made great Ravages and Incursions in *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, and other bordering Counties; insomuch that King *William* was constrain'd to leave *Normandy*, and that War unfinished. And reconciling himself to his Brother *Henry*, he return'd into *England*, and with a great Army enter'd *Wales* by Way of *Montgomery*, which Castle he re-edify'd; but the Inhabitants kept so close in the Straits of the Mountains, encompassed with Woods and Rivers, that the King could no ways molest them; so that losing his Labour, together with many of his best Soldiers, he return'd back with Dishonour. In the same Year he made a second Expedition into *Wales*, but with no better Success. And about the same Time he was disturb'd by a great Conspiracy form'd against him by *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, and many other *Norman* Noblemen; of which the King having Notice, rais'd an Army and march'd against them; who understanding which Way he was to pass, laid an Ambuscade for him in a Wood, which was discover'd to him, and the Design prevented, by *Gilbert de Tonebridge* one of the chief Conspirators. After which his Troops march'd on to *Bambrough* Castle which they besieg'd, till at length *Robert* fell into their Hands, who was kept a Prisoner almost thirty Years. *Roger Lacy* had his Lands taken from him, and given to his Brother *Hugh*, a faithful Adherent of the King's; *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* was privately reprimanded, and gave three thousand Pounds to be restor'd to Favour; as likewise the King receiv'd of many others great Sums of Mony, as Compositions for their Crimes. *William* Earl of *Fu*, being fully convicted, lost both his Eyes and Genetals, but many others, by the Advice of the Council, the King spar'd out of Policy.

A. D.

1095.

Reg. 8.

A great Con-
spiracy.

A great Contest
between the
King and Arch-
Bishop Anselm.

Anselm loses
his Archbishop-
rick.

A. D.
1096.
Reg. 9.
10.

The Beginning
of the Holy
War.

Duke Robert
one of the Ad-
venturers.

Who mortgages
Normandy to
his Brother
William.

In the same Year the King was both disturb'd and perplex'd by the Behavi-^{Edmo.} our of Arch-Bishop *Anselm*, whose Person he hated, and whose Power he dreaded. For this Prelate would neither comply with his covetous nor ambitious Designs, but strenuously oppos'd him in all Things that might endamage the Power and Privileges of the Church; and when the Popedom was in Contest between *Urban* and *Clement*, he acknowledg'd the former, contrary to the King's Inclinations, and to a fix'd Ordinance in his Father's Reign, That no Subject in *England* should acknowledge any Pope without the King's Allowance. This occasion'd Matters of great Contest in the Nation, and many State Intreagues between the King and the Court of *Rome*, in which the latter by pure Management prevail'd. But afterwards the King proceeding to violent Methods, the Arch-Bishop became so uneasie, that he desir'd leave to repair to *Rome*, which at first was absolutely deny'd him, tho' at length with Difficulty obtain'd; but with this fatal Consequence, that all the Revenues of the Archbishoprick were seiz'd to the King's own Use. This and other Grievances being represented to Pope *Urban*, whom the King had now acknowledg'd, he openly in a Synod decreed that King *William* should be Excommunicated; which Sentence was immediately revok'd by the Intercession of *Anselm* himself. But the Pope afterwards finding King *William* obstinate, and still refusing to restore the Arch-Bishop, he became more resolute in his Intentions, and gave the King notice that he would spare him no longer than the next Council Day. Notwithstanding which, the King by secret Methods, Gifts and Promises, obtain'd so much Favour from the Pope, that Sentence never solemnly pass'd against him: So that *Anselm* having no Hopes of his Restoration, by the Consent of the Pope retir'd to *Lions*, where he continu'd 'till after King *William's* Death.

But Pope *Urban* in these Times had greater Concerns to manage than the<sup>Endr
Flor
&c.</sup> Excommunication of a single Prince, and now proceeded to vast and unheard of Designs. Having assembled a Council at *Clermont* in *France*, chiefly by the Remonstrances of a famous Hermit call'd *Peter*, who in the *Holy-Land* had been Witness of the Cruelties exercis'd by the *Turks* upon the *Christians*, he by a zealous Harangue animated the Prelates then present to excite the Faithful to take up Arms for the Recovery of God's Country out of the Hands of those barbarous Infidels. His Exhortations were so warm and moving, that they made strong Impressions on all their Minds, and this uncommon Fervor in a short Time so spread over all *Europe*, that incredible Numbers of all Qualities, and all Ages and Sexes, list'd themselves in this Sacred Militia, bearing the Marks of red Crosses upon their Garments, with this Motto, *It is the Will of God*. These Crusado's, and long Voyages, the Heat of which lasted for above two hundred Years, occasion'd an infinite Expence of Blood and Treasure, and prov'd the weakning of many Nations, the Ruin of the great Lords and Multitudes of the People, and the Establishment and Encrease of the Power of the Popes. The chief of these extraordinary Adventurers were the famous *Godfrey* Duke of *Bouillon* and *Lorrain*, *Hugh* Brother to the King of *France*, *Raymond* Count of *St. Giles*, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, *Baldwin* of *Hainault*, and above two hundred other Lords and Princes. Among these was also *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who being fired with the Prospect of this Expedition, sent over Ambassadors to his Brother King *William*, desiring that a firm Peace might be establish'd between them, and that he would immediately lend him ten thousand Marks of Silver, and take the Dutchy of *Normandy* for his Security for three Years, 'till the Mony should be repaid. The King was highly pleas'd with this Proposal, and finding the Nation already exhausted by grievous Taxes and Impositions, he sent to all the great Men of the Nation to furnish him with this Sum: Insomuch that the Bishops, Abbots and Abbesses broke in pieces the very Gold and Silver Plate and Ornaments of their Churches, and the Earls, Barons and Sheriffs oppress'd their Knights and Tenants to raise the Mony. By this Means the King took Posses-
sion

sion of *Normandy*; and soon after claim'd the *French-Veuxin* of *Philip* King of *France*, with the chief Towns belonging to it; but after a Year's Contest, which occasion'd many Losses on both Sides, the two Kings came to make a firm Peace.

For King *William* was now more busily employ'd against the *Welsh*, to oppose whom he march'd a third Time with a powerful Army; and tho' he pass'd quite through the Country by the Guidance of some Deserters, who shew'd him the secret Passes, and stay'd there from Midsummer to the End of *July*, yet the People retiring into their usual Recesses, he lost more of his Men by Hunger and ill Diet, than he could kill or take of the Enemy. So that finding but little Prospect of Glory or Profit, he return'd back without performing any Thing besides the building of certain Castles in the Marches between *England* and *Wales*. About *Michaelmas* he sent *Edgar Etheling* with a great Army into *Scotland*, who in a short Time by his Valour expell'd *Donald*, who had again possess'd himself of the Throne, and plac'd his Nephew *Edgar* in his Room, who was the right Heir to the Crown, and accordingly did Homage to the King of *England*. All this Year the Nation suffer'd much by reason of the Scarcity of Provisions, the Badness of the Season, and the grievous Taxes for the rebuilding of *London* Bridge, which had lately been carry'd away by a strange Inundation, for the Building of the new Walls about the Tower, and the noble Hall at *Westminster*; which as they were Works of great Use, as well as Magnificence, requir'd immense Sums to finish them.

A. D.

1097.

Reg. 11.

A new Expedition into Wales.

Edgar made King of Scotland.

In part of this and the following Year King *William* continu'd in *Normandy*, where he reduc'd the City of *Mans* and a great Part of that Province to his Obedience. In the mean Time the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Chester*, with many of the Nobility, and a considerable Army, made a new Expedition into *Wales*, being encourag'd to it by some Lords of that Country. Their Forces and Correspondence were so great, that the two Princes *Griffyth* and *Cadogan*, their main Opposers, took the Mountains for their Defence; so that the Earls found an easie Passage to the Coasts over against the Isle of *Anglesey*; where they built the Castle of *Aberlhiennawc*. After which *Owen*, chief Counsellor to the Princes, and their Father-in-Law, discover'd his Treason by going over with all his Forces to the Earls, with which he march'd into the Isle of *Anglesey*, where the Earls joining with him, plunder'd the Isle, and us'd intolerable Cruelties to the poor Inhabitants. *Griffyth* and *Cadogan* fled into *Ireland* for Safety; but *Magnus* Son to the King of *Norway*, who had lately conquer'd the *Orchades* and the Isle of *Man*, coming thither with a few Ships, gave them no little Disturbance, and shot the Earl of *Shrewsbury* dead with an Arrow, which was look'd upon as a just Reward for his Cruelties in this Isle. At length *Magnus* retired, and the Earl of *Chester* with the *English* being sensible they could not keep the Island, left the Command of it to *Owen*, the Traitor who had invited them thither.

A. D.

1098.

Reg. 12.

Another Expedition into Wales.

The King kept his *Christmases* in *Normandy*, and returning into *England* a little before *Whitsontide*, kept that Feast in the new Hall at *Westminster*, just finish'd; which when he first saw, and heard others admire it for its Grandeur, as being two hundred and seventy Foot long and seventy four in Breadth, he declar'd it scarce worthy the Name of a Bed-Chamber, in respect of what he intended to build. From thence he went down to hunt in the *New Forest*, where in the midst of his Sport, a Messenger from *Normandy* inform'd him that the City of *Mans* was surpriz'd by Count *Elias*, and that the Castle without speedy Succour was like to be surrender'd. Upon which News he with his usual Bravery bad the Messenger tell those in the Castle *He would be with them in eight Days*. And immediately turning his Horse's Head towards the Sea, he rod with the utmost Speed; and when some of his Attendants desir'd him to stay 'till his Army was got ready, he cry'd out, *They who love me will follow me*. Thus riding as far as *Dartmouth* with a small Reti-

A. D.

1099.

Reg. 13.

The King's speedy Expedition into Normandy.

nue, and going to take Shipping, the Weather was so tempestuous, that the Master of the Vessel declar'd, *They could not pass without the utmost Hazard of their Lives.* But *William* reply'd, *Did you ever hear of a King that was drown'd?* and making what Sail he could, he arriv'd at *Barfleur* the next Morning, and order'd all his Officers and Soldiers immediately to attend him at *Mans.* Where the King not only rais'd the Siege, but took *Elias* Prisoner, who being brought before him, the King in a triumphing Manner said, *Now, Sir, I have secur'd you: Yes,* reply'd the other, *you have, but it was by Chance more than Valour; if I were at Liberty, I would shew you what I could perform.* The King answer'd, *What could you perform! take your Liberty, and shew your Abilities, I expect no Return for this Favour;* and so he generously dismiss'd him. The King having thus rescu'd *Mans*, and reduc'd the Country once more to his Obedience, return'd into *England* about *Michael-mass.*

In this Year the Christians, after many admirable Toils and Acts of Valour, took the City of *Jerusalem* by Storm, and put near forty thousand *Saracens* to the Sword. After which they agreed to elect *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* to be King of that City and all *Palestine*; but he refusing it out of a Prospect of the Crown of *England*, it is observ'd by our Historians, that he never after prosper'd in any thing he undertook; and upon his Denial, they elected the renowned *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, who had done continual Wonders both by his Head and Arm. In the mean Time, as *Vitales* informs us, King *William* was forming vast Designs: For *William* Earl of *Poictou*, proposing to make War in the *Holy-Land*; now offer'd the King to mortgage to him his Dutchy of *Aquitain*, with his other Territories for a large Sum of Money which he wanted for that Expedition. The Proposal being readily embrac'd by the King, he commanded a mighty Fleet to be prepared, and a great Army to accompany him out of *England*, that he might hinder his Brother *Robert's* Return into *Normandy*, take Possession of *Aquitain*, and extend the Bounds of his Empire as far as the River *Garonne*. In order to which, his Royal Navy which was to carry over vast Sums of Gold and Silver, was now almost ready to set Sail; but 'till then the King to divert himself went in the Beginning of *August* to hunt in the *New Forest*, where Death put an end to all his aspiring Projects; of which we have these Circumstances. A Monk the Night before dream'd that he saw a Crucifix spurn the King to the Ground, and caus'd Fire and Smoke to come out of his Mouth; which being related to him in the Morning, he made a Jest of it, saying, *The Monk wants Money for his Dream; go give him a hundred Shillings, but bid him dream better hereafter.* The King would not be dissuaded from making Trial of it, but fortifying himself with Wine, he went to hunt in the Forest with his Brother *Henry*, and a few Followers; among whom was *Walter Tyrrell*, a French Knight, who was an expert Huntsman, and an excellent Archer. In the latter End of the Day the King shot at a Stag, and gave him a slight Wound; and while he was following him, with his Hand before his Eyes to defend them from the Sun, *Walter* shot in such a Manner, that the Arrow by glancing hit the King full upon the Breast, who with one Groan fell to the Ground, and soon after dy'd without uttering a Word. Upon the Sight of this *Walter* immediately took Horse and fled, without any to pursue him; for every Man's Thoughts were taken up with greater Matters. His Body was soon after thrown into a poor Collier's Cart, and through a Lane, where the Cart is said to have fallen in pieces, was convey'd to the Bishop's Palace at *Winchester*, where his Corps was the next Day bury'd in the Church under the Tower, in the Presence of many Noblemen, but no real Mourners. Thus fell King *William* the Second, commonly call'd *Rufus*, in the forty fourth Year of his Age, after an active and vigorous Reign of twelve Years, ten Months, and twenty two Days; his Death happening on the second Day of *August*.

Robert refuses
the Crown of
Jerusalem.

A. D.

1100.

Reg. 13.

The King's
Designs.

The King is
slain in the
new Forest.

msb.

It is observable that this Prince was the Third of this Race, who in a few Years met with their Deaths in this Forest; as if Heav'n design'd to revenge upon the Children their Father's Sins, in destroying so many Churches and Villages to make them a Receptacle for wild Beasts. But however it was, this Prince met with his Deserts for his imitating and exceeding his Father in those Actions which were most covetous, cruel and tyrannical; so that he may justly *His Character.* be rank'd among the worst Kings that *England* ever had. He wanted the Piety, Chastity, Humanity and Wisdom of his Father; yet several Qualities he possess'd were both valuable and admirable, as his Courage, Bravery, and Magnificence, in which he was so vigorous and daring, that he was never dejected in the greatest Extremity, and very rarely fail'd of Success. He was liberal to his Friends, and especially to Soldiers, magnificent in his Retinue and Buildings, and expensive in his Cloaths; as appears from the common Story of Breeches or Hose which he refus'd to wear because they cost but three Shillings, ordering his Chamberlain *to bring those of a Mark Price*, who sufficiently pleas'd him by bringing the same again, after the King's Price was set upon them. He was a Prince of little or no Faith, haughty, severe, covetous and prophane upon all Occasions. When fifty *English* Gentlemen, who had been accus'd of hunting and killing Deer, had by the Trial of *Fire-Ordeal* escap'd Condemnation, he passionately declar'd, *That he could not believe that God was a just Judge in suffering it.* Notwithstanding his severe and covetous Temper, there are Actions that shew he had sometimes a sense of Generosity, Justice and Good Nature, particularly when a great Abby became vacant, and two rich and ambitious Monks came to purchase it of him, according to his Simonaical Methods, he observ'd a third Monk at a Distance, and asking him *What he would give*, and receiving Answer, *That he would give nothing, and that it was against his Conscience*, he immediately swore his usual Oath, *That he alone deserv'd it, and should have it for nothing.* This King's Revenues were in all Probability the same with his Father's, yet his Expences being greater, he rais'd more unreasonable Taxes; and to augment his Revenues, he frequently kept several Bishopricks and Abbies vacant, and took the Profits to himself; and at the Time of his Death he had in his Hands the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of *Winchester* and *Salisbury*, and twelve rich Abbies. Yet he gave the new Church of *St. Saviour's* in *Southwark* to the Monks call'd *Decharitate*; and also founded an Hospital in *York* to the Honour of *St. Peter*.

Most Writers observe that several Disasters fell out in this Reign, as in *Disasters in this Reign.* the second Year a dreadful Earthquake happen'd; in the fourth a violent Lightning had strange Effects upon the Abby of *Wincombe*. Not long after a vast Tempest blew down six hundred Houses in *London*, and carry'd away the Roof of *Bow Church* after an unheard of manner. In the ninth Year a blazing Star appear'd with two Bushes, and other Stars seem'd to shoot Darts at each other, to the Amazement of all Spectators. In the eleventh, a Well of Blood for fifteen Days together rose out of the Ground at *Finchamsted* near *Abington* in *Barkshire*. In the last of his Reign, the Sea breaking over its Banks, drown'd an innumerable Multitude of People in many Counties, and in *Kent* over-ran the Lands which formerly belong'd to the famous Earl *Godwin*, which are still call'd *Godwin's Sands*, lying very dangerous for Sailors. *Malmesbury* and others also observe, That notwithstanding the warlike Genius of this Age, there began to be a *Corruptions.* great Corruption of Manners among the young Noblemen, Gentlemen and Clergy in those Times, who practis'd all the Luxury of Eating and Drinking, and shew'd so much Effeminacy in their Habits and Carriage, that they appear'd Men in nothing so much as their Attempts upon the Chastity of Women.

S E C T. III.

The Reign of King HENRY the First.

Containing 35 Years, 3 Months, and 1 Day.

A. D. I. **U**PON the sudden Death of King *William*, his younger Brother
 1100. *Henry*, who from his Learning then uncommon to Princes had the
 Reg. 1. Sirname of *Beau-Clerk*, found it no great Difficulty to ascend the
 Throne of *England*, notwithstanding the fair Pretensions of his eldest Brother
Robert. He was now about forty two Years of Age, of great and promising
 Abilities; and wanted not several Steps by which he might mount this high Sta-
 tion: Particularly, The general Dislike of King *William's* severe curbing of the
 Natives; The great Distance and Carelessness of his Brother *Robert*; His own
English Birth, having both a King and a Queen to his Parents; His promising
 to abrogate all bad and rigorous Laws impos'd by his Father and Brother, the
 restoring the Clergy from Exile to their Livings; Remission of all unjust Taxes,
 and due Punishments to the chief Promoters of them, upon which Account to
 satisfy the People he committed *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, that exorbitant
 Oppressor, to the Tower. Then taking a solemn Oath, 'To keep all good and
 just Laws towards his People, and to remove all Oppressions and unjust Pra-
 ctices, both in Ecclesiastical and Secular Affairs, which had happen'd during
 his Brother's Reign, he was publicly crown'd by *Maurice* Bishop of *London*,
 upon Sunday the fifth Day of *August*. His first Business was to put in execu-
 tion what he had promis'd, honourably and wisely beginning with the Regula-
 tion of his own Court, from whence he cashier'd many nice and effeminate Per-
 sons, making a Decree against his Courtiers Rapines and Adulteries, punishing
 the former with Death, and the latter with the Loss of Eyes and other criminal
 Parts. Then he restor'd to the *English* the Use of those Lights which his Fa-
 ther had prohibited, and confirm'd many Privileges to the Nation by a publick
 Charter under his broad Seal, which *Matth. Paris* has preserv'd in his Hi-
 story. The Substance of it is, 'First, He confirms the Liberty of the Church
 'from all Oppressions, or Reservation of any of its Revenues upon Vacancies.
 'Next, That the Heirs of the Nobility should inherit their Father's Lands
 'without Redemption from him, which Favour they were to afford to their
 'Tenants. That the Gentry might have liberty to marry their Daughters and
 'Kinswomen, without the King's Licence, to any but his Enemies. That
 'Widows should have their Dowers, and not be compell'd to marry against their
 'Will. That Mothers or nearest Relations should be Guardians to Minors.
 'Next he appoints the Punishment of Coiners to be with Loss of Limbs, and
 'ordains a Measure the Length of his Arm to be the Standard of Commerce
 'among his People. Lastly he forgave all Debts due to the Crown, and all
 'Murthers committed before his Coronation, with some other like Indulgences.
 'But to the greatest Satisfaction of the People, he confirm'd the Laws of King
 'Edward. To this Charter all the chief Men of the Nation were Witnesses;
 and by the King's Command Copies were transmitted to every County, and or-
 der'd to be kept in particular Monasteries. Yet notwithstanding this Care, scarce
 any of them were to be found in the Reign of King *John*, when the Contest
 about this Charter commenc'd between that King and the Barons.

King Henry
crown'd.His Charter of
Liberties.Anselm's Re-
storation.

Shortly after the Coronation, the King dispatch'd a Messenger to Arch-Bishop
Anselm, then at *Lyons*, inviting him to return into *England* with all Speed,
 and in his Letters added his Prayers and Wishes for him, promising to subject
 himself and his Kingdom to his Council and Direction; and his Return prov'd
 highly to the Satisfaction of the Nation. To add to which, the King resolv'd
 to

to leave off his Mistresses, and became a Suter to *Edgar* King of *Scotland* for his excellent Sister *Matilda*, who was Daughter to Queen *Margaret* the Sister of *Edgar Etheling*; by which means his Issue might be both of the Blood of the *English* Nation, and the *English* Kings. But in this he met with one great Obstruction, which was her Education from her Infancy in a Monastery in *Wilton* among Nuns; and being veil'd like them, she was thought by her Parents to have been dedicated to the Service of God. This was left to the sole Determination of Arch-Bishop *Anselm*, but he declin'd that Office, without the Approbation of a Council; and accordingly he summon'd the Bishops, Abbots, the Clergy and certain Noblemen to *Lambeth*, where she acknowledg'd *She had been veil'd, but against her Will, and took that Habit upon her to preserve her Chastity from the Lusts of the Normans, according to the Example of many Matrons and Virgins, since King William subdu'd the Nation.* Upon which Allegations and Proofs, by the Judgment of the whole Council she had lawful Liberty of her Person allow'd her, and not long after, upon the Feast of St. *Michael*, the Marriage was solemniz'd between King *Henry* and this Lady, to the general Satisfaction of all Men.

The King marries Matilda of Scotland.

In the mean Time Duke *Robert*, who had gain'd great Reputation in the Holy Land, and was newly return'd into his own Country, began to cast an envious Eye upon his Brother *Henry*, and resolv'd to attempt that Crown which he concluded to be his own Right. And being excited by *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, who had escap'd out of Prison into *Normandy*, and several others, who began to fear the vigorous and resolute Temper of King *Henry*, he made all necessary Preparations for so great an Enterprize. The Report of this intended Invasion, which disturb'd the whole Nation, had various Effects upon Mens Minds, and divided the Nobility and great Men into Parties, so that the King was driven to great Uncertainties. As he continually suspected their Constancy and Fidelity, so they no less dreaded his Authority and Power, being better satisfy'd with the more unactive Disposition of his Brother *Robert*. Upon mature Deliberation it was resolv'd that Security should be given on both Sides, and Arch-Bishop *Anselm* was made Mediator between the King and them, who giving them his Hand on the King's Behalf, solemnly promis'd, *That he would govern the whole Kingdom as long as he liv'd, by pious and just Laws*, which at present gave them full Satisfaction. Yet when Duke *Robert* had put to Sea, many of the *English* Nation revolted, as also a considerable Part of the Fleet, so that he soon found a safe Landing at *Portsmouth*, and he did not a little rejoice at this fortunate Beginning, threatening his Brother *with Revenge for all Wrongs, and condemning the Nobility for suffering him to be thus injur'd, while he for the common Good of Christendom was imploy'd in the Holy War.* On the other Side *Henry* us'd all Methods to defeat his Designs, and being sensible of the great Influence of the Arch-Bishop he made new Promises of Obedience to him and the Apostolick See. Upon which *Anselm* pathetically represented to the great Men and the whole Army the Scandal and Impiety of Mens violating their Faith once given to their Prince; which had such a happy Effect upon them that they resolv'd rather to part with their Lives than their Loyalty: And the Success and Safety of King *Henry* was chiefly owing to the Fidelity and Industry of this Arch-Bishop. For *Robert* being hereby defeated in the Confidence he repos'd in the Nobility, he by the Mediation of the chief Men of both Sides, concluded a Peace with his Brother, and made a fair Agreement. The Substance of which was, 'That in Consideration *Henry* was born after his Father's Acquisition of *England*, and was now unanimously crown'd King, he should enjoy the same during Life, paying to *Robert* three thousand Marks annually by way of Fealty, and restoring whatever he held in *Normandy*; and the Survivor should be Heir to the other, if he dy'd without a Son: That all offending Persons should have their Honours and Lands restor'd to them. For the Confirmation and Performance of which, twelve chief Noblemen of either

A. D.

1101.

Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Duke Robert pretends to the Crown of England.

He lands at Portsmouth.

A Peace concluded between the Brothers.

either Side took a solemn Oath, and the Armies were immediately disbanded; and Duke *Robert* was nobly entertain'd for the Space of six Months in the Court of his Brother *Henry*.

A. D. This Agreement prov'd a great Strengthening to the Designs of King *Henry*,^{Vitalis, &c.} but not long after a Flame broke out, which consum'd the Parties that rais'd it,

1102.

Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.
An Insurrection
in England.

It is quell'd.

and brought the King to a more compleat Authority. *Robert de Belesme*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Son to *Roger Montgomery*, an intrepid Youth, presuming upon the Power of his Friends and Fortunes, fortify'd the Castles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgeworth*, *Tickhill* and *Arundel*, and joining with the disaffected *Welsh*, made a formidable Insurrection. Upon which the King with great Vigour and Resolution march'd into those Parts; against *Arundel* Castle he rais'd another of Wood, and took it; besieg'd *Bridgeworth*, which immediately yielded, and *Shrewsbury* soon sent him their Keys and Pledges of their Obedience. So that in a short Time *Belesme*, with the two Earls his Brothers, *Roger* and *Arnulph*, were constrain'd to leave *England* and their Estates, and retire into *Normandy*; where they rais'd vast Disturbances for three Years together. Many Towns and Churches were burnt by their Means; and almost all *Normandy* stood up against this violent Earl of *Shrewsbury*; but they wanted a sufficient Commander to quell the Power of so furious a Ravager. He was a Man of Parts and Subtlety, had a considerable Strength about him, and supported himself by his great Wealth, which he had treasured up in thirty four strong Castles, built for rebellious Designs.

These Men were not more active and busie abroad, than Arch-Bishop *Anselm*^{Edm.} was at home, who being a Man of a stiff Resolution, in a Synod at *Westminster*, incurr'd the Hatred both of the King and the Clergy. For first he proceeded to excommunicate all marry'd Priests, when half the Clergy of the Nation were

The marry'd
Clergy censur'd

either marry'd, or the Sons of marry'd Priests; and next he inhibited all Lay-Men from hearing of their Masses. Upon which *Huntington* makes this Reflection, 'That however it might seem laudable to some, to others it appear'd 'dangerous; lest while they affected a Purity above their Strength, they might 'fall into an Impurity of a greater Malignity. After this Success, the Arch-Bishop proceeded to censure and condemn those Prelates and Ecclesiasticks who had accepted their Investitures from the King, which usually was done by receiving a Pastoral Staff and a Ring, an ancient Rite, testifying their Donation was from their Sovereign: For which free Proceedings, and for refusing to consecrate certain Bishops advanc'd by the King, a great Contest arose between them; and the Arch-Bishop thinking himself injur'd by the present growing Power, appeal'd to Pope *Paschall*, and shortly after went in Person to *Rome*. The King also sent his Ambassadors to the same Place, *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, with *Robert* Bishop of *Lichfield*, both of his Privy-Council, and *William Warelwast* his Procurator, a Clergy Man of great Courage and Elocution; who in debating his Sovereign's Cause before the Pope and Cardinals, with a threatening Countenance declar'd, *That the King his Master would sooner part from his Kingdom, than lose the Right of Investiture of Churches*. To whom the Pope sharply reply'd, *If that be his Resolution, while Paschall lives, he shall never enjoy them without Punishment, tho' it were to save his Head*. Yet he granted the King some of his Father's Usages, wholly prohibiting the Investiture of Churches. This Contest arose so high, that for a while *Anselm*, as in the last Reign, lost his Archbishoprick, and the King was in great Danger of Excommunication. But after three Years, Matters were brought to an Accommodation; and upon the Pope's allowing that the Clergy might do Homage to the King, which had been before deny'd, the King was perswaded to part with his Right of Investitures; and all Vacancies being fill'd, both Parties rested satisfy'd.

Great Contests
between the
King and the
Arch-Bishop.

At length they
are accommo-
dated.

During these Controversies, King *Henry* was more successful in relation to his Brother *Robert*; who coming into *England*, and being splendidly enter-^{Sax. Mah. &c.}tain'd,

tain'd, out of Generosity, or by the Persuasions of Queen *Matilda*, remitted the Pension of three thousand Marks, due to him by Articles; tho' he was far less able to forbear, than the King to pay such a Sum. But when his Wants made him sensible of his Error, he openly exclaim'd against King *Henry*, as tho' he had impos'd upon his Generosity; and giving Ear and Credit to such as sought their Disunion, he gave his Brother all Occasions for a Rupture, who wanted no great Incitement to any Thing of that Nature. Besides this present Displeasure, Duke *Robert* had profusely wasted the Inheritance his Father had left him, which was the Dukedom of *Normandy*, having now scarce any Place left in his Dominions, but the City of *Rouen*, with which also he would have parted, had not the Citizens deny'd their Consents. But the greatest Disobligation was the Duke's ready Receiving all the Traiterous Subjects of his Brother; for besides *Robert Belesme* and others, now *William* Earl of *Mortaign* in *Normandy* and of *Cornwall* in *England*, being deny'd the Earldom of *Kent*, which he claim'd as Heir to his Uncle *Odo*, in a great Discontent retir'd into *Normandy*, where besides his vigorous Assaults of the King's Castles and Soldiers, he much endanger'd the Possessions of *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, then a Child and the King's Ward. So that the Flames of War rais'd by these Seditions, seem to have been blown from *England* into *Normandy*, and to have set fire to the Territories of the *English* in that Country. Nor is it easie to declare, says *Hoveden*, what Miseries in the mean Time the Nation felt at home by the severe Taxes then laid upon it.

A. D.
1104.
Reg. 4.
5.

A second
Breach be-
tween the King
and Duke Ro-
bert.

Normandy was now in a great Confusion, and suffer'd extreamly from the Carelessness and Profuseness of *Robert* and his Followers; so that *Malmesbury* says, That as well for his Brother's Reputation, as for the Sufferings of *Normandy*, *Henry* could no longer endure that wicked Men should maintain their own Luxury with the Estates of the Poor, therefore he first admonish'd his Brother by gentle Words, *To act like a Prince, and not like a Monk, nor to encourage Traitors to their Sovereign*. But this not having its Effect, the King proceeded to open Force, and by large Distributions of Mony carry'd out of *England*, he won many of the *Norman* Nobility to revolt from their Lord, took the Town and Castle of *Caen* by Composition, and burnt *Bayeux*, with the beautiful Church of *St. Mary's*, whereupon the Priories of *Normandy* yielded themselves to his Protection; by whose Example the *Britains* and those of *Anjou* did the like; so that their Castles and Forts were fill'd with King *Henry's* Garrisons, without any great Resistance from Duke *Robert*. Which done, the King return'd in a triumphant Manner into *England*, in the End of Autumn, in order to renew the War the next Campaign, being not able to finish his Conquests as yet, for want of Mony, which he went over to raise.

A. D.
1105.
Reg. 5.
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The King makes
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Duke *Robert* now finding himself in a declining Condition, resolv'd to become a Mediator himself; and coming over into *England* in Person, after a more humble Manner than was agreeable to his Birth or Nature, he desir'd a Peace: Which being refus'd him, he return'd more exasperated than ever, threatening to be reveng'd of all Injuries. *Matth. Paris* tells us that the King upon this Occasion felt some Remorse of Conscience for his unkind Usage to his Brother, and usurping of his Kingdom, and also apprehended some Rebellion of his Subjects. But to secure himself in the Affections of all Men, he summon'd a grand Council or Parliament to *London*, where in a solemn Speech he protested against Duke *Robert* his Brother, *Who for his insolent refusing the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was now justly forsaken of God; setting forth his uneasie and arrogant Temper, and Contempt of the English Nation, as also his own humble and peaceable Disposition, and continu'd Resolution to maintain all their Liberties and Privileges, and particularly the Sacred Laws of King Edward; assuring them That if he had but the Hearts and Affections of his English Subjects, he fear'd not the utmost Power of his Brother, and all his Normans*. With these specious Promises he so gain'd upon their Inclinations,

A. D.
1106.
Reg. 6.
7.

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Nation.

either Side took a solemn Oath, and the Armies were immediately disbanded; and Duke *Robert* was nobly entertain'd for the Space of six Months in the Court of his Brother *Henry*.

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A. D.
1104.
Reg. 4.
5.

A second
Breach be-
tween the King
and Duke Ro-
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1105.
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A. D.
1106.
Reg. 6.
7.

He makes great
Promises to the
Nation.

ons, that they declar'd, *They would live and die with him against any Enemy whatsoever.*

The King total-
ly routs the
Duke, and takes
him Prisoner.

Normandy re-
duc'd.

The King having obtain'd this Point, about the End of *July* pass'd over into *Normandy*, with a powerful Army, and the principal Nobility of the Kingdom; and piercing into the Country he built a Fort near the Town of *Tinchebray*, with an Intention to streighten it, and force it to surrender. But the Earl of *Mortaign* with some Forces in a short Time reliev'd it, at which the King highly incens'd laid Siege to the Town; which oblig'd that Earl to beg of Duke *Robert* to come down to his Assistance, to which he readily yielded, and march'd with several Noblemen, and all the Forces he could possibly gather together. Tho' the King was more powerful in Horse, yet the Duke had a greater Number of Foot, so that both Parties were willing to come to a general Battel, which was fought before this Town, with great Obstinacy for a while, 'till at length the King's Horse prevail'd, and the Duke's Army was totally routed, with no great Loss to the Victors. In this Battel the King took the Duke Prisoner, the Earl of *Mortaign*, *William Crispin*, *William Ferrars*, *Robert Stuteville* the Elder, with many other *Norman* Barons, as also four hundred Knights or Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot; so that upon this great Victory all *Normandy* submitted to the King, which verify'd his Father *William's* Prediction, That he should exceed both his Brothers in Riches and Greatness. This memorable Battel was fought on *Michaelmas's* Eve, about forty Years after that at *Hastings*; and as the *Norman* Duke then subdu'd an *English* King, and gain'd his Kingdom, so now an *English* King, by the Assistance of his *English* Subjects, conquer'd *Normandy*, which for many Years after was held by the Kings of *England*. In this Battel *Edgar Etheling* was also taken Prisoner, who was immediately set at Liberty by the King; and having been often made the Sport and Pastime of Fortune, he pass'd the rest of his Life in Peace and Retirement. As for Duke *Robert* and the Earl of *Mortaign*, the King sent them Prisoners into *England*, the former to *Cardiff* Castle in *Wales*, and the latter to the Tower of *London*. The Duke continu'd a Prisoner for twenty six Years, all the rest of his Life; but as for the Story of the King's ordering his Eyes to be put out, the Silence of the best Authors, and the Improbability of several Circumstances in it, renders it of too little Credit to be rely'd on.

Vitall.
Florm.
Sax. A.
&c.

A. D.

1107.

Reg. 7.

The King makes
many Regula-
tions.

A. D.

1108.

Reg. 8.

He becomes
more blama-
ble.

II. King *Henry* having establish'd his Power, and finish'd all Foreign Contests, turn'd his Thoughts to the Regulation of Domestick Inconveniencies: And by the Advice of Arch-Bishop *Anselm*, and the Noblemen of his Kingdom, he redress'd several evil Practices, and began with his own Court. It was usual in his Brother's Reign, for the Multitude which follow'd the Court to commit great Disorders and Ravages without Control, and to behave themselves rudely towards the Wives and Daughters of the Country People, so that they fled from their Habitations upon the Approach of the Court. For the Remedy of which, the King ordain'd by a publick Edict, That whoever was found guilty of these and the like Practices, should lose his Eyes, his Hands, Feet or other Members; which being executed upon some, deterr'd others from such Offences. He also took notice of the great Mischiefs arising from false and corrupt Mony, and decreed, That every false Coiner should suffer Castration or the Loss of his Eyes. And now being free from all Fear of Rivals, King *Henry* growing disdainful, says *M. Paris*, refus'd to perform what he had so often promis'd to his Nobility, using haughtry Words and Threats; for God had bestow'd upon him three Blessings, Wisdom, Victory and Riches, above any of his Predecessors: Yet, adds he, he shew'd himself unthankful to God; and, as others say, too regardless of his Clergy, in suffering *Anselm*, newly reconcil'd to him, to tyrannize over them, and in a Synod to lay heavy Punishments upon the marry'd Priests, making no Difference between Matrimony and Fornication, and putting many from their Benefices, because they refus'd to put

Es
M.
&c.

put away their lawful Wives; from whence great Contests were rais'd, and grievous Sins committed both against God and Nature. In this Synod a Debate arose concerning the Largeness of the Diocese of *Lincoln*, and it was unanimously agreed to make another Bishoprick out of it, and to fix the See at *Ely*. But tho' *Anselm* wrot to the Pope concerning it, the Design was not finish'd in his Life-Time; yet not long after it was compleated, and *Henry* Bishop of *Bangor* was made the first Bishop of that Place.

In the mean Time, *Philip* King of *France* dying, was succeeded by *Lewis* his Son, who soon shew'd himself no Friend to King *Henry*; for which Reason the King sail'd into *Normandy*, where he made what Preparations were convenient against a suspected Man. Here upon some fresh Jealousie he commanded his Nephew *William*, Son to his Brother *Robert*, to be taken into Custody; but the young Prince by means of his Tutor *Elias* made his Escape, and was carry'd to the Court of *France*, and to divers other Princes, who were solicited for Aid and Assistance in his Behalf, but all in vain; for tho' many of the *Normans* favour'd him, as a handsom Person and of good natural Parts, and were earnest for his Advancement, yet neither Prince nor Subject dare presume at that Time to make War against the Power of King *Henry*. The King having pass'd his Winter in *Normandy*, return'd into *England* a little before *Whitsontide*, and held his Court with extraordinary Splendor at *Westminster*; where the Ambassadors of the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth waited on him with a noble and magnificent Retinue, to desire his Daughter *Matilda* in Marriage. The King consented to the Proposal, and the Articles were soon sign'd; but the Princess her self being very young, continu'd in *England* 'till the Year following, when she was sent over into *Germany* with the highest Pomp, and a vast Portion of ready Mony; for which three Shillings were laid upon every Hide of Land in *England*, which according to Dr. *Brady*'s Computation amounted to 824850 Pounds of our present Mony. Before the Marriage was celebrated Arch-Bishop *Anselm* dy'd; a Prelate of great Learning and Strictness of Life, and so inviolable a Friend to *Rome*, that that See in Gratitude Canoniz'd him for a Saint. King *Henry* took the Archbishoprick and all its Appendages into his own Hands, and according to the evil Example of his Brother *William*, kept it vacant five Years. Upon his Death the Clergy had hopes of enjoying the Liberty of Matrimonial Society, but the King took Care to put that Ecclesiastical Ordinance in Execution; upon which, out of Fear, and in the Sight of Men, they behav'd themselves accordingly; 'but, says *Eadmer*, if in secret they acted otherwise, the Charge must fall on their own Heads; for, adds he, 'if God will judge Fornicators and Adulterers, certainly the Abusers of their own Consens, not to say their own Sisters and Daughters, shall never escape his Vengeance.

About this Time happen'd the Restoration of Learning in the University of *Cambridge*, which was by the Means of *Joffred* Abbot of *Croyland*, who sent over to his Mannor of *Cotenham* near *Cambridge*, *Gislebert* his Fellow Monk, and Professor of Divinity, with three other Monks, who had follow'd him into *England*, who being thoroughly furnish'd with Philosophical Theorems, and other ancient Sciences, repair'd daily to *Cambridge*; where they hired a publick Barn, made open Profession of their Sciences, and in a short Time drew a great Number of Scholars together. In less than two Years Time their Numbers were so increas'd, from the Country as well as the Town, that there was never a House, Barn or Church large enough to contain them all. Upon which these Monks dividing themselves into several Places, and taking the University of *Orleans* for their Pattern, read to their Scholars apart in several Companies, using the best Authors in Grammar, Rhetorick and Logick; whilst *Gislebert* the principal Master preach'd to the People upon all Sundays and Holy Days. That the Study of ancient Learning then flourish'd at *Oxford* as well as *Cambridge*, and that there were publick Schools for teach-

Lewis King of France is jealous of King Henry.

A. D.
1109.
Reg. 2.
10.

The King espouses his Daughter Matilda to Henry the Emperor

Arch-Bishop Anselm dies.

A. D.
1110.
Reg. 10.
11.

The Restoration of Learning in the University of Cambridge.

ing the Sciences, may be seen from Mr. *Wood's* Antiquities of that University.

A. D. 1111. The King's Peace, which seem'd secure by his new Alliance with the Emperor, and his great Glory, began now to be envy'd, and his Brother's Misfortunes to be highly pity'd, both by some *English* as well as *Normans*. For *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* both threaten'd Revenge, and by corrupting the Inhabitants, won the City of *Constance* from the King's Obedience. To stop whose Career *Henry* pass'd over into *Normandy*, where he us'd great Severities, and put to Death *Elias* Earl of *Maine*, who held that Country against him; which so disoblig'd *Godfrey* Earl of *Gaunt*, that he afterwards enter'd into that Earldom, and marrying the Daughter of *Elias*, kept that Country against all the Power of King *Henry*. But in the mean Time the King was imploy'd in a politick Project at home, in relation to many poor *Flemmings*, who came over into *England* both in his Father's and his own Reign, being forc'd hither by vast Inundations of the Sea in *Flanders*. By their coming in such numerous Swarms, they became a Burthen to the Nation, upon which the King at first planted them in the waste Parts of *Northumberland*; but finding they might be more servicable for the restraining of the *Welsh*, whom he had lately subdu'd, he transplanted them with their Families into *Wales*, giving them all the Country of *Rhos*, lying about *Pembroke* and *Haverford-West*, which before had been conquer'd from the *Welsh* Princes. The Descendents of these *Flemmings* have continu'd to this Day, being quite different from the native *Britains* or *Welshmen*, both in Language and Manners; and being an industrious stout People, afterwards prov'd a sure Defence against the Insurrections of the *Welsh*, manifesting the Excellency of the *Roman* Policy, in preserving all new Conquests by Colonies.

A. D. 1113. After this King *Henry* return'd again into *Normandy*, where he met with great Disturbances and Opposition; but in a short Time he concluded a Peace with *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, and also honour'd him so far as to admit of his Son *William's* marrying the Earl's Daughter. But having got *Robert de Belesme* into his Power, he sent him into *England* to be kept close Prisoner in *Warham* Castle, where he contiue'd all his Life; without being pity'd, as being a turbulent, faithless and cruel Man, as appears by his thrusting out the Eyes of his Godson, a Child who was deliver'd to him as an Hostage by his Father. Thus King *Henry* having at last totally subdu'd *Normandy*, and made Peace with all his Neighbours beyond the Seas, return'd victorious into *England*, and govern'd this Kingdom and that Dukedom in great Tranquility for five Years ensuing.

A. D. 1114. III. The King now living in Peace and Prosperity, was prevail'd upon by the Pope's Admonitions, and the Prayers of many of his Subjects, to fill up the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, which had been vacant five Years. Accordingly he summon'd the Bishops and chief Men to meet at *Windsor*, where upon the twenty fifth Day of *April*, *Ralph* Bishop of *Rocheſter* was chosen Arch-Bishop; and being so declar'd to the Multitude, they receiv'd it with the utmost Demonstrations of Joy and Triumph. He was highly belov'd for his Affability and good Humour, and his Consecration was celebrated with exceeding Pomp and Splendor; and afterwards when he was invested with his Pall from *Rome*, that Solemnity was attended by the Bishops, Abbots and Nobility besides infinite Throngs of People from all Parts. In the same Year *Thurstan*, the King's Chaplain was made Arch-Bishop of *York*, in the Room of *Thomas* deceas'd, and several other Vacancies in the Church were fill'd up; but, as *Eadmer* complains, with too great Partiality to the *Normans*, and Neglect to the *English* Nation. Tho' the King had Peace at home, yet this Year he met with great Provocations from the *Welsh*, by their Incurſions they made upon the Territories of *Gilbert Strongbow* Earl of *Striguil*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*,

ster, who had been settled in those Parts. Their Outrages were so great, that the King swore he would utterly destroy all the Men of *North-Wales* and *Pow-issland*, and plant them with new Inhabitants; and immediately march'd towards the Country with a powerful Army, which he divided into three Parts. The first was led by Earl *Gilbert* against *South-Wales*; the second by *Alexander* King of *Scotland* and the Earl of *Chester*, against *North-Wales*; and the third by the King himself, under whose Standard was the Flower of the Mid-land Counties. But the *Welsh* finding themselves unable to withstand so great a Power, had recourse to their old Security the Woods and Mountains, where being follow'd with great Difficulty, many of them were slain, and the rest submitted to Terms to King *Henry*, who now as a Victor return'd in Triumph to *London*: Where his Satisfaction was heighten'd by the News of the Consummation of the Marriage between the Emperor and his Daughter *Matilda*, who was likewise solemnly crown'd Empress at *Ments*, at the Age of fourteen.

*They are
quieted.*

*Sax. An.
Malmsh.
Sec.*

Not long after the King took shipping and went into *Normandy*, where after a long Stay, he caus'd all the chief Men of that Dukedom to swear Fealty to his Son *William*, as his lawful Successor, being then about twelve Years of Age: From whence it became a Custom afterwards for the Kings of *England* to make their Eldest Sons Dukes of *Normandy*. But this did not satisfy the King, who resolving to secure the Succession of the Crown to his own Family, in the following Year summon'd a great Council of all the Bishops, Abbots and Nobility of the Kingdom at *Salisbury* on the twentieth Day of *March*; where all the chief Men, knowing the King's Intentions, readily did Homage, and swore Fealty to young *William*, 'That if he should outlive his Father, they would lay aside all other Claims, and put him in Possession of the Crown and Kingdom, and faithfully serve him as King of *England*. From this Assembly several Writers have dated the Original of the high Court of Parliament in *England*: Some believe that there was nothing of that Nature before; Others that this was the Beginning of the House of Commons; and others think that this Assembly was the first that had the Name of PARLIAMENT given to it. The first of these Opinions is undoubtedly false, the second improbable, and the third uncertain.

A. D.

1115.

Reg. 15.
16.

*The King's Son
William de-
clar'd his Suc-
cessor in Nor-
mandy.*

A. D.

1116.

Reg. 16.
17.

and in England

*Sax. An.
Hunting.
Eadmer.
Malmsh.*

About the same Time King *Henry* gave Assistance to his Nephew *Theobald* Earl of *Bleffis*, who upon some Displeasure had taken up Arms against the King of *France*; which so irrag'd that Prince, that having join'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, and *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, he solemnly swore to dispossess King *Henry* of all *Normandy*, and set up *William*, the Son of Duke *Robert*, in his room; who being nearest of Right, many of the *Norman* Nobility, pitying the Misfortunes of the Father, join'd in the Design. King *Henry* was no less active and vigilant on the other Side, and levying a great Tax in the Nation, and joining with *Theobald* and the Earl of *Britaign*, he made a notable Appearance in the Field. At which Time King *Lewis*, with the Earls of *Flanders* and *Anjou*, being enter'd *Normandy*, and hearing of the Approach and Power of King *Henry*, scarcely staid one Night, but as Men without Heart or Courage return'd, and left the Country free to the Victor. So that all things seem'd well quieted for a Year, and now nothing disturb'd the King's Peace but some little Troubles in *Wales*, and the uneasy Expectation of the Pope's Legate, whom the King had expressly prohibited to enter *England*; and likewise the Death of his excellent Queen *Matilda*, which happen'd in the eighteenth Year of his Reign to the great Grief of the Nation, who highly esteem'd her as well for her Family, as her Piety, Charity and Munificence.

*The French
King in Arms
against King
Henry.*

A. D.

1117.

Reg. 17.
18.

He is quieted.

*Queen Matil-
da dies.*

*Malmsh.
M. Paris.
Hunting.*

Not long after the War was reviv'd between *England* and *France*, and King *Lewis* now enter'd *Normandy* with as much Heat, as he had formerly left it with Coldness, and made great Devastations in the Country; which King *Henry* for a while suffer'd, and declar'd to those who seem'd to doubt his Courage, *That he had learn'd from his valiant Father to conquer the Rashness of the French*

A. D.

1119.

Reg. 19.
20.

*The French
King again in
Arms.*

King Henry
gives a Signal
to his Army
to march.

by *Patience and Policy*; and that a good King should not be prodigal of the Blood of such Subjects as his. In a short Time after he found an Opportunity to signalize his Valour in a general Battel with the *French*, which was fought with great Obstinacy for several Hours together. In the Beginning of which the first Battalion of the *French* broke the Ranks of the *Norman* Nobility, and pressing forwards towards the King, put his Troops in Disorder. But being now rous'd, he soon rally'd his Men, and began a most bloody Conflict with Sword in Hand; in which, *Crispin* a valiant Nobleman, assaulted the King, and struck him twice upon the Head with such Fury, that the impenetrable Helmet was beaten into his Head, with the Loss of much Blood. But *Henry* feeling himself wounded, gather'd Strength with his Rage, and fasten'd so weighty a Blow upon his Adversary, that he overthrew both him and his Horse, and then took him Prisoner. By which brave Example his Soldiers fell on like Lions and Furies, and treated the *French* so rudely, that they soon betook themselves to Flight. Many of the *French* Nobility were taken Prisoners, as likewise King *Lewis's* Standard was taken, which King *Henry* bought for twenty Marks, and kept it as a Token of the Victory, returning in Triumph to *Roven*.

Before this War was finish'd, the Pope call'd a Council at *Rheims*, where the *English* Bishops were permitted by the King to be present, but all Complaints were prohibited, and this Charge given them, *Go ye, salute the Pope in my Name, and only bear his Apostolical Precepts, but bring none of his new Inventions into my Kingdom*. In this Council great Complaints were made against King *Henry*, for the unjust Treatment of his Brother *Robert* and others. In order to accommodate all Matters, not long after, the Pope came into *Normandy*, and met the King at *Gisors*; where his Holiness told him, *That by the Law of God every Man ought to enjoy his own Right, and that it was his Desire and that of the whole Council, that he should set his Brother Robert at Liberty, and restore him and his Son William to their Dukedom*. To which the King answer'd, *That he did not take Normandy from his Brother, but only secur'd his Father's Inheritance, then given up to dissolute Men and Robbers: That he was call'd into that Country by the Bishops and Clergy, to prevent the Desolation of the Church; and that what he did was not the Effect of Choice, but of the Persuasions and Invitations of the Inhabitants, to preserve their Country from utter Ruin*. With this Answer the Pope was satisfy'd, and approv'd of what had been done, declaring, *That he had heard enough of the Duke and his Son*. *Malmesbury* adds, that at this Interview the King was so liberal of his Presents to the Pope and his Cardinals, that ever after they esteem'd him as a most eloquent Orator, and all his Actions very justifiable: So that abandoning these unfortunate Princes, the Pope employ'd his Abilities in making up a Peace between the two Kings, which was concluded in the following Year without any Exception or Difficulty, all Forts and Castles taken in the Wars being deliver'd up, and Prisoners on both Sides set at Liberty.

The Pope
makes a Peace
between both
Kings.

A. D.

1120.

Reg. 22.

The King
returns to En-
gland.

Upon the finishing the War, the King resolv'd to return into *England*, from whence he had been absent above four Years; and with a numerous Fleet and a noble Retinue, set Sail from *Barfleur* on the 26th Day of *November*, and landed in *England* the Day following. But Prince *William*, who now only wanted the Name of a King, commanded a new Ship to be prepar'd for himself, his Brothers and Sisters, with many of the young gay Nobility his Companions, who plying the Sailors with Wine, made them boast that they would out sail the King's Ship, which had weigh'd Anchor before: And in the Night putting to Sea with a brisk and delightful Gale, they flew over the dancing Waves, with all the Testimonies of Mirth and Jollity. But Heaven designing to check the too great Felicity of King *Henry*, in the midst of all their Pleasures, the Ship suddenly struck on the Rock not far from the Shore, which turn'd their Songs into dismal Cries, and condemn'd every one to shift for his Life. Prince *William* immediately got into the Long Boat with a few others, and might have escap'd, had not

Vitalis
Eadmer
&c.

Vitalis
Malmsh
M. P.

not his Tenderneſs to his natural Siſter *Matilda* occaſion'd him to hearken to her Cries and turn back to ſave her; which gave Opportunity to others to leap into the Boat in ſuch Numbers, that it preſently ſunk, ſo that not one of this noble Train eſcap'd but the meaneſt of the Company, who were ſav'd by ſwimming upon the Main-Maſt, and gave a full Relation of this Tragical Story. This was the moſt unfortunate Shipwreck that ever happen'd in our Seas, bringing an inconceivable Sorrow to the King and the whole Nation: For in it perilh'd *William* the Joy of his Father, and the Hope of the Nation; *Richard* his natural Brother, his Siſter *Matilda* Counteſs of *Perche*, *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, with his Lady *Lucy*, the King's Niece by his Siſter *Adela*, *Otwell* the Earl's Brother, the young Duke's Governor, divers of the King's great Officers of State, and ſeveral of the chief Nobility, to the Number of a hundred and ſixty Perſons; many of whom had made themſelves infamous by unnatural Impurities. As this was a terrible Inſtance of Divine Vengeance upon theſe Enemies to true Piety, ſo it was no leſs upon the great *Norman* Family; in which we find Oppreſſion puniſh'd with Diſappointment and Extinction, and its maſculine Line, which was rais'd by ſuch vaſt Care, Expence and Bloodſhed, now expiring in the third Inheritor. Which Judgment was ſuch a ſenſible Affliction to the King, that it occaſion'd ſome to report, That he was never ſeen to laugh after it.

His Son William, and many of the Nobility are loſt at Sea.

Eadmer. Chron. W.

IV. However having in ſome meaſure overcome the Senſe of theſe Miſfortunes, by the Advice of his great Council aſſembled at *London*, he marry'd *Adeliza* the beautiful Daughter of *Geoffrey* Duke of *Lovain*, in hopes of repairing his great Loſs by a new Iſſue; but in that he was deceiv'd in his Expectations, ſhe never proving with Child. And now all the Affairs of *England* and *Normandy* were in a peaceable Condition, only the *Welſh* would have no Reſt, for *Griffyn* Prince of *North-Wales*, being encourag'd by the Death of *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, ſent his Sons into *Cheſhire*, where they burnt two Caſtles, kill'd many Men, and made great Devaſtations. Upon which the King raiſing a powerful Army, march'd himſelf into *Wales*; and going with a ſmall Party a nearer Way through the Mountains and Straits, he was ſuddenly beſet in that diſadvantageous Place, and many of his Men kill'd by the *Welſh* Archers: Among whom one tho't the King upon the Breſt, which tho' it was repell'd by his Armor, ſo diſcourag'd him, that fearing the Glory he had gain'd in more famous Parts might be loſt in this wild Country, he ſoon came to a Parly, and then to a Peace; receiving from Prince *Griffyn* a thouſand Head of Cattle and Hoſtages, and leaving Lord *Fitz-warren* Lieutenant of the Marches, he return'd to *England*. Not long after *Ralph* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* dy'd, a Perſon tho' of great Affability and good Nature, yet ſo exactly nice as to the Priviledges of the See, that in the great Feaſts when the King wore his Crown, he would not permit the King himſelf to put it on his Head, claiming the ſole Right of it himſelf. The Archbiſhoprick was not fill'd up 'till the following Year, when the King call'd a Council of all the Biſhops, Abbots and Nobility to *Gloceſter*, and order'd them to make choice of an Arch-Biſhop, and he would confirm the Election. After much Conteſt, *William Corbet*, a *Benedictine* Abbot of a new founded Abby, was elected and conſecrated by the Biſhop of *London*, and five other Biſhops; for *Thurſtan* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, reſuſing to own his Superiority, was not allow'd to perform the Ceremony.

A. D.

1121.

Reg. 22.

The King marries a ſecond Time.

Disturbances in Wales.

A. D.

1122.

Reg. 23.

Corbet made Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury.

A. D.

1123.

Reg. 24.

New Deſigns form'd in Normandy.

The *Normans* ſtill repining at the Captivity of *Robert* their late Sovereign, and being well affected to his Son *William*, they reſolv'd to ſet him up in his Room. *Robert* had lately ſtrengthen'd his Intereſt by marrying *Sybil* the other Daughter of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, with whom he receiv'd the Earldom of *Main*, upon Diſpleaſure conceiv'd for that King *Henry* had ſtopt the other Siſter's Dowry in *England*. The chief in this Action was *Robert* Earl of *Meſſent*, who had lately made a Deſection; wherefore the King haſtning into *Normandy*, firſt beſieg'd his Caſtle

Castle of *Pont-Andomar*, and took it; and at that Time built a large and high Wall with many Outworks about the Castle of *Roven*, and also repair'd the Castles of *Caen*, *Arches*, *Gefors*, *Falaise*, *Angenton*, *Damfort*, *Vernon*, *Ambrès*, and several others. In the mean Time, Earl *Mellent*, to be reveng'd on the King, join'd with *Hugh* Earl of *Montfort* and others of Power, who entering *Normandy* with Fire and Sword, by their Ravages expected to make all submit. To put a stop to these Outrages, *William Tankerville* the King's Chamberlain, and Lieutenant in those Parts, march'd against them, and drawing them into an Ambuscade, after a long Fight took both the Earls Prisoners, and presented them to his Master, which put a Stop to the Wars for some Time. At the same Time *England* was extreamly troubled with Thieves, Robbers and False Coiners; which together with the severe Taxes, and a great Famine, prov'd highly calamitous to the Nation. To remedy some of these Troubles, the King's Justiciary in a publick Council order'd forty four Robbers to be hang'd up, and punish'd others with Loss of Members: And afterwards at another Meeting at *Winchester*, many of the Corrupters of the Coin suffer'd by Castration and the Loss of their right Hands; which Punishment did for the future more deter Men from committing that Crime, than the Fear of Death it self.

A. D.

1124.

Reg. 24.
25.Which are
quell'd.Regulations in
England.

A. D.

1125.

Reg. 25.
26.The Celebacy of
the Clergy esta-
blish'd.

In the King's Absence, but not without his Licence, *John de Crema*, Cardinal and a Legate from Pope *Honorius*, came into *England*, to redress the great Abuse, as it was term'd, of the Clergy's retaining the Society of their Wives. He was receiv'd with great Pomp and Magnificence, but with no great Satisfaction; and *Gervase* of *Canterbury* complains, That it was a Thing never heard of since the Time of *Augustin*, that it was an Innovation, a Scandal to *England*, and a Retrenchment of the Liberty of this ancient Kingdom, which had never been subject to a Legantine Power. However he held a general Synod at *London*, where he severely envighed against the Marriage of Priests, declaring, *That it was a horrid Sin for a Priest to rise from the Bed of Lust, and then to touch the Sacrament of the Body of Christ*; yet the Night following, after he himself had celebrated Mass, he was taken in Bed with a common Strumpet: Which, says *Huntington*, was too notorious to be deny'd, and too wicked to be conceal'd. So this hypocritical Cardinal was oblig'd to return with much more Shame than he came hither with Honour; and tho' by the Consent of the Synod he made several Canons for the Reformation and Celebacy of the Clergy, they were not much regarded. 'Till some few Years after, in 1129, the King desirous to settle the Celebacy of the Clergy, in a Synod call'd on purpose, through the Weakness of the Arch-Bishop, as *Paris* expresses it, obtain'd Power to have the sole Execution of this Law himself. But instead of wholly restraining the pretended Abuse, he punish'd them in their Purses, and receiving Sums from a great many of them, he permitted 'em to enjoy their Wives as formerly.

A. D.

1127.

Reg. 26.
27.The chief of
the Nation
swear Fealty to
the King's
Daughter, the
Empress *Matilda*.

V. King *Henry* having enjoy'd his second Queen near six Years with little Prospect of Issue, became extreamly desirous to leave the Crown to the Empress *Matilda*, now lately a Widow, and so much belov'd by the *German*s, that she was desir'd to reign over them, but was prevented by her Father in Hopes of the Crown of *England*. In order to effect this great Work, the King took his Daughter into *England*, and at *Windsor* summon'd a Grand Council or Parliament, consisting of all the chief Men of the Nation, besides *David* King of *Scotland*. Here he persuaded all the Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons, to take a solemn Oath, 'That if he should die without Issue Male, they would receive his Daughter *Matilda* for their Queen; as being his only lawful Heir, by whom they should again be govern'd by the ancient *English* Royal Blood, from which he shew'd her to be descended. The Arch-Bishops, Bishops and Abbots first swore to this Succession, then *David* King of *Scotland*; and

and the first of Lay Lords was *Stephen* Earl of *Mortaign* and *Boloign*, King *Henry's* Nephew by his Sister *Adela*, who was the first that violated his Oath. Then that he might strengthen her Interest by Foreign Alliances, he shortly after caus'd her to be marry'd to *Jeoffry* surnam'd *Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, in the Room of his Father *Fulk*, who was now made King of *Jerusalem*. This Marriage was not highly pleasing to the Empress, and much less to several of the Nobility both of *England* and *Normandy*, who were disoblig'd for not being made privy to this Affair, and gave just Occasion for some to prognosticate that after the King's Death they would fall off from the Oath they had sworn to her. But the King did it out of a politick Design, to secure his Interest with the Earl of *Anjou*, against the growing Power of his Nephew *William*, who by the Assistance of the *French* King, had lately been put into Possession of the Earldom of *Flanders*; and being so nearly ally'd to the Crown, began to be formidable to King *Henry*.

She is marry'd to Jeoffry Plantagenet Earl of Anjou.

Hunting. Hoveden. M. Paris. The King by his Daughter's Marriage having made *Anjou* his own, to put a Stop to the Greatness of *William*, and the *French* King who supported him, from *Normandy* invaded *France* as far as *Esparne*, where for eight Days he remain'd as secure as in his own Dominions; and partly by Threats, and partly by Promises, he procur'd King *Lewis* to withdraw his Assistance from young *William*. Nor did he stop here, but taking Advantage of the cruel and covetous Temper of his Nephew, he caus'd many of his Subjects in *Flanders* to set up *Theodorick* Lantgrave of *Alsatia* against him, pretending a Title to the Earldom, so many Towns revolted, among which *Alost* was one, which *William* besieg'd; and having bravely routed the Forces of the Lantgrave who came to relieve it, and when the Castle was just ready to be surrendr'd to him, he was by a Lance wounded near the Wrist, which immediately turning to a Gangrene, kill'd him within five Days after. He was a Man of great Courage, but to avoid his Father's Vice Prodigality, fell so far into the other Extream, that in the *Belgick* Histories he is surnam'd *Miser*. In him expir'd all the Legitimate Issue of Duke *Robert*; but he had two natural Sons, *Richard* who was long before kill'd hunting in the *New Forest*, and *William* who was afterwards slain in the *Holy-Land*.

A. D. 1128. Reg. 28. 29.

William the Son of Duke Robert slain.

Malmsh. M. Paris. Ducto. After this we find no considerable Action of King *Henry*: In the thirtieth Year of his Reign, he took another Journey into *Normandy*, and met Pope *Innocent* at *Chartres*, where he acknowledg'd him for lawful Pope, notwithstanding he was then shut out of *Rome*, and *Anacletus* possess'd of that See; and at *Roven* he and his great Men made him many Presents. Having stay'd about a Year in *Normandy* the King return'd into *England*, and with him the Empress his Daughter, who had been lately parted from her Husband by reason of some private Contests that had happen'd between them. Not long after the King summon'd a grand Council or Parliament at *Northampton*, where the Clergy and Nobility all renew'd the Oath of Fealty which they had formerly taken to her; and then by their Advice, she was sent back to her Husband, who now desir'd her Company, and being joyfully receiv'd by him, she within less than two Years bore him a Son. In the thirty second Year of this Reign the King founded a Church and an Episcopal See at *Carlisle*, to which he laid the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Westmorland* and Part of *Northumberland*, and appointed *Athulf* his Confessor, then Abbot of *St. Oswald's* Abby, to be the first Bishop of it. The same Year was remarkable for nothing so much as the Burning down the greatest Part of *London*, which being then built almost all of Wood, was a Calamity very incident to that great City. As this was a Year of Sorrow to many, so the next was a Year of Joy to a great Part of the Nation, but especially to the King himself; and this was the Birth of a Son by the Empress *Matilda*, whose Name was *Henry*, which so pleas'd the King, that he summon'd the chief Men of his Kingdom with great Pomp, and again appointed his said Daughter and her Heirs to be his Successors, causing them

A. D. 1130. Reg. 30. 31.

The Nobility again swear Fealty to Matilda.

A. D. 1132. Reg. 32. 33.

The Bishoprick of Carlisle founded.

A. D. 1133. Reg. 33. 34.

Henry II. born

them all to take an Oath to observe this Ordinance; so that the People of *England* were twice sworn to the Succession.

In the latter End of this Summer, the King having fill'd up several Vacancies in the Church, made his last Passage into *Normandy*. Upon the same Day he took Shipping, which was the third of *August*, there happen'd such an extraordinary Eclipse of the Sun, that *Malmesbury* tells us he himself saw many Stars near that Planet, which prov'd very frightful to most People; and that two Days after there was such a dreadful Earthquake, that the House where the Author sat was lifted up by a treble Remove; to which others add, That out of the Clefts of the Earth arose Flames of Fire that could not be quench'd: Which divers judg'd to be the fatal Prefages of the Deaths of those two Princes that not long after ensu'd. The first was that of *Robert*, the King's eldest Brother, who at a great Age dy'd in *Caerdiff* Castle in *Wales*, after twenty six Years Imprisonment; a Prince sometime of great Courage and Reputation, who refus'd to receive a Kingdom gain'd partly by his own Sword; yet having been rebellious to his Father, and perfidious to his Brothers, as well as prodigal and careless, he lost the Benefit of his Birth-Right, and met with a Reward but answerable to his Crimes. His Body was bury'd at *Glocester*, in the Cathedral Church, and in the Middle of the Quire; where his Tomb remains to this Day, with a carved Image of his Shape, as the Monument of a most unfortunate Man.

A. D.

1134.

Reg. 34.

Duke Robert dies.

A. D.

1135.

Reg. 35.

The King's last Sickness.

In the next Year he was follow'd by the King his Brother, who being a hunting in *Normandy*, and returning to the Castle of *Lyons* near *Roven* with a strong Appetite, took a Surfeit by eating of Lampreys, which he much lov'd, but never could recover. Finding himself very sick and declining, he sent for *Hugh* Arch-Bishop of *Roven*, being also attended by his natural Son *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, *William* Earl of *Warren*, and several other Noblemen and great Commanders, who desiring him to name his Successor, he made answer, *That he left all his Dominions whatsoever to his Daughter Matilda, by a lawful and perpetual Succession*; without mentioning her Husband, having been lately much disoblig'd by several Affronts receiv'd from him. Then he commanded his Debts, and all Servants Wages to be paid; all Forfeitures and Fines to be remitted; all Exiles and seiz'd Estates to be restor'd; and directed his Son *Robert*, who had the Custody of his Treasury at *Falais*, to distribute no less than sixty thousand Pounds among his Servants and stipendiary Knights and Horsemen. And now having made his Will, and done all Things necessary for a Christian Prince, after seven Days Sickness, he deceased on the second Day of *December*, and in the seventy eighth Year of his Age; after a tumultuous, vigorous and prosperous Reign of thirty five Years, three Months, and one Day. His Body was embalm'd after a strange and barbarous Manner, peculiar to those Times, and carry'd into *England*, where it was honourably bury'd on *Christmas* Day, in the Abby of *Reading* in *Barkshire*, which he himself had founded and endow'd with large Revenues.

His Death.

This was the End of the great *Henry* the First, under whose long Reign, the Nation scarcely felt any Foreign Invasion or Domestick Insurrection, except some inconsiderable Incursions of the *Welsh*; by which continu'd Peace, during three Reigns, *England* became a Place of Refuge and a Sanctuary to the Afflicted and Distressed of Foreign Nations. This King added much to its Strength and Glory, notwithstanding several severe Oppressions; defending the Land by numerous Garrisons, and building many Forts and Castles, besides twenty five Towns and Cities; in all which he manifested his extraordinary Parts and Abilities. He has been celebrated by some for the three glorious Felicities of Wisdom, Victory and Riches, and condemn'd by others for three notorious Vices, Avarice, Cruelty and Lust; the first three being manifested in his obtaining, keeping and improving the Kingdom; and the last by his hard Taxes, his Severity to his Brother and others, and his numerous illegitimate Issue. As

Character.

to his Person, he was of a middle Stature, strong and well jointed, corpulent, of fine Eyes, and an amiable Countenance: In his Humour he was affable, and of a pleasant Conversation; and his Mind was enrich'd with many Virtues, being a Follower of Justice, a Lover of Religion, severe against Robbers, temperate in eating, and never drinking but for Thirst, vigorous and valiant in Battle, yet very circumspect, chusing rather to win by Conduct than Effusion of Blood; and by the Report of most Writers he exceeded all the Princes of his Age in Greatness and Magnificence. Whatsoever was wisely and virtuously perform'd in his Government, is by these Writers chiefly attributed to his Education and Learning; in which his renowned Father was very careful, often declaring, *That an unlearned King was but a crown'd Ass*. Upon which Account he often resided at his new Palace at *Oxford*, both for the Conversation of learned Men, and the Vicinity of a Park he made at *Woodstock*, which was the first known in *England*. His Works of Devotion appear from his Erection of the two Churches and Bishopricks of *Ely* and *Carlisle*, the Abbies of *Hide*, *Circester*, *Reading*, and the Priory of *Dunstable*. His Queen *Matilda* founded the Priory of the *Holy Trinity* within *Algate* in *London*, and the Hospital of *St. Giles in the Fields*; so that by himself, his Queen, and other devout Persons, above twenty four religious Foundations were erected in this Reign. The Laws of this Prince, besides his great Charter already mention'd, are publish'd by *Lambert*; tho' they are not accounted of any great Certainty. For the Price of Provisions and the like in this Reign, *Dr. Brady* tells us, That Wheat for one Day's Subsistence of a hundred Men was valu'd at one Shilling; a Ram or Sheep at four Pence; and an Allowance of Hay and Provender for twenty Horses one Day, four Pence; so that according to that Computation Money was then near twenty Times the real Value, that it has been of late Years.

*His Works of
Piety.*

S E C T. IV.

The Reign of King S T E P H E N.

Containing 18 Years, 9 Months, and 17 Days.

Matilda
&c. I. **T**HO' the Empress *Matilda* had Fealty sworn to her during the Life of her Father, and Her and her Heirs ordain'd to be his Successors in the Crown of *England*; yet so prevalent are the Charms of Ambition, and so weak the Assurances of the People, that all King *Henry's* Precautions were soon defeated; and principally by one who had appear'd most forward in taking the Oath, namely *Stephen* Earl of *Boloign*, Nephew to the late King by *Adela* his fourth Sister, who was the third Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, who by the Favour of the King his Uncle was made Earl of *Mortaign* in *Normandy*. This Man having also many Lands and Honours in *England*, a great Interest upon the Account of his Personal Merit and his affable Behaviour, and a long Acquaintance with the Bishops and Nobility, resolv'd to take the Advantage of *Matilda's* Absence, and set up his own Title. Accordingly he hasten'd with the utmost Expedition into *England*, where his Landing was attended by a most dreadful Tempest of Thunder, which was thought to portend those Storms and Troubles it afterwards brought upon the Nation. The Inhabitants of *Dover* and *Canterbury* fortify'd themselves against him, but *London* receiv'd him; where his Designs were much facilitated by his younger Brother *Henry* then Bishop of *Winchester*, and a powerful Man in the State, who by his Interest prevail'd upon *William* Arch-Bishop of *Canter-*

A. D.
1135.
Reg. 1.

*Stephen Earl
of Boloign pre-
tends to the
Kingdom.*

bury, the first Man who had sworn to the Empress: By whose Example many others were brought into the same dangerous Design, not fearing to affirm, *That it was Baseness for so many noble Peers to be subject to a Woman.* And to forward these bold Beginnings, *Roger Bishop of Salisbury*, the late King's Treasurer, protested, *That they were all free from the Oath sworn to the Empress, because without the Consent of the Barons she had marry'd out of the Nation.* But that which had the greatest Effect was the Testimony of *Hugh Bigot*, Steward to King *Henry*, who took a solemn Oath, That the King on his Death-Bed, upon some Displeasure to his Daughter, had disinherited her, and appointed his Nephew *Stephen* to be his Successor. These colourable Pretences so prevail'd upon the too credulous Arch-Bishop, and the Peers, that they consented to yield Allegiance to him; and upon the 26th of *December*, being *St. Stephen's Day*, he was crown'd at *Westminster* by the Arch-Bishop, with a small Appearance, being now about thirty one Years of Age.

He is crown'd
King.

But since his Title was so precarious, before he was crown'd he made large Promises of reforming whatever was amiss in his Uncle's Reign, for which his Brother engag'd his Faith; and at his Coronation he took an unusual Oath, chiefly consisting of these three Articles, '*First that he would never keep Bishopricks vacant for his own Advantage, but immediately consent to a Canonical Election, and invest new Bishops in them. Secondly he would not retain the Woods of any Clerk or Lay Man in his Hands, upon the Account of their Hunting, as King Henry had done, to the great Vexation of many. Thirdly he would for ever remit the Tribute of Danegelt, which his Predecessors had often rais'd.*' On the other side the Bishops took their Oath of Allegiance conditionally to obey him as King, so long as he should preserve the Church's Liberties, and the exact Discipline of it: Which Policy was also observ'd by the Lay Lords, as appears from *Robert Earl of Gloucester*, the late King's natural Son, who swore to be the true Liege Man of *Stephen*, so long as the King should preserve to him his Dignities, and keep all Covenants; upon which the King promis'd to reform all the hard Laws of his Predecessors, and give it under his Seal and Charter. Then seizing upon the vast Treasure his Uncle had amass'd in the Castle of *Winchester*, which amounted to more than 100000 Marks, besides Plate and Jewels, he hasten'd to meet his Corps, now brought into *England*, and made a pompous Funeral at *Reading*, being attended by many of the Nobility. Shortly after he repaired to *Oxford*, where he sign'd and seal'd the Charter of Privileges he before promis'd; in the Preface of which he declares, '*That he obtain'd the Crown by the Election of the Clergy and People of England, and was confirm'd in the same by the present Pope Innocent.*' The Tenor of the rest was, That all Liberties, Customs, and Possessions granted to the Church, should be in full Force: That all Persons and Causes Ecclesiastical should belong only to Ecclesiastical Judicature: That none but Clergy-Men should intermeddle with the Vacancies of Churches, or any Church-Man's Goods: That all bad Usages in the Land touching Forests, Exactions, and the like, should be abolish'd, and the ancient Laws restored. As *Stephen* well knew, that they had chosen him their King to obtain their own Designs; so *Malmesbury* observes, that he granted these Immunities rather to blind their Eyes, than to bind up his own Hands by such Parchment Chains.

His Coronation
Oath.

A. D.
1136.
Reg. 1.

His Charter.

This appeared in the second Year of his Reign, when *William Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* dy'd; at which Time he did not only keep the Archbishoprick vacant for above two Years, but finding that he had left vast Sums of Money, and that he dy'd without a Will, he seiz'd all to his own Use, which tho' too customary, was contrary to his Charter. However the Beginnings of his Government were very peaceable; but by several Steps civil Discord began and increas'd to the infinite Damage of the whole Nation. And what in a great measure gave Birth to these Mischiefs was the King's own Indulgence, who tho'

Troubles begin
in England.

Hunting,
Malmsh.
Hereden.

Malmsh.
M. Par
Hunting
&c.

tho' he was advanc'd only by a Party of Men, unadvisedly gave leave to all the Nobility, many of whom were his Enemies, to build Castles upon their own Lands, insomuch that above eleven hundred Places of Strength were erected in a short Time; by which means they were put into a Condition to renounce their Obedience, when ever they thought it to their Advantage. The first Man who openly declar'd against him was *Baldwin de Redvers*, who fortify'd the City and Castle of *Exeter*; and at the same Time the *Welshmen*, resenting the Damages done by King *Henry*, began to revenge themselves by the Slaughter of many of the *English*. To quell these Mischiefs King *Stephen* march'd with a Body of *English* and *Flemmings*, and after a long and chargeable Siege, by Famine he reduc'd *Baldwin* and his Adherents; after which he banish'd him and his Family, but us'd such Lenity towards the rest, that it gave great Encouragement to all future Insurrections. But in *Wales* his Affairs appear'd with another Fate, for at *Cardigan* a great Battel was fought, with such Loss and Slaughter of the *English*, that the Men were taken Prisoners by Women, and so many drown'd by the Fall of a Bridge over the *Temd*, that another Passage was made over the River by dead Carcasses. Nor was this all the Trouble King *Stephen* had; for about the same Time, many of the *English* out of Hatred to him, secretly invited *David* King of *Scotland* to revenge the Injuries done to the Empress *Matilda*; upon which he suddenly invaded the Frontiers, and took both *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*, which he fill'd with Garrisons. Against these King *Stephen* march'd with a powerful Army, and concerning this War there are divers Reports; yet all agree that in no long Time a Peace was concluded, by which *David* still enjoy'd *Carlisle*, and his Son *Henry* the Earldom of *Huntington*, for which he did Homage to King *Stephen*; but his Father refus'd to do the same, alledging, That he had already given his Faith to the Empress *Matilda*.

Many Castles erected.

Sim. Dm.
Malmsh.
M. Paris.

King *Stephen* returning in Peace, not long after fell into such a dangerous Fit of a Lethargy, that his Death was commonly believ'd and reported, which occasion'd great Troubles both in *England* and abroad; for by this his Friends were dishearten'd with Fears, and his Opposers grew more bold in declaring for the Empress. *Hugh Bigot*, one of the first Promoters of his Interest, now fortify'd himself in the Castle of *Norwich*, and himself refus'd to deliver it to any but the King, and with great Unwillingness to him: In *Wales*, *Owen* and *Cadwalader*, the Sons of Prince *Gryffith*, made furious Ravages, and carry'd great Booties from the *English*: Likewise in *Normandy* there began new Insurrections; for *Geoffry* Earl of *Anjou*, who in the Right of his Wife the Empress laid Claim to all, easily gain'd the Hearts and Endeavours of many to adhere to the true Heir, and possess'd himself of several Castles. But proceeding further, and entering upon the Territories of *Talevaz*, a Person of Note proscrib'd by King *Stephen*, the *Normans* so dislik'd that and some other of his Actions, that they sent for *Theobald* Earl of *Bevis*, King *Stephen*'s Elder Brother, offering him both their Dukedom, and their Swords and Lives to defend him in it. *Theobald* coming to *Luxonia*, *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, who was always ready to diminish King *Stephen*'s Power, deliver'd the County of *Falaise* to him upon Composition; having himself carry'd no small Sums from thence out of King *Henry*'s Treasury, and carefully and secretly watching all Opportunities to advance the Title and Designs of the Empress.

The Troubles encrease.

Sim. Dm.
Malmsh.
M. Paris.

King *Stephen* finding so many Disturbances, prepar'd first to go into *Normandy*; at whose Approach, after some small Attempts, the People distracted between Fear and Duty, soon yielded to his Power, and surrender'd all their Towns and Castles. This good Success was much improv'd by a League made between him and *Lewis* King of *France*; upon the Assurance of which he created *Eustace* his eldest Son Duke of *Normandy*, and order'd him to do Homage to the *French* King. Earl *Theobald* seeing himself thus abandon'd, now storm'd at the Injuries done him, and being eldest Brother laid Claim both to *Normandy* and *England*,

A. D.
1137.
Reg. 2.

King Stephen
is successful in
Normandy.

He is call'd in-
to England.

A. D.

1138.

Reg. 3.
4.

A great Com-
bination against
King Stephen.

Robert Earl of
Glocester the
Chief.

The Empress
Matilda sent
for.

gland; but notwithstanding his Rage and Threats, he at length came to a Composition, and renounc'd his Claim for a Pension of two Thousand Marks *per Annum*. Likewise Earl *Geoffry*, whose Title by his Wife was better than both, finding himself over-match'd by the King's Power, Wealth and Confederates, submitted to Necessity, and for a Pension of five thousand Marks *per Annum*, suffer'd *Stephen* quietly to enjoy the Crown. Having remov'd these two great Obstacles, he hop'd to enjoy a peaceable Reign, when unexpected News was brought him, That *England* was in a Tumult, and that the factious Peers taking Advantage of his Absence, were up in Arms against him. Upon this, with the utmost Expedition he took Shipping for *England* in the midst of Winter, and even upon the Eve of *Christ's* Nativity besieg'd, and afterwards took the Castle of *Bedford*, garrison'd against him upon the Account of the *Scots*: About which Time *David* their King having enter'd *Northumberland* in the Behalf of *Matilda*, the ruder Sort of the Army too tragically reveng'd the Injuries of that Princess, by ripping up the Wombs of big-belly'd Women, and tossing their Infants upon the Points of Spears, slaying the Priests at the Altar, and dismembering the dead Bodies after a most inhuman manner.

King *Stephen* us'd all Expedition against these Barbarians, declaring, *That it was no Policy to give an Hour's Rest to such Enemies*, and accordingly he march'd directly into *Scotland*, from whence, after a small Revenge, he was hastily recall'd into *England*, by a great Defection of the Nobility, who by his Example and Proceedings had been sufficiently taught the Arts of Perjury. For these alledg'd that the King had violated his Oath concerning their Forests, and other Immunities of the Church and Common-wealth; but, as *Malmesbury* observes, these were but colourable Pretensions to cover their private Resentments for missing of such Castles, Commands and Preferments as they expected; looking upon the King as so much oblig'd to them, as not to deny them any Thing. To put a stop to these endless Importunities, he sometimes us'd Arguments, and at other times Promises and Rewards; but their Loyalty being built upon such ignoble Foundations, could not be of any long Continuance. The chief of their Party was *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, now chief Counsellor to the Empress, who finding these particular Dislikes, and being excited by religious Men with the Fear of hazarding both his Reputation and future Happiness by his Neglect, he sent threatening Messages to King *Stephen*, charging him with the Breach of his Oath to his Sovereign Lady *Matilda*, and with drawing him and others into the like Perjury and Treason; upon which he declar'd *Stephen* an open Enemy to the State, and himself an open Enemy to *Stephen*. He soon strengthen'd his Party by the Conjunction of many Noblemen, among whom *Milo*, High Constable to the King, revolted and became a great Assistant to his Proceedings. *Robert* took in the Castle of *Bristol*, and secur'd that of *Stede*, and his Associates did the like in other Places; for *William Talbot* garrison'd the Castle of *Hereford*, *William Lovel* that of *Carie*, *Paganell* the Castle of *Ludlow*, *William de Mount* that of *Dunestor*, *Robert de Nichol* the Castle of *Warram*, *Eustace Fitz-John* the Castle of *Meltune*, *William Fitz-Alain* the Castle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Wakelin* the Castle of *Doune*. And thus those Forts which were erected to defend the Crown, first offended the King. Some few of which as he recover'd he demolish'd; often swearing *He would not so easily lose his Crown*, and admiring, *What should induce them, who had so readily advanc'd him, so speedily to dethrone him*. One fresh Motive to their Discontents was the King's seising on the Persons and Lands of some great Men, on a bare Suspicion of their Loyalty, and the extraordinary Favour he shew'd to *William de Ypres* and his *Flemmings*, whose Counsels he wholly follow'd. This last they interpreted as a Contempt of themselves and their Nation; therefore out of Anger and Disdain they sent to the Empress, declaring, *That within five Months she should have the Kingdom at Command, according to their Oaths made to her Father*.

These

Hunting.
Malmsh.
M. Paris.
&c.

These Commotions working in the Bowels of the Kingdom, gave *David* of *Scotland* a fair Opportunity to attack the Borders of it, which he did with great Ravages and Desolation in *Northumberland*: Against whom a considerable Army was sent, under the Command of *Thurstan* Arch-Bishop of *York*, whom the King had made his Lieutenant in the North; but being detain'd by Sickness from the Field, he appointed *Ralph* Bishop of the *Orchades* for his General, whose invective Oration had an extraordinary Effect upon the Army; and absolving all who should die in the Battel, the *English* became absolutely fearless, and press'd forwards with so much Force and Fury, that the *Scots* soon abandon'd their King, who still stood bravely to his Arms, 'till his best Friends urg'd him to desist. But his Son *Henry* esteeming Honour more than Life and Safety, rush'd in among his retiring Soldiers, and with undaunted Courage persuading them to regard themselves and his Person restor'd the Battel for a while; 'till at length being overpower'd by the main Body of the *English*, he was constrain'd to quit the Field with great Loss and Damage. With the like happy Success King *Stephen* proceeded against his disobedient Barons, and won from them the Castles of *Hereford*, *Glocester*, *Webley*, *Bristol*, *Dudley* and *Shrewsbury*; by which he so much weaken'd the Power of Earl *Robert*, that he was oblig'd to fly into *France*, resolving to procure his Sister the Empress to come over into *England*. These Domestick Obstacles being remov'd, the King resolv'd to prosecute the War in the North which *Thurstan* had happily begun; and first gaining the Castle of *Leids*, he march'd into *Scotland*, where in a short Time a Peace was concluded between the two Kings: And *Stephen* returning thence, brought the valiant Prince *Henry* with him into *England*, and at the Siege of *Ludlow* Castle, that adventurous Youth was by the Besieg'd pluck'd from his Horse with an Iron Grapple, and had been taken, had not King *Stephen* with extraordinary Valour and Honour, recover'd him, and won the Castle. In the same Year, a Synod was call'd at *Westminster* by *Alberic* the Pope's Legate; where, by all the Bishops in *England*, *Theobald*, Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, was elected and consecrated Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, to the general Satisfaction of the Nation, since that Archbishoprick had been vacant above two Years.

The Scots are
worsted.

King Stephen
is successful.

Malmsh.
Vistales.

II. King *Stephen* had now by his Valour and Vigilance rais'd himself to a high Pitch of Grandeur, and seem'd well establish'd in his Kingdom; but upon the Report of the Empress designing to come into *England* in Person, his Jealousie occasion'd him to commit an Error which gave him great Disturbance, and vastly weaken'd his Interest; and this was an unseasonable Breach between him and those Bishops who had set the Crown upon his Head, who were now too powerful to be crush'd at once. About this Time *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* had built two magnificent Castles, one at the *Devises*, another at *Sherburn*, beginning a third at *Malmesbury*, and a fourth at *Salisbury*; and likewise his Nephew *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln* had built a Castle at *Newark*, as he alledg'd, for the Safety and Dignity of his Bishoprick. *Nigel* Bishop of *Ely*, another Nephew of Bishop *Roger*, also imitated these in their Grandeur and Magnificence; so that these three seldom appear'd at the King's Court without vast Trains of armed Followers. All this rais'd great Envy among the Earls and Barons, who took occasion to infuse such jealous Thoughts into the King, that he judg'd himself unsafe 'till he had stripp'd them of their Power and Grandeur. He soon found an Opportunity in a grand Council held at *Oxford*, where the Retainers and Servants of the Bishop of *Salisbury* happen'd to contend with those of *Alan* Earl of *Bretaign* about securing of Lodgings, in which Contest many were wounded, and one Knight kill'd, but the Bishop's Men were Superior in the Conflict. The King taking advantage of this Riot, commanded the fore-mention'd Bishops to be conven'd, that they might satisfy the Court for their Servants Breach of the Peace, and the Satisfaction he requir'd, was no less than

A. D.
1139.
Reg. 4.
5.

The King falls
out with the
Bishops.

than

He seizes their
Castles and
their Treasure.

than the Delivering up their Castles into his Hands as a Security for their future Fidelity. They were willing to give Satisfaction; but upon debating whether they should yield up their Castles, he commanded that they should be kept close Prisoners, to prevent their Escape. The Bishop of *Salisbury* was carry'd unbound, and his Son *Roger*, the Chancellor of *England* whom he had by a Concubine, was carry'd in Fetters before the Castle of *Devizes*, which *Nigel* Bishop of *Ely*, who had escap'd thither from *Oxford*, held out against the King. By this severe Treatment the Castles of *Sherburn*, *Salisbury* and *Malmesbury* were surrender'd upon the first Summons; as was that of the *Devizes*, after three Days Siege. His other Nephew the Bishop of *Lincoln* purchas'd his Liberty by a speedy surrender of *Sleaford* Castle into the King's Hands. In the Castles of *Sherburn* and the *Devizes* the King found such vast Quantities of ready Money, that by sending a great Part of it to *Lewis* King of *France*, he not only obtain'd his Friendship, but also his Sister *Constantia* for his Son Prince *Eustace*, tho' the Marriage was not consummated 'till the following Year.

Upon which a
Synod is call'd.

This Act of the King's occasion'd great Debates; *Hugh* Arch-Bishop of *Rome*,^{Malm.} and his Advocate, was of Opinion, *That Bishops might justly be depriv'd of those Castles which were not built by the Allowance of the Canons; that they ought to be Evangelists of Peace, not Creators of such Places as were Sanctuaries for their disloyal Practices.* The King's Brother, the Bishop of *Winchester* and now the Pope's Legate, affirm'd, *That if Bishops transgress'd, they were not to be try'd in the King's Court, but to be judg'd by the Canons, nor to be depriv'd of any Thing but in a publick Synod;* and immediately summon'd the King his Brother to appear in the Council he intended to hold at *Winchester* on the 29th Day of *August*. At which Day appear'd most of the Bishops of *England*, with *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; where the Legate, after producing the Pope's Commission, in a *Latin* Speech aggravated the Fact of his Brother, *in that he had seiz'd on the Persons of the Bishops, even under the Protection of his own Court; exhorting all present to consult what was needful to be done in this Exigency, and declaring, that he would put the Decree of the Council in Execution, tho' it was with the Loss of his Brother's Friendship, his own Estate, or his Life.* The King not distrusting his Cause, sent some of the Earls into the Synod, to know why he was conven'd thither, to whom the Legate answer'd, *That he was guilty of such a Crime as that Age never saw; and being himself a Christian, he ought not to take it amiss, if he was call'd by the Ministers of Christ to make Satisfaction; therefore if his Brother would take his Advice, he would do wisely to give an immediate Reason for this Action, or submit to the Judgment of the Canons.* Upon which *Alberic de Ver*, a great Lawyer, soon after carry'd the King's Answer, and in Defence of his Master, urg'd many Things against the Bishops, *as being Movers of Sedition, and Corresponders with the King's Enemies; That they were not seiz'd as Bishops, but as the King's Servants; and that they themselves surrender'd their Castles as a Composition for the Crimes they had committed.* The Bishop of *Salisbury* deny'd that he was the King's Servant, and threaten'd, *That if he could not find Justice in this Synod, he would seek it in a higher Court.* The Legate said, *That the Crimes of which the Bishops stood accus'd, ought to be prov'd in the Synod, before they could be sentenc'd; therefore the King ought first to reinvest them in their Possessions, otherwise whilst remaining disseiz'd, by the Law of Nations, they were not to plead.* After many Allegations on both Sides, at the King's Request, the Cause was adjourn'd to the next Day, and to the next after that, 'till the Arrival of the Arch-Bishop of *Rome*; who granted, *That the Bishops might have Castles, if the Canons allow'd them; but still urg'd the Necessity of the Times.* To which *Alberic de Ver* added, *That if they presum'd to send any Bishops or other Persons, to the Court of Rome, contrary to the King's Will, and the Dignity of the Kingdom, their Return would be very difficult.* By this they understood that the

the King would not abide by the Censure of the Canons, and therefore the Bishops thought it best to forbear pronouncing it; first because it would be a rash Thing to excommunicate their Prince without the Knowledge of the Pope; secondly because they found that the Soldiers were ready to revenge it: Upon which the Synod was dissolv'd within three Days after it was call'd. Yet the Legate and Arch-Bishop, according to their Duty, threw themselves at the King's Feet, beseeching him *to be merciful to the Church and his own Soul, and to consult his Reputation so as not to suffer a Breach to be made between the Secular and Ecclesiastical Governments.* *But comes to no Determination.*

Malmsh. Tales. &c. These Divisions between the King and the Bishops occasion'd many to rebel, and encourag'd the Empress to come over in Person, who with her Brother Robert landed at *Arundel* in September, with an inconsiderable Party of an hundred and forty Men; which Attempt is by *Malmesbury* compared to that of *Julius Caesar*, who with one Legion began the Conquest of the *Roman Empire*. They were kindly receiv'd by *Adelisa* the Queen Dowager, to whose Husband the Castle belong'd, and after a short Refreshment the Earl committing his Sister to the Care of her Mother-in-Law, march'd through the Enemy's Country as far as *Bristol* with only twelve Knights and Attendants. King *Stephen* was then employ'd in the Siege of *Marlburgh* Castle, but hearing of a more dangerous Enemy, he soon remov'd, and march'd towards *Arundel*; upon whose Approach Queen *Adelisa*, fearing her Castle should be taken and her self made a Prisoner, by a Message to the King, declar'd, *That she was ready to take her Oath, That she was not the Occasion of the Landing of the Empress or her Adherents, nor had entertain'd them as his Enemies, but only as her near Relations and ancient Acquaintance.* Upon which Message *Stephen* by an uncommon Strain of Generosity, caus'd the Empress, his great Rival, to be safely and honourably conducted to *Bristol*; where she remain'd for the Space of two Months, and then remov'd to *Glocester*; so that all those Parts, even to the Borders of *Wales*, partly by Force, and partly through Inclination, before the End of this Year submitted to the Empress. *The Empress Matilda arrives in England.*

Malmsh. &c. And now began all the Miseries of a Civil War, and we find nothing but taking and retaking of Towns and Castles, Plundering and Burning of Houses and Churches, and all the Marks of Trouble and Desolation. If any Earl or great Man injur'd or affronted another, both Parties frequently got together all their Knights that held of them, their other Tenants and poor Dependants, with all the Assistance of their Friends and Confederates, and burnt each others Castles and Houses, destroy'd their Lands and Territories, and carry'd away the Inhabitants Prisoners. And now there were in *England* so many Tyrants, as there were Lords of Castles, every one pretending to coin Money, and to exercise the Rights of Sovereignty; and to add to these Calamities, the King had with him great Numbers of *Flemmings* and *Britains*, who being accusom'd to live by Plundering, came into *England* to devour the Riches of the Land. In the mean Time *Stephen* perform'd all the Parts of a vigilant Commander, and closely besieg'd *Matilda* and her Brother in *Wallingford* Castle; but finding great Difficulties, and little Prospect of Success, he caus'd a remarkable Tower of Wood to be there erected, which he well furnish'd with Men and Ammunition, and then remov'd to the Siege of *Malmesbury*. At the same Time his Brother of *Winchester*, a valiant and politick Prelate, was no less industrious in his Behalf; for inviting several Noblemen to his Palace at *Winchester*, he detain'd them Prisoners, till he compell'd them to surrender their Forts and Castles to the King. In the mean Time Earl *Robert* took and plunder'd *Worcester*; *Ralph Paine*, in favour of the Empress, took and burnt the Town of *Nottingham*; and *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*, joining with *Robert*, whose Daughter he had marry'd, gave continual Annoyance to the King, tho' he had receiv'd great Honours from his Hands. The Empress her self, the better to secure her own Person, and to give Access to her Friends, took up her Quarters A. D. 1140. Reg. 5. 6. *A Civil War breaks out, with great Calamities.*

The Empress Quarters in *Lincoln*, and stored that great City with all Necessaries, in order
retires to Lin- for a long Abode.
coln.

But abandons King *Stephen*, as vigilant as the other was politick, march'd directly and be-
sieg'd the City, where he had surpriz'd his greatest Enemy, had she not found
Means to escape; so possessing himself of that Place, he reduc'd the whole Coun-
try to a peaceable Condition. Shortly after his Departure, *Ranulph* Earl of
Chester with his Countess and Brother, coming to *Lincoln* to keep their *Christ-*
mas, the Citizens knowing the King's Jealousies, sent secret Intelligence to
him, *That if he would surprize both these Brothers, he had now a fair Op-*
portunity. Upon which the King immediately after *Christmas* march'd thither
with great Expedition; and while they, thus circumvented, stood on their
Guard in the Castle, the Earl escap'd, and begg'd the Assistance of the Empress
to rescue his Wife and Brother, who were now closely besieg'd. Earl *Robert*
upon this Intelligence immediately join'd with *Ranulph*, and gather'd all their
Forces to relieve their Friends in *Lincoln*; where resolutely wading through
the River, upon *Candlemas* Day they appear'd in Order of Battel near the
King's Camp. The King, tho' he was not strong in Numbers, was ready to
receive them, and divided his Army, which consisted much of *Flemmings*,
Britains and *Normans*, into three Bodies; which Method was also observ'd by
the Earl of *Glocester*. Before this fatal Battel began, both *Ranulph* and *Ro-*
bert made severe Invective Orations against the Nobility on the King's Side;
which was answer'd by *Baldwin-fitz-Gilbert*, who was as severe upon those of
the Empress's Party. Upon which a dreadful Contest began on both Sides,
and for a while with equal Success; 'till in a short Time the *Flemmings* and
the King's Cavalry fled; whereupon the Earl of *Chester* charg'd the King's Body
of Foot, in whose Strength he repos'd his greatest Trust; but they being over-
power'd by the Horse, began also to faint and fly, leaving the King inrag'd
both at his Friends Cowardice and his Foes Success. It was a very strange
Sight, says *M. Paris*, there to behold King *Stephen*, left almost alone in the
Field, yet no Man daring to approach him, while grinding his Teeth and foam-
ing like a furious Wild-Boar, with his Battel-Ax he drove whole Troops before
him, to the eternal Renown of his Courage; so that if a hundred such had been
with him, a whole Army had been unable to have taken him Prisoner. Yet as
he was single, he held out, 'till first his Battel-Ax broke, and then his Sword
flew in Pieces with the Force of his irresistible Strokes; and being weaponless,
he was beaten down upon his Knees by a large Stone from an unknown Hand,
which being seen by a valiant Knight call'd *William de Kains*, he ran in and
took hold on the King's Helmet; yet he refus'd to surrender himself to any but
the Earl of *Glocester*, who being near was call'd to take him Prisoner. The
Earl preserv'd him from all Violence to his Person, and shortly after sent him
Prisoner to the Empress at *Glocester*; from whence he was sent to *Bristol* Ca-
stle; where for a while he was kept in honourable Custody, but afterwards, ei-
ther through Suspicion or Hatred, he was ingloriously fetter'd with Irons.

The Empress
governs.

III. King *Stephen* now for a while lost all the Marks of Sovereignty and
Grandeur, and the Empress having secur'd her most formidable Opposer, tri-
umph'd in her Fortune, and as the sole Monarch of the Nation commanded in all
Affairs, and dispos'd of all Dignities and Offices according to her own Pleasure.
Yet still she did not alter her Title of Empress, or Queen of the *Romans*, as
appears from her Broad-Seal; under which she granted the Custody of the
Tower of *London* to *Geoffry de Mandevil* and his Heirs, making Covenants
with him, That she would not make Peace with the Citizens of *London*, with-
out his Consent, because they were his mortal Enemies: But this Earl being af-
terwards accidentally apprehended in *St. Albans*, for his Liberty was oblig'd
to surrender both the Tower of *London* and his other Castles to King *Stephen*.
Upon this great Success of the Empress, the State Men stood no longer for *Ste-*
phen,

phen, but their Faiths turning with their Fortunes, they all paid Allegiance to her; the *Kentish* Men only excepted, where *Stephen's* Queen *Matilda*, and *William de Ypres*, maintain'd his Cause to the utmost of their Powers. Nor was King *Stephen* disappointed only of *England*, but also *Normandy* cast off his Subjection; for *Geoffry* of *Anjou*, Husband to the Empress, having Intelligence of the late Victory, induc'd the *Normans* to join in his Party, by publishing the Captivity of *Stephen*, now unable to relieve them or himself; and *David* King of *Scotland* was not backwards in setting forth the Claim of the Empress, and under that Pretence seiz'd upon the County of *Northumberland*.

Stephen declines.

During these Transactions the Empress to establish her Power repair'd to *Winchester*, where she swore to the Bishop, *That if he and the Holy Church would receive her as their lawful Queen, he should order and direct all the great Affairs of the Nation, and dispose of all Bishopricks and Abbies*. This was also promis'd by the Earl of *Glocester* and several of the Nobility; upon which the Bishop readily acknowledg'd her Queen of *England*, and with some of his Friends took an Oath, *That as long as she made good her Promises, they would be faithful to her*. And the next Day she was receiv'd into the Cathedral with a pompous Procession, in Company with many Bishops, Abbots, Barons and Knights; where the Legate curs'd those who curs'd Her, and bless'd those who bless'd Her; absolving the Obedient, and excommunicating the rest. From *Winchester* she went with the Court to *Wilton*, where she kept her Easter with a mighty Conflux of People; and was recogniz'd by *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. Shortly after a General Synod of the Clergy was summon'd at *Winchester* under the Legate, who after private and separate Conferences with the Bishops, Abbots and Arch-Deacons, made a publick Speech, setting forth the Cause of this Assembly, which was to consult of the Peace of the Country, insisting upon the flourishing State of the Kingdom under King *Henry*; who many Years since had receiv'd an Oath of *England* and *Normandy*, for the Succession of his Daughter and her Issue: *That she delaying her Coming into England at the Time of his Death; for the Peace of the Nation his Brother was admitted to the Throne. Tho' he had been a Pledge between God and him That he should honour the Church, and maintain righteous Laws; yet with Grief and Shame he could but mention his Misbehaviour: The Peace of the Nation was destroy'd, and no Punishment inflicted upon Criminals; Bishops were imprison'd, and oblig'd to surrender their Possessions; Abbies were sold, and Churches pillag'd; the Counsel of Ill Men was follow'd, and the Advice of Good Men despis'd. That he had conven'd him before a Synod, but had gain'd nothing but Hatred; He ought indeed to love his Mortal Brother, but much more his Immortal Father: Therefore, added he, seeing God has exercis'd his Judgments, by letting him fall into the Hands of powerful Men, lest the Kingdom should be lost for want of a Governor, I have call'd you hither by my Legantine Power. Yesterday the Cause was propounded in private to the greatest Part of the Clergy of England, to whom of Right it belongs to Elect and Ordain a King; and therefore, after invoking the Divine Assistance, we Elect Matilda Queen of England, the Daughter of the peaceable, glorious and incomparable King Henry.*

A Council called at Winchester.

in which the Empress is declar'd Queen.

All that were present assented, or by their Silence would not contradict what was done. The Legate also told them, *That he had summon'd the Citizens of London, and expected them the next Day*. Accordingly they came, and being brought into the Council, declar'd *That they came from the Community of London, not to raise any Debates or Contests, but to petition that their Lord the King might be releas'd out of Prison; which was the earnest Desire of all the Barons, and great Men lately receiv'd into their Community*. The Legate answer'd at large, and with a Grace, *That it became not the Londoners, who were esteem'd as Noblemen in England, to join with such Barons as had forsaken their King in Battel, render'd the holy Church contempti-*

ble, and favour'd them only for their own Advantage. Upon which a Chaplain of King Stephen's Queen, offer'd a Letter from her to the Legate, which because he refus'd to communicate to the Assembly, the Chaplain with great Confidence read it himself, in which the Queen earnestly begg'd of the Clergy, particularly the Bishop of Winchester, her Lord's Brother, to restore him to the Kingdom, whom his wicked Subjects had cast into Prison. To which the Legate gave such an Answer as he had given to the Londoners; who after a Consultation, said, *They would communicate the Resolution of the Council to their Fellow-Citizens, and comply with it as far as they could.* This done, many of the King's Party were excommunicated, particularly William Martel, his Steward, whose Advice he had follow'd in many Things; and so after three Days Session only, the Council was dissolv'd. From Wilton the Empress went to Reading, where with a great Multitude, Robert D'ovly came and offer'd her the Castle of Oxford; which she receiv'd with the Homage of that City, and the Country round about. From thence she went to the famous Monastery of St. Albans, where many of the London Citizens met her, and treated about delivering the City to her; to which Place she repaired, thinking her self safe in the Company of so many Bishops and Barons. At Westminster he was receiv'd with a magnificent Procession, and stay'd there some Days to give Directions and Orders about the State and Affairs of the Kingdom.

She comes to London.

The Empress thus establish'd, all now esteem'd her as Fortune's Darling, and beheld her as their only rising Sun; and had her Discretion been equal to her Resolution, she might have reign'd many Years in Prosperity. For now the Prison Walls had obscur'd and defac'd all the Virtues and Favours of the unfortunate Stephen, whose sorrowful Queen Matilda incessantly solicited the Empress in her Husband's Favour, desiring his Liberty, but not his Crown, which she should freely enjoy; and thereupon offer'd many great Persons for Pledges, who gave their Faith for him, *That from thenceforward he should devote himself to a religious Solitude, becoming either a Monk or a Pilgrim.* All which she rejected with great Haughtiness, and with but little better Grace refus'd the Legate Bishop of Winchester, when he only desir'd that his Nephew Eustace might enjoy his Father's Honours and Lands in Normandy. The Londoners likewise having lately acknowledg'd her for Queen, thought they might have whatever they desired, and became Petitioners to her, *That she would mitigate the over hard Laws of her Father, and put those of King Edward in full Force.* This she absolutely deny'd; which being in an unsettled State, prov'd very impolitick and pernicious. For first Stephen's Queen Matilda sent to her Son Eustace, *That their Suits must be obtain'd only by War;* urging him to strengthen his Party by the Assistance of the Kentish Men: Several of the Nobility also repin'd, that they were so slightly regarded, or rather rejected; and the Londoners inrag'd at this last Repulse, endeavour'd to make the Empress their Prisoner, and so redeem Stephen, who had chiefly their Affections; but she hearing of the Design, fled secretly in the Night, and retired to Oxford, which in all her Difficulties she ever found true to her, out of Love both to her Cause, and the Memory of her Father. At the same Time the Bishop of Winchester's high Mind not bearing the Denial of his Suit, upon secret Conferences with Stephen's Queen, by her sorrowful Entreaties began to melt in his Affection towards the distressed King his Brother; and at length resolv'd to assist him to the utmost, and absolv'd all those whom before he had excommunicated, alledging, *That the Barons had kept their Faith with the Empress, but she had done otherwise with them:* And thinking it now Time to stand up for his Brother, he solicited the discontented Londoners in his favour, and stored the Castles of Waltham, Fernham and Winchester with Men and Ammunition.

She disoblige the Citizens and others.

She retires to Oxford.

In the mean Time the Empress hasten'd to Gloucester to confer with her great Friend Milo, and soon after returning to Oxford, was there solely maintain'd

at

at his Charge, having no Subſiſtance of her own; to requite which Fidelity and other Services, ſhe there created him Earl of *Hereford*. Having gather'd a conſiderable Force together, ſhe march'd directly to *Wincheſter*, accompany'd with her Uncle *David* King of *Scotland*, her Brother *Robert*, and many of the Nobility; and arriving at the City, ſhe ſent for the Biſhop, whoſe Intereſt ſhe much deſired, to come to her with all Speed. But he thinking it not ſafe, return'd an equivocal Answer, *That he would prepare himſelf*, as if he deſign'd to follow them; and ſo iſſuing privately out of the City immediately prepar'd himſelf to work her Ruin: For getting the Aſſiſtance of Queen *Matilda* and her Son *Euſtace*, the *Londoners* and *William de Ypres*, he made good his Party; himſelf and Friends remaining in the City, while the Empreſs and her Nobility defended themſelves in the Caſtle, without daring to go forth among ſo many Enemies. And ſhortly after, knowing the Citizens to be better affected to the Empreſs than himſelf, to gratifie his revengeful Temper, he commanded the City to be ſet on Fire, by which the great Nunnery, the Convent of *St. Grimbald*, above twenty Churches, and the greateſt Part of the City was conſum'd to Aſhes. Seven Weeks being ſpent in the Siege and Counter-Siege of the City and Caſtle, the Empreſs under great Troubles and Reſtraints, deſir'd to change her Quarters; and with no ſmall Difficulty march'd out with her Brother Earl *Reginald*, and many other Friends, beſides Earl *Robert*, who brought up the Rear with two hundred undaunted Followers. She was immediately follow'd by the King's Forces, and many of her Men ſlain and taken Priſoners; but ſhe by good Fortune eſcap'd to the Caſtle of *Lutgurſhal*, and from thence to the *Deviſes*; where finding that ſhe was ſtill in Danger, according to *Brompton* and others, ſhe was oblig'd to be carry'd to *Gloceſter* in a common Coffin or Heſe, like a dead Corps; in which ſhe had good Occaſion to reflect upon the Chains ſhe had put upon her Rival *Stephen*. But her Brother Earl *Robert* met with worſe Fortune, who while he was more careful in providing for her Safety than his own, was taken Priſoner, and brought back to *Wincheſter*, where he was preſented by the Biſhop to Queen *Matilda*, who committed him to the Cuſtody of *William de Ypres*, and for more Security ſent him to *Rockeſter*: But others taking Sanctuary in the Nunnery of *Warwell*, were burnt, together with the Place. *Robert*, ſtill undaunted in his Miſfortunes, tho' he was tempted by Promiſes and urg'd by Threats to deſert his Siſter's Cauſe, yet nothing would prevail with him; nor would he enter into any Treaty for his own Release, without her Conſent, or to her Prejudice. But within the Space of ſix Months, the King and he were both exchange'd upon equal Terms; ſo that each Party was left at liberty to purſue the War with as great Eagerneſs as ever.

and from
thence to Win-
cheſter.

Where ſhe is
put to great
Diſtreſs.

Earl Robert
taken Priſoner

King Stephen
releas'd.

Not long after the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* proceeded in his Deſign to ruin the Empreſs, and by his Legantine Authority ſummon'd a Synod to meet at *Weſtminſter*; where the Pope's Letters to him were openly read, in which he blam'd him for ſo little endeavouring to reſtore his Brother, exhorting him to uſe all Power both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular to effect it. King *Stephen* alſo in this Council complain'd, *That his Subjects, to whom he had never deny'd Juſtice, had imprisond, and reproachfully treated him to his great Affliction*. Upon which the Legate by his Rhetorick endeavour'd to juſtifie his own Proceedings, alledging, *That he had receiv'd the Empreſs by Compulſion, not Choice; and when the King's Army was routed, and his Nobility fled, ſhe with her Adherents came to Wincheſter; and whatever Promiſes ſhe made there, ſhe had wilfully broke*. He further urg'd, *That ſhe and her Friends had contriv'd to deprive him both of his Dignity and Life, but God had defeated her Deſigns; and the King his Brother being now freed from his Imprisonment, he commanded them on the behalf of God and the Pope, that they would aſſiſt him with their whole Power, Who was anointed by the Will of the People, and Aſſent of the Apoſtolic ſec; and that he would excommunicate all Diſturb-ers of the publick Peace, that favour'd the Cauſe of the Empreſs*. The Le-

His Cauſe is
indicated in a
Synod.

gate's Words were not very grateful to all the Clergy, tho' none reply'd, but out of Fear and Reverence kept silence; only one Lay-Messenger from the Empress boldly forbid the Legate, *by the Fealty he had sworn to the Empress, to act any Thing contrary to her Honour or Interest*, adding, *That she came into England by his Invitation, and that her imprisoning the King was by his Approbation*. All this, and much more, which he urg'd against the Legate with great Sharpness, could not move him to return any Answer, or to shew any Passion, much less to desist from his late Designs.

A. D. In the following Year Earl *Robert*, fearing the King's Power and his Sister's Declension, went into *Normandy* to solicit her Husband *Geoffry* for her Assistance. But that Earl having Troubles with his own Nobility, and the *Normans* being scarcely brought to Subjection, thought it not convenient to leave his Country; therefore he only sent some Forces with *Robert*, and with them his young Son Prince *Henry* into *England*. The Empress in his Absence had strongly fortify'd her self in *Oxford*, whom King *Stephen* follow'd with an eager Pursuit, and won the Suburbs to the City Gates; and resolving not to desist till he had got her in his Possession, he so closely besieg'd her, that for two Months whatsoever Strength or Stratagem could perform on either Side was there put in practice. Till at length Want made the Besieg'd think of a Surrender; upon which the Empress was once more forc'd to make use of Policy, and to take Advantage of the Sharpness of the Winter, when the River *Thames* was cover'd with Ice and Snow. Being reduc'd to Extremity, she undertook a dangerous Attempt; for cloathing her self, and a select Company with white Linnen Garments, to deceive the Eyes of the Sentinels, she issu'd secretly by Night out of a Postern Gate, and passing the frozen River ran on Foot through Ice, Snow, Ditches and Vallies for five Miles, as far as *Abington*, with the Snow still driving in their Faces; and there taking Horse, the same Night recover'd the Castle of *Wallingford*, to the great Joy and Admiration of that Garrison. In the mean Time Earl *Robert*, and Prince *Henry* had besieg'd and taken the Castle of *Warham*, hoping to divert the King from the Siege of *Oxford*; but soon after hearing of the strange Escape of the Empress, he came with young *Henry* to his Mother, whose Sight made her forget the many Troubles she had endur'd. Here *Malmesbury*, the most judicious and considerable of the Monkish Writers, concludes his History, being patroniz'd by *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*.

The Empress
closely besieg'd
in Oxford.

She makes her
Escape.

A. D. In the Beginning of the next Year, King *Stephen* was present at a Synod in *London*, which was held by the Legate Bishop of *Winchester*, in which it was ordain'd, 'That whoever laid violent Hands upon one in Holy Orders, should not be absolv'd, but by the Pope himself, and then only in his Presence. Which last Clause to a former Decree made in the Reign of King *Henry*, render'd the Persons of all Ecclesiasticks for the future inviolable. This was a most seasonable Ordinance for the Clergy, for now daily Devastations and Outrages were committed in all Parts, and a dismal Civil War was carry'd on for several Years in this Nation. Of this we have but a short and slender Account: We find that *Oxford* was surrender'd to the King upon Conditions, and that *Wilton* was fired by Earl *Robert*. Then the Tower of *London*, with the Castles of *Walden* and *Pleeses*, and afterwards that of *Lincoln* were yielded to *Stephen*; the Castles of *Warham* and *Portland* submitted to the Empress: The Earls of *Chester* and *Esssex* were surpriz'd by the King; and his Favourite *William Martel* was taken and imprison'd by *Robert*. Thus about four Years pass'd with Variety of Success, and every Year on each Side produc'd fresh Calamities, to the infinite Damage of the whole Kingdom, and mostly to the strengthening and encreasing King *Stephen's* Interest. For during this Time, the two famous Earls, *Robert* of *Glocester*, and *Milo* of *Hereford*, Men of great Abilities and unshaken Fidelity to the Empress, both lost their Lives, one by a Distemper, and the other by an Accident. The Miseries of the Nation, and the Loss of

Many Actions.

King Stephen's
Interest increas-
es.

Malm.
Hunting.
Houelm.

Hut
Hw
M.
&c

two such Supporters, caus'd the Empress to leave *England*, and retire into *Normandy*, where she continu'd with her Husband 'till his Death; having not long before sent her Son *Henry* to his Father, who desir'd rather to have him Heir of a Dukedom with Safety, than of that of a Kingdom with continual Hazard.

The Empress leaves the Nation.

*Hunting.
Hoveden.
Gervase.*

IV. Upon the Departure of the Empress, King *Stephen* began to take fresh Courage, and caus'd several of the Barons to swear Allegiance to his Son *Eustace*; by which Compliment he suppos'd all Things had been secure on his Side. In the same Year he repair'd to *Lincoln*, and for a while kept his Court there; and to shew his Grandeur, wore his Crown at the *Christmass* Solemnity, which no King before him durst undertake to do in that City, being deterr'd by a certain superstitious Prophecie, foretelling Death, or some extraordinary Misfortune to any Prince who attempted it, which the King not regarding, is therefore by our Historians commended for his Courage. In this Year also, or the next, Pope *Eugene* in a Council held at *Rheims*, without the Consent of the greatest Part of his Cardinals, solemnly depriv'd *William* Arch-Bishop of *York*, because he had been nominated by the King before he was canonically elected, and the Chapter of *York* commanded to make a new Election, which fell upon *Henry Murdac* Abbot of the Monastery of *Fountains*; and *William* was oblig'd to retire to *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, who maintain'd him 'till the Death of the said Pope.

A. D.

1147.

Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

King Stephen wears his Crown at Lincoln.

*Gervase.
Hunting.
Hoveden.
&c.*

While King *Stephen* thought himself secure in his Throne, Prince *Henry*, now about sixteen Years of Age, resolv'd to make one Attempt more for a Crown, and accordingly came over into *England* with a small but select Army; to whom were join'd the discontented Earl of *Chester*, *Roger* Son of the deceas'd *Milo*, with many Knights and valiant Men of the *English*. *Henry* soon march'd into the North, and met with his Coten *David* King of *Scotland*, by whom he was most honourably receiv'd, and solemnly knighted. From that Time he sought all Occasion to provoke both *Stephen* and his Son *Eustace*; and having settled some Affairs with his chief Counsellors for the Pursuit of his Designs in *England*, he return'd into *Normandy*, to transact some other Business that might be available to these Ends. Where he stay'd not long before his Father *Geoffry* dy'd, and left him in Possession both of the Dukedom of *Normandy* and the Earldom of *Anjou*. And to add to his growing Greatness, in the eighteenth Year of his Age, he marry'd the fam'd *Eleanor*, Dutches of *Guienne* and *Aquitain*, who had lately been divorc'd from *Lewis* King of *France* for Consanguinity and Suspicion of Adultery, after she had born him two Daughters. *Lewis* now fearing Issue made by this Marriage, to the disinheriting of his said Daughters, was highly incens'd with Duke *Henry*; and *Stephen* also fearing his Greatness, having now the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Guienne*, *Aquitain* and *Poitou*, both of them sought all Methods to diminish his Power. *Lewis* with Prince *Eustace* oppos'd him in foreign Parts, and *Stephen* in *England*; where to secure the Succellion, he endeavour'd to invest Prince *Eustace* with the *English* Diadem, in order to cut off all Hopes from Duke *Henry*. And calling a grand Council at *London*, King *Stephen* commanded *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to crown his Son *Eustace*, which he absolutely refus'd, alledging, *That the Pope had forbidden him to crown him, whose Father had contrary to his Oath usurp'd the Kingdom*. At which Repulse, the King shut up all the Bishops with their Primate in one House; but the latter made his Escape, and fled into *Normandy*, which intirely defeated the King's Designs. But to be reveng'd on him for this Disappointment, he seiz'd on all his Lands and Possessions.

A. D.

1149.

Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

Duke Henry comes into England.

His Father leaves him great Possessions.

A. D.

1151.

Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

He marries King Lewis's Queen Eleanor

A. D.

1152.

Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.

King Stephen in vain endeavours to Crown his Son.

*Gervase.
Dicto.
Hunting.*

King *Stephen*, finding his Title now question'd by the Church, who had before establish'd it, resolv'd to make it good by the Sword; and winning the Castle of *Newberry*, fortify'd *Malmesbury*, and laid close Siege to *Wallingford*; against which he erected the Castle of *Cranmerse*, to hinder all Communication. But Duke *Henry*, having put a stop to the Wars abroad, return'd into *England* with

A. D. 1153. Reg. 12. Duke Henry's Interest increases. with a considerable Force ; and being join'd by many of the Nobility, who yielded to him above thirty strong Castles, he hasten'd to the Relief of *Wallingford*, where he undertook a great Enterprize ; for he surrounded the Besiegers with a large Intrenchment, and kept them as much from Relief, as they had done the Besieg'd. King *Stephen* hastning to their Succour, encamp'd near the Enemy, and being ready to give Battel, the Winter Storms prevented him ; but soon after, while the King at the Head of his Army was giving Orders for a Battel, his Horse mounted thrice with his fore Legs, 'till at last he fell down backwards, to the great Hazard of the King's Person. Upon which *William* Earl of *Arundel*, a brave and eloquent Man, took occasion to exhort the King *To be warn'd by these ill Omens, and not to expect any Success against the juster Cause ; and that there were so many near Relations and Friends set against each other, that they could not engage without a great and unnatural Effusion of Blood ; therefore he ought to send Messengers to the Duke to treat of a Peace.* Upon which Advice it was resolv'd to come to a Parly, which was signify'd to Duke *Henry* ; who being warm and ready for Battel, could hardly moderate his youthful Ardour ; yet by the Importunity of his Friends he yielded to an Interview with the King near *Wallingford*, where the River *Thames* being narrow, they could discourse together from the opposite Banks. After a long and private Conference, they both return'd to their Camps, and soon after agreed to a Cessation of all Hostilities.

He makes a Truce with the King.

The King's Son Eustace dies.

A Peace concluded between Stephen and Henry.

But *Eustace* the King's Son was highly disoblig'd by this Treaty, which he knew would end to his Prejudice, and leaving the Court in a Passion, march'd into *Cambridgeshire*, and then into *Suffolk* ; where coming to the Abby of *St. Edmund's-Bury*, he was treated with all Respect, but not receiving Money which he demanded for his Soldiers, he order'd them to seize upon all the Corn belonging to the Abby ; but sitting down to Dinner, upon the first Bit he eat, he fell into a Frenzy, and expir'd in a little Time. He was eighteen Years of Age, born to be never out of the Calamities of War, and was bury'd at *Fever-sham* with his Mother *Matilda*, who deceas'd a little before, without any real Injoyment of a Crown. *Stephen* began to find the Punishments of Heav'n in these great Losses, and upon the expiring of the Truce, many fell from him, and many Castles were lost, as *Bertnell*, *Reading*, *Warwick*, *Stamford* and others. And under these Afflictions he was more inclinable to a Peace, which was much promoted by Arch-Bishop *Theobald* ; and also *Henry* of *Winchester*, who by making his Brother King had brought such Miseries upon the Nation, now stricken with Remorse, contributed his utmost Assistance to this great Work. Upon which a grand Council was summon'd both by the King and Duke to meet at *Winchester*, consisting of all the great Men of either Party, who were joyfully receiv'd with a solemn Procession ; and there in the Presence of infinite Multitudes the King led the Duke by the Hand, and then a Peace was concluded on these Conditions: 'First that *Stephen* should enjoy the Crown of *England* during Life : Secondly, upon his Decease, *Henry* should succeed him as his Lawful Heir. Then the King adopted the Duke for his Son, and at the same time pay'd him Reverence, and acknowledg'd him as a Father and Lord ; and Earl *William*, the King's only surviving lawful Son, at his Father's Command did Homage to the Duke. After these Things were solemnly perform'd, and ratify'd by the mutual Oaths of the King, Bishops and Temporal Lords, a firm Peace, which for many Years had been banish'd from the Nation, was happily restor'd. The Duke was receiv'd, with the King, at *London*, at *Oxford*, at *Canterbury*, and other Places, with all Demonstrations of Joy ; but the Duke's Pleasures were interrupted by a Conspiracy against his Person by certain *Flemings* ; but just upon the Execution, *William* the King's Son, who was concern'd in it, falling from his Horse upon *Burham* Down, broke his Leg, and for Want of a Leader the Design fail'd. However it occasion'd the Duke to take his final Leave of the King, and pass over into *Normandy*, where after a Year's Absence he was joyfully receiv'd by his Mother, Wife and all his Subjects.

King

The Duke goes into Normandy.

*Anting.
cc.*

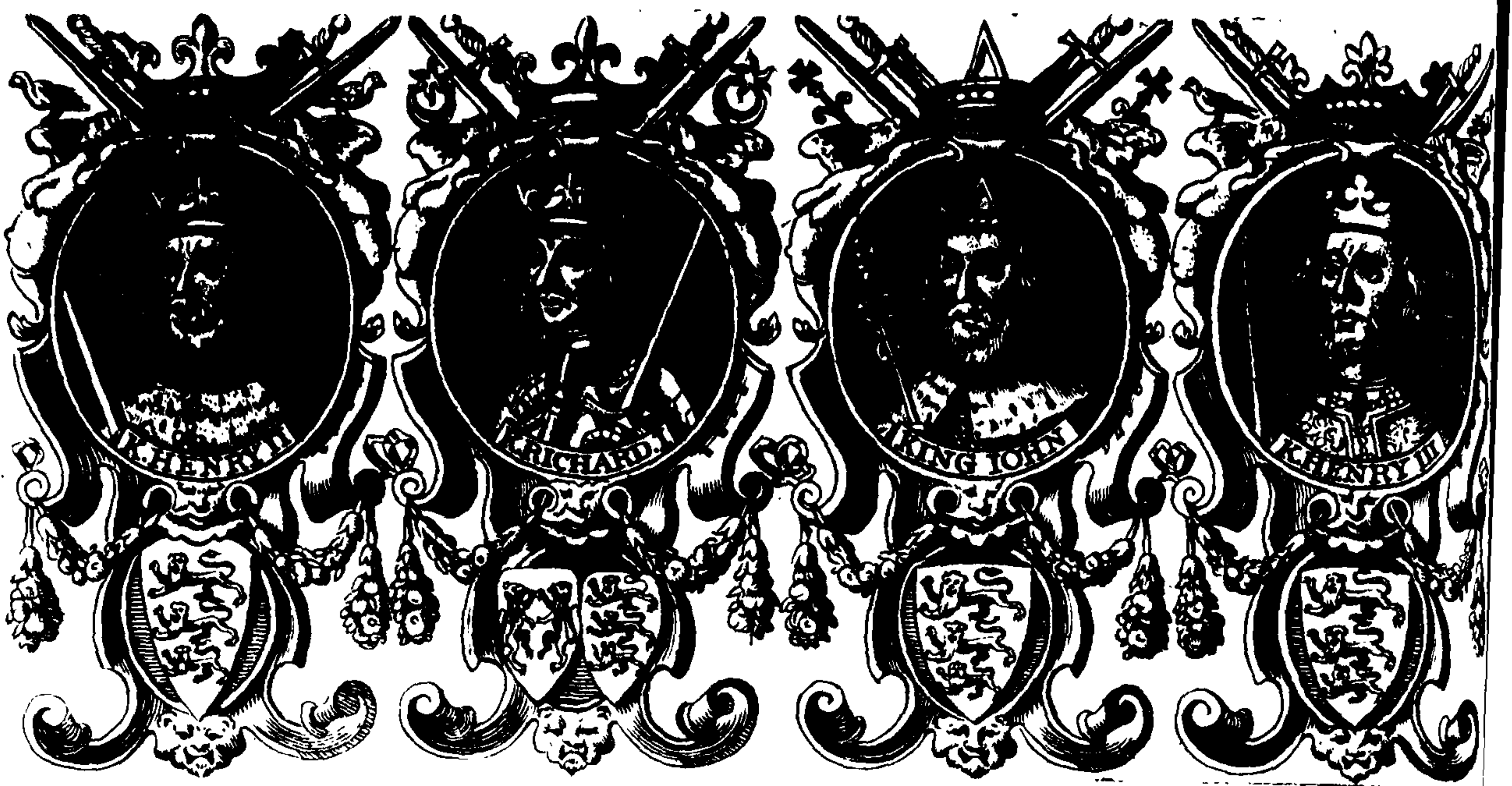
King *Stephen* now had a fair Prospect of reaping all the Pleasures that a Crown in Peace could afford him, and accordingly us'd all laudable Methods for the repairing the Ruins of the Kingdom; but God thought fit to allow him but a short Enjoyment of that Crown he so unjustly acquired, and after he had punish'd him with the Loss of all Hopes of the Succession in his Family, he took him out of this World upon the 25th Day of *October*, after a calamitous Reign of eighteen Years, nine Months, and seventeen Days. He was near fifty Years of Age, and dy'd of his old Distemper the Emroids, accompany'd with Iliack Pains, being bury'd by his Wife and Son at *Feversham* in the Abby Church of that Monastery which he himself had founded. As to his Character he had undoubtedly many princely Qualities, as Valour, Affability, and Generosity both to his Friends and Enemies; but at the same Time he was unmeasurably ambitious, resolving to be no Slave to his Word or Oath, which brought vast Calamities upon him and others. Yet he shew'd signal Marks of Devotion, particularly in the Founding the Abbies of *Cogshall* in *Essex*, of *Furness* in *Lancashire*, *Feversham* in *Kent*, and the Nunneries of *Carew* and *Higham*. Setting aside his Ambition and unjust Title, he was an excellent Prince; none burthening their Subjects with fewer Taxes, nor governing with greater Clemency; and notwithstanding the many Insurrections, he is said never to have put one Man to Death. The Custom of holding the splendid Assemblies or *Curia* at the three great Festivals, which in the former Reign began to languish, by reason of the unsettled Times was now wholly laid aside. These Times of Confusion also gave the Pope and Clergy great Opportunities to encroach upon the Regal Power, and to introduce new Laws, Usages and Customs. Particularly the Pope's Canon Law was now first brought into the Nation; which was compil'd into a Code or Body by *Gratian*, and publish'd by Pope *Engene* in the Year 1151. The Occasion of bringing it hither was a great Contest between the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*; which brought over Lawyers from *Rome*, together with their Law, *Vacarius* being the first Professor of it in *Oxford*.

King Stephen dies.

His Character.

The Canon Law first introduc'd here.





C H A P. II.

The Plantagenets Undivided; From the Death of King Stephen, and Restoration of the Saxon Line, to the Death of King Henry the Third.

Containing the Space of about 118 Years.

S E C T. I.

The Reign of King HENRY the Second.

Containing 34 Years, 8 Months, and 12 Days.

A. D. I. **T**HE Miseries of the late Civil Wars had so conquer'd the Spirit of ^{M. &c.} Ambition in the Land, that tho' *Stephen* left a Son behind him, who wanted not a considerable Interest, Duke *Henry* found an easy and uninterrupted Accession to the Throne of *England*. 'Tho' he was a *French* Man by Birth, he came to the Crown neither unexpected, nor undesired; for the Opinion of the Nation, and the Hopes conceiv'd of his future Government, had the Force to keep *England* in an intire Obedience above six Weeks without the Presence of a King; whose Entrance, like that of the Soul into the Body, did immediately invigorate the whole Kingdom. He was soon after his Arrival solemnly crown'd King at *Westminster*, together with *Eleanor* his Queen, by *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, on the nineteenth Day of *December*, with the loud Acclamations of all the People, being now about twenty one Years of Age. He was surnam'd *Plantagenet*, that is *Planta Genesta*, or *Broom Plant*; and being Son of the Empress, who was Grand-Daughter to Queen *Margaret* the Sister of *Edgar Etheling*, in him the Royal Line of the old *English Saxons* was restored. He was not only the nearest Heir to the Crown, after his Mother's Decease, but was also the most powerful Monarch that had hitherto sat upon the *English* Throne; being, besides *England* and *Normandy*, possess'd of a great Part of *France* before recited.

King Henry
and Queen E-
leanor crown'd.

Paris.
Hoveden.
erouffe.

In order to restore a ruinous and wasted Country, he began with demolishing several Castles, which had been the Nests of Rebellion, and resum'd others to his own Use, and likewise such Lands and Estates as had been alienated from the Crown, as the unjust Reward of those who withstood his Title. Others write, that he promiscuously resum'd all such Lands, as were by a set Number of Jurors found at any Time to have belong'd to the Crown. He reduc'd some Noblemen unduly created to a private Condition, and clear'd the Nation of Foreign Soldiers; especially from the *Flemmings*, whose mercenary Swarms had been most burdensome to the Land, and pernicious to his Cause. Then to preserve good Government, he chose a Body of Counsellors out of the most eminent of the Clergy and Laity; as *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Becket*, Arch-Deacon of the same See, whom he made Chancellor of *England*, as also *John* of *Oxford*, with divers other Prelates; of the Laity he had *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, chief Justiciary of *England*, *Richard de Lucie*, *Jocelin de Bailull*, *Alan de Nevile*, and others; but in his Cabinet Council, he had his Mother the Empress, now one of the most experienc'd Ladies of the Age. Thus furnish'd, he assembled a Council or Parliament at *Wallingford*, where he caus'd the whole Kingdom to swear to the Succession of his two young Sons *William* and *Henry*, the former dying not long after; and here he confirm'd the Laws of *St. Edward*, and the ancient Customs of the Kingdom, and likewise granted a short Charter of Liberties, which in Substance is a bare Confirmation of all that his Grand-father *Henry I.* had granted. These hopeful Beginnings of so young a King were as grateful to the Quiet and Peaceable, as they were unpleasant to the Wicked and Rapacious; who were now either forc'd to leave the Country, or put on the Appearance of Honesty; by which Means all Men quietly enjoy'd the Fruits of a long desired Peace.

A. D.
1155.
Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

King Henry's
wife Establish-
ments.

Hoveden.
M. Paris.
kc.

King *Henry* having settled his Affairs in *England* to his Satisfaction, hasten'd into *France* to King *Lewis*, where he did Homage to him for *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, *Main* and *Tourain*; which were partly his own Patrimony, and partly the Inheritance of *Eleanor* his Queen. But his Brother *Geoffry* having a just Title to the Earldom of *Anjou*, by his Father's Will, held out that Country against him. Yet *Henry*, tho' he himself had sworn to obey his Father's Will, never regarded it; but procuring Pope *Adrian* to dispense with his Oath, by Force he unjustly dispossest his Brother of all his Territories, and oblig'd him to accept of an Annuity of a thousand Pounds *English*, and two thousand more of *Anjouvin* Mony; which in the third Year was ended by the Death of *Geoffry*. After this Success King *Henry* return'd into *England*, and at *Chester* he contracted a Friendship with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, upon the same Terms with his Grand-father *Henry*; upon which *Malcolm* surrender'd the City of *Carlisle*, *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, and that of *Bamborough*, and King *Henry* restored to him the Earldom of *Huntington* in *England*.

A. D.
1156.
Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

He goes into
France.

He returns.

M. Paris.
Hoveden.
kc.

The King daily increas'd in Strength and Power; and yet the *Welsh*, a restless People, still ventur'd to make frequent IncurSIONS into *England*, which occasion'd *Henry* to raise a powerful Army to subdue them, and bring them to a peaceable Correspondency. The Enemy trusting to the Security of their Woods and Mountains, retreated thither upon his Approach; and the Van of the King's Army marching in those difficult Places, was intercepted by them, and a great Part of it cut in Pieces. Upon which *Henry de Essex*, the King's hereditary Standard-Bearer, threw down his Standard and fled, also reporting that the King was slain, which put the whole Army into a great Confusion; but upon the King's sudden Appearance it receiv'd new Vigour, rallied, and forc'd the Enemy to such Terms as satisfy'd the King. He cut down their Woods, and made open Ways into their Country, had the Castle of *Roelent*, and all other Places surrender'd to him which they had taken from his Predecessors, and receiving the Homage and Fealty of their Nobles and great Men, he return'd in

A. D.
1157.
Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

His Expedition
against the
Welsh.

Triumph into *England*. But *Henry de Essex* for his Cowardice was charg'd with Treason by *Robert de Montfort*, a valiant Nobleman, and in a Trial by a single Combate was vanquish'd, for which his Life was forfeited by Law; but the King spared it, and caus'd him to be shorn a Monk in the Abby of *Reading*, and seiz'd upon all his vast Estate. Not long after the King's third Son *Richard* was born in his Palace at *Oxford*, who afterwards succeeded his Father in the Kingdom. The Beginning of which Year the King spent in a Progress through *England*, and coming to the City of *Lincoln*, he caus'd himself to be again crown'd in a Suburb call'd *Wickford*, without the Walls, being deterr'd by some superstitious Prophecies from wearing the Crown in the City it self, which tho' it had before been despis'd by King *Stephen*, yet this King could not free himself from those vain Apprehensions. In the following Year he and his Queen were again crown'd at *Worcester* upon *Easter Sunday*; and coming to the Oblation, they there devoutly offer'd up their Crowns at the High-Altar, vowing never to wear them after, which they strictly observ'd. After this we do not find many of our Kings to have worn their Crowns at the great Festivals as formerly.

A. D.
1158.
Reg. 4.

The King is
crown'd again
at Lincoln;

and at Worces-
ter.

A. D.
1159.
Reg. 5.

where he lays
down his Crown.

He goes into
France.

His several
Actions there.

King *Henry* having establish'd his Affairs in *England*, cross'd a second Time into *Normandy*, where for three or four Years several Matters of Importance successively occur'd, tho' not largely treated of by the Writers of these Times: As his seising the City of *Nantz* and a great Part of *Bretaign*, after his Brother *Geoffry's* Decease: His Journey to *Paris*, with *Eleanor* his Queen, upon a formal Invitation by King *Lewis*: His expensive and unsuccessful Siege of *Tholouse*, where *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* was in Company with him, and knighted by him: The immature Marriage of his Son *Henry* with *Margaret* the *French* King's Daughter, whom *Thomas Becket* Lord Chancellor had conducted with great Pomp from *Paris*, by Consent of Parents, for that Purpose: The Offence taken at those Espousals by King *Lewis*, because the Parties were but Children, and himself a Loser by the Contract: The War hereupon attempted by *Lewis*, who fortifying *Chaumont*, which King *Henry* recover'd with Advantage, after the *French* had quitted the Field by Flight: The Armies of both Kings, being afterwards ready to join Battel, were reconcil'd by Pope *Alexander*, who was so honour'd by them, that they both walk'd on Foot by his Horse's Side, and perform'd the Office of Yeomen or Gentlemen of the Stirrup. After which King *Henry*, after a long Absence from *England*, return'd with great Satisfaction, Honour and Reputation.

A. D.
1163.
Reg. 9.

The Rise of
Thomas Beck-
et.

He is made
Arch-Bishop of
Canterbury.

II. King *Henry*, in the midst of his Prosperity and Grandeur, began now to be exceedingly disturb'd and perplex'd, by a famous Contelt between him and *Thomas Becket*; a Man of an aspiring Temper, and invincible Resolution, who by Birth was a *Londoner*, and by Profession a Civilian. Being in holy Orders, he was made Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, and then advanc'd to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, in which high Station he carry'd himself like a Sovereign King; and in the late Wars between the Kings of *England* and *France*, besides his own Retinue, he maintain'd seven hundred Knights or Horse-men, and also twelve thousand others of less Quality, with four thousand mercenary Footmen for one Month; and tho' he was a Clerk, he tilted with a *French* Knight, dismounted him, and gain'd his Horse. Upon the Death of *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, tho' the Monks objected against *Becket*, as being a Courtier and a Soldier, yet in the Year 1162 the King gave him that Arch-Bishoprick, partly in Reward of former Services, and partly in Hopes of greater to come. But immediately after his Consecration, he not only resign'd his Office of Chancellor, returning his Seal to the King, but also wholly chang'd his former Course of Life, put on a severe rigid Monk's Habit, liv'd an austere Life, alter'd and order'd his Family accordingly; and contrary to the King's Expectations, withdrew himself from his Obedience and Service

Service, and oppos'd him in many Things. The grand Contest was concerning the Regal and Pontifical Authority, and was first disputed upon the Account of the numerous Abuses and Corruptions of the Church Men, who were then grown to a dangerous Height; of which *Newburg*, who liv'd in these Times, gives us this Account. It was declar'd in the King's Presence, That the Clergy had committed above a hundred Murthers during his Reign, which highly provoking the King, he was somewhat too violent in punishing them; for which the Prelates ought to be blam'd, in giving so great an Occasion. For whereas the Canons ordain'd that Clerks for inferior, as well as heinous Offences, should be degraded, and thousands of such were then in the Church, like much Chaff among a little good Corn; yet very few for many Years had been depriv'd. The Prelates, while they rather strove to support the Liberties and Dignities of the Clerks, than to punish and exterminate their Vices, thought they were serviceable to God and the Church, in protecting such heinous Offenders from publick Punishment, whom by the Duty of their Places they ought to correct; by which Liberty and Impunity, they fear'd not God, whose Judgments they thought far distant, nor Men in Authority; since on the one Side their Prelates neglected to reform them, and on the other, they were by their Order exempt from Temporal Jurisdiction.

The Corruptions of the Church-Men.

Newburg.
Hoveden.

This being the State of the Church and Kingdom, in which some were so injur'd without Remedy, and others so injurious without Restraint, as if neither Sort were in the Condition of Subjects; the King, out of his Wisdom and Zeal, took particular Care to revive the publick Discipline, and the Power of the ancient Laws, which thus lay neglected. To which End he had settled select Ministers of Justice in all Parts of the Land; and upon Complaints brought him of the Remissness, and other Defects of his Judges, he by his Princely Care apply'd Remedies, and punish'd the Delinquents. The like Remissness was complain'd of in his Ecclesiastical Judges; occasion'd by a Murther, committed by a Priest of *Sarum* Diocese, whom the Arch-Bishop order'd to be depriv'd and shut up in a Monastery, by which he was freed from a more deserv'd Punishment, design'd by the King's Justiciaries. With which, and some other like Affronts from the Arch-Bishop, the King was highly displeas'd, as seeing all Things tend to the Ruin of Regal Government, which he desired might be employ'd to the Impartial Administration of Justice to all his Subjects.

The King endeavours to reform them.

The Arch-Bishop on the other Side, shew'd himself no less violent for the Immunities of his Clergy and See; and proceeded so far as to challenge from the Crown the Custody of *Rocheſter* Castle and other Forts, which the King for the Security of his Kingdom had resum'd into his own Hands. The Sum of the Controversie between the Crown and the Mitre is thus deliver'd by *Hoveden*: The King expected That all such of the Clergy as were taken in Robbery, Murther, Felony, and the like Crimes, should be try'd and adjudg'd in his Temporal Courts, as Lay-Men were: Against which the Arch-Bishop's Resolution was, That all Clergy-Men so offending should be try'd only in the Spiritual Courts, by Men of their own Order, and upon Conviction, should at first only be depriv'd of their Office and Benefice; but after they were thus degraded, upon a fresh Offence, they should be judg'd at the King's Pleasure.

Becket opposes him.

The Sum of the Controversie.

Newburg.
Hoveden.

The King finding himself thus depriv'd of one Half of his Sovereignty, and that *Becket* could not be mollify'd either by the Remembrance of old Favours, or the Power of fresh Persuasions; notwithstanding he resolv'd to put nothing in Execution, but what was first ratify'd and confirm'd by his Bishops, of whose ready Assent to all just Demands, he had no Reason to doubt. Therefore at an Assembly at *Westminster* the King shew'd his Resentments against the Arch-Bishop's Behaviour, and took an Occasion to establish several Articles, which he call'd *his Grand-father's Customs*, much to the Detriment of the Papal and Ecclesiastical Authority. The Points in those Ordinances, which the Arch-Bishop condemn'd, and set down in his Letters to the Pope, and his

The King establishes several Ordinances against the Papal Authority.

own Suffragan Bishops, were principally these: 1. That none should appeal to the See of *Rome* for any Cause whatsoever, without the King's Licence. 2. That it should not be lawful for any Arch-Bishop or Bishop to leave the Nation and go to the Pope, upon his Summons, without the King's Licence. 3. That no Bishops should excommunicate any one holding of the King in chief, or put any other of his Officers under Interdict, without his Licence. 4. That all criminal Clerks should be try'd before secular Judges. 5. That the Laity, whether the King or others, should hold Pleas of Churches, and Tithes, &c. These Ordinances were peremptorily urg'd to the Arch-Bishop and all the Bishops, who answer'd; *That they willingly consented to them, saving in all Things their Order, and the Rights of the Church.* This Answer highly displeasing the King, caus'd him to remove suddenly to *Woodstock*, to which Place the Bishops follow'd him, earnestly persuading the Arch-Bishop to comply, as they already had done. At first he was immoveable, but at length overcome by the Importunities of the Bishops of *Chichester* and *Hereford*, he assented to acknowledge the King's Laws without that *Saving Clause*, which had given so much Offence. At which the King seem'd satisfy'd for the present; however he resolv'd to have all their Consents ratify'd in a grand Council of the whole Kingdom.

A. D.

1164.

Reg. 10.
11.

Becket and the
Bishops comply
with them.

Becket repents,
and makes new
Opposition.

To this End, that he might better assert the Rights of the Crown, he call'd a Parliament at *Clarendon* in *Wiltshire*, where he propounded to the Bishops and Secular Barons many ancient Regular Customs and Laws, which he expected the Bishops to recognize, as the ancient Rights of the Crown; which Laws, being the same with those before-mention'd, have commonly been call'd *The Constitutions of Clarendon*. All the Prelates gave a verbal Consent to these, but being requir'd to put their Seals to them, the Arch-Bishop utterly refus'd; yet at length the Earls of *Cornwall* and *Leicester*, with other Persons of Quality by Tears, Importunities and Arguments persuaded him to comply with the King's Pleasure. So that both the Arch-Bishop, and all the Bishops consented to these Laws, and recogniz'd them under their Seals; and the King afterwards sent them to the Pope to be confirm'd, who not only rejected them, but utterly condemn'd them. Shortly after the Arch-Bishop began to be severely afflicted, and repented of this Act, making his Body suffer a hard Penance for it; and he thought it so heinous an Offence, and so great a Pollution, that he was not fit to say Mass, or appear before the Altar; and therefore he suspended himself from that Service, 'till by Confession and Penance he obtain'd the Pope's Absolution. During the Controversie, the Pope being in *France*, sent over *Rotred* Arch-Bishop of *Raven* to compose these Differences; but the King would not hearken to him, unless the Pope would first consent to confirm his Laws by his Bull. And when he saw he could not obtain it, he sent two of his Chaplains to prevail with the Pope to constitute *Roger* Arch-Bishop of *York* his Legate throughout *England*, so that he might confound and mortifie *Becket*. But neither did this Project succeed; for the Pope knowing that *Becket's* Cause was his own, would not be the Author of any Damage to so faithful a Servant; yet to gratifie the King, he granted by his Bull a slight Authority, which when the King saw was only superficial and not effectual, he sent it back again to the Pope by the same Person who brought it.

Many Troubles
fall upon him.

When these Methods fail'd others were attempted, and the Arch-Bishop having many Enemies, several Troubles were brought upon him in a short Time. First, he was condemn'd in Damages for a Mannor, which *John de Marshall* claim'd, notwithstanding the Arch-Bishop had enjoy'd it a long Time without Molestation. Next he was prosecuted at the King's Suit for five hundred Marks, which had been lent him in the Army at *Thralouse*, and for another like Sum, which he borrow'd of a *Jew* upon the King's Security: Then he was prosecuted for all the Profits of the Archbishoprick of *York*, and other Bishopricks and Abbies vacant during his Chancellorship: Besides all he was in Parliament call'd

call'd to an Account for thirty thousand Pounds of the King's Mony formerly in his Hands. To these he reply'd, *That since he had formerly accounted, and that the King's eldest Son, the Justiciary of England, and all the Barons of the Exchequer had acquitted him of all Accounts, and that he should come free from all Actions to the Archbishoprick, he therefore now would not answer as a Lay-Man.* Which peremptory Refusal of his was highly aggravated with divers Accusations, particularly of Contempt towards the King, in denying to come to his Presence, when commanded to appear before him; and tho' he made several Excuses and Pretences, yet the Peers and the Bishops condemn'd all his moveable Goods to the King's Mercy. And the Prelates perceiving that the King's Displeasure tended to a further Severity, premonish'd him to submit himself, *Otherwise the Court intended to adjudge him a perjur'd Person, and a Traitor, for refusing Temporal Allegiance to his Temporal Sovereign, according to his Oath.* Still finding him immoveable, the Bishops by joint Consent adjudg'd him guilty of Perjury, and by the Mouth of the Bishop of *Chichester* disclaim'd all future Obedience to him as their Arch-Bishop. The following Day, while the Bishops and Peers were consulting about some further Expedient, *Becket*, undaunted in his Designs, caus'd to be sung before him at the Altar, *The Princes sit and speak against me, and the Ungodly persecute me, &c.* And immediately taking his Silver Crosier in his Hands, he enter'd arm'd with it into the King's Presence. At which the Arch-Bishop of *York* severely reprov'd him for this unpresidented Action, declaring, *That the King carry'd much the sharper Weapon of the two,* and advis'd him to lay down the Cross. The Arch-Bishop made Answer, *That tho' the King's Weapon might kill the Body, yet his own could destroy the Soul, and send it to Hell.* The King in a great Rage commanded his Peers to sit in Judgment upon him, as a perjur'd Traitor; and accordingly they order'd him to be apprehended, and thrown into Prison. The Earls of *Cornwall* and *Leicester*, citing him to hear his Sentence pronounc'd, he immediately appeal'd to the See of *Rome*, declaring them *Incompetent Judges*: Whereupon all reviling him with the Name of Traitor, he reply'd, *That were it not for his Function, he would enter a Combat with them in the Field, and acquit himself both of Treason and Perjury*; and upon that fled from the Court, and disguising himself under the Name of *Dereman*, pass'd over into *Flanders*.

He is declar'd a Traitor.

He leaves the Nation.

Hoveden. Gervase.

The King on the other Side, to leave nothing unfinish'd, immediately dispatch'd *Gilbert* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Earl of *Arundell* to the French King, urging him *Not to harbour one who had fled as a Traitor*, but prevail'd not: For he on the contrary begg'd of the Pope, *That as he lov'd the Roman Church, and the Happiness of France, he would favour and support the Cause of Thomas against King Henry.* To this the Pope readily comply'd, upon which the King sent an Ambassy to him of many great Persons, as the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, and *Chichester*, *John* of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Arundell*, and others, whose sole Employment being by any Means to procure Disgrace to *Becket*, their final Suit was, *That his Holiness would be pleas'd to send two Cardinals into England, fully to end the Controversie*: But the Pope deny'd it, holding it derogatory to his own absolute Authority, declaring like God's Vice-gerent, *It was his own Glory, which he would not give to another; but when the Arch-Bishop was to be judged, he would judge him himself.* But the great Reason, as *Hoveden* observes, was that he knew the King of *England* was rich and powerful, and that Legates might easily be corrupted, as being greater Lovers of Gold and Silver, than Justice and Equity. To which *Gervase* adds, *That the Pope and Cardinals wisely foresaw, That if the Arch-Bishop was supported in his Cause it would be a President for others in the like Case to oppose Kings*; but if it sunk, no Bishop for the future would dare to withstand their Sovereign's Pleasure, so that the Power of the Church would be shaken, and the Authority of the Pope crush'd.

The French King and the Pope stand his Friends.

A. D. 1165. The King being thus disappointed, and impatient of a Repulse, where his own Subject was a Party, thought the Indignity offer'd by the Pope insufferable, and to let him understand how he resented it, he directed his Writs to all the Sheriffs of *England*, commanding them *to attach all such as offer'd to appeal to the Roman Court; together with the Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Nephews and Neices of all such of the Clergy as were with the Arch-Bishop, and to put them under Sureties; as also to seize the Revenues, Goods and Chattels of the said Clergy-Men.* Again by other Letters to *Gilbert Bishop of London* he sequester'd all the Livings and Benefices, which within his Province belong'd to any of the Clergy who fled over to the Arch-Bishop; so that without his Leave, they might receive no Part of the Profits. Lastly he gave strict Orders to all his Justices, That if they found any Person with Letters or Mandates from the Pope or Arch-Bishop, containing any Interdict or Excommunication against the Nation, speedy Justice should be executed upon him, as a Traitor to the Kingdom. He also caus'd the Church of *Canterbury* and all the Arch-Bishop's Goods to be confiscated, grounding himself, as it is believ'd, upon the Judgment given against *Becket* at *Northampton*, notwithstanding that Sentence had been expressly null'd by the Pope's Bull. Nor was this all, for he banish'd all the Kindred of the Arch-Bishop, Men, Women, Children and Infants; and forbad that he should be any longer publickly mention'd, and pray'd for in the Church as Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

The King proceeds against them,
and uses many Severities.

A. D. 1166. On the contrary Side, the Arch-Bishop, now in *France*, solemnly excommunicated all such as obey'd, promoted or defended the Regal Laws of *Clarendon*, and *Richard de Lucie, Richard of Poitou, Jocelin de Bailleol, Alan de Nevil*, and some others by Name; but being neither cited nor convicted, they appeal'd to the Pope. The King having notice, that *Becket*, after his publick Sermon on a great Festival, had threaten'd the like Sentence against his Royal Person, either to terrifie his Adversaries, or to revenge himself, got a powerful Army in Readiness, under a Pretence of subduing *Wales*. In the mean Time, *John* of *Oxford*, the King's great Advocate, so far prevail'd with the Pope as to send two *Legates a latere* to reconcile the King and the Arch-Bishop; but after their Departure, the Pope fearing the Power and Riches of King *Henry*, sent Letters after them to put new Limits to their Authority. Upon the Appearance of these two Cardinals, *Thomas* refus'd to put his Cause to them, unless there was first plenary Restitution made to him and his Friends: But being advis'd by them to submit himself to the King, his Answer was, he would, *Saving God's Honour, and the Churches Liberty; Saving his own Honour, and the Churches Possessions; and saving his own and his Friends Rights.* Being afterwards demanded by them, *Whether, for the Peace of God's Church, he would renounce the Archbishoprick, if the King would renounce his Ordinances;* he answer'd, *That the Proposal was unequal; since he could not renounce his Archbishoprick, without betraying the Honour of his Church; but the King was oblig'd both in Honour and Conscience to renounce those Ordinances.* King *Henry* being inrag'd at so many Salvos, resolv'd to create new Troubles to the Arch-Bishop, who having been near two Years well maintain'd in the Abby of *Pontigny*, the King threaten'd that Abbot, *That if he any longer shelter'd Becket, he would immediately banish all the Monks of his Order out of England.* Upon which he was dismiss'd from the Monastery, and the *French* King took him to *Sens* with himself, under whose particular Protection he continu'd for about four Years; and prov'd a great Instigator of that King and the Earl of *Flanders* against the King of *England*. In which Year the King's youngest Son *John* was born, whom in Raillery his Father call'd *Sans-Terre*, as having no Lands settled upon him; tho' he afterwards obtain'd the Crown of *England*.

Becket remains under the French King's Protection.
King John born.

A. D. 1167. In the following Year the King's Mother, the Empress *Matilda*, dy'd at *Ro-*
Reg. 14. *ven*, in the 66th Year of her Age; and her Son distributed her great Treasure to Churches, Monasteries, Lepers and other poor People, for the good of her Soul

Soul. Still the Pope forgot not his faithful Servant *Becket*, but honour'd him with a Confirmation of all the Privileges and Powers, that any of his Predecessors ever enjoy'd, in Defiance, as it were, of the King's utmost Indignation. On the other Side the King sent Letters into *Germany*, declaring his Intentions to renounce the present Pope *Alexander*, and join with the Emperor and the Anti-Pope, which still made the Breach wider and more dangerous. In the mean Time *Gilbert* Bishop of *London*, being commanded by the Pope to admonish the King to lay aside all Customs and Ordinances prejudicial to the Church, and to restore the Arch-Bishop, he obey'd him, and in his Answer he endeavour'd to persuade his Holiness to Moderation and a Connivance, not forgetting to justify his Sovereign, particularly, 'That the King was ready to obey the sacred Decrees of the Church, saving his own and his Kingdom's Dignity: 'That as to Appeals, he claim'd that Honour by the ancient Institution of his Kingdom, namely, That no Clerk should for a civil Action leave the same, 'till Justice could not be found in his Courts at home, and then he would hinder no Man. That he never banish'd the Arch-Bishop, who might return at his Pleasure, provided he observ'd those ancient Customs, to which he bound himself by Oath. That the King thinks himself fully justify'd, in being willing to abide by the concurrent Judgment of the Church in his own Kingdom. Yet after great Heats and Factions, and several Acts of Hostility between the Kings of *England* and *France*, a Peace being concluded, *Thomas* presented himself before the two Kings, where he was urg'd in the Presence of both to submit himself to King *Henry* without any further Reservations; to which he seem'd ready to comply, only with this Restriction, *Saving the Honour due to God*. With which the King being exasperated, declar'd to the French King, *That such were the subtle Evasions of the Man, that whatsoever displeas'd him, he was wont to say was against the Honour of God*: Adding further, *That as there had been several Kings of England of less Power than My self, and several Arch-Bishops of Canterbury, Great and Holy Men; let him do what the greatest and most holy of his Predecessors did to the least of mine, and I will acquiesce*. Upon which all agreed that the King had sufficiently yielded; and King *Lewis* offended at *Becket*, ask'd him *Whether he thought himself greater, or holier than St. Peter?* And the Peers of both Nations accus'd him of great Arrogance, declaring, *That he himself was the wilful Obstacle of his own, and the Holy Church's Tranquility*.

The Bishop of London writes to the Pope.

A. D.

1168.

Reg. $\frac{14}{15}$.

Becket appears before the Kings of France and England:

But in vain.

When neither Mediations, Letters, Messages, or other Means would end the Controversie, the Pope signify'd to the King, *That he would no longer restrain the Arch-Bishop from revenging his own and the Church's Injuries by the Sword of Censure*; upon which the Arch-Bishop excommunicated the Bishop of *London*, and proceeded so far with others, that there were scarce enough left in the King's own Chappel and Presence, to perform the usual Service. The King highly offended at these Proceedings, encourag'd Bishop *Gilbert* with most friendly Offers, to bear the Charges of prosecuting his Appeal against *Becket*; and likewise urg'd the Pope to send Legates to absolve his excommunicated Subjects, and settle a Peace, or else he should be compell'd to provide otherwise for his own Security and Honour. Thereupon two Cardinals were sent to the King in *France*, in order to an Accommodation, but to little or no Effect. After that, by the Pope's Mediation, the two Kings of *England* and *France* met at *Paris*, whither the Arch-Bishop repair'd, and yet no Peace ensu'd; because the King refus'd *Becket* the Ceremony of the Kiss of Peace, and would not satisfy any Thing under the Name of *Restitution*, as being against his Honour, since all Restitution imply'd an Injury committed. Yet as to the Matter of the Regal Customs, he freely offer'd to stand to the Judgment, not only of his own Divines, but also of those of the Church of *France*; which being refus'd by the other, the King came off with much Advantage in the Opinion of the Auditors. And now seeing no Issue

A. D.

1169.

Reg. $\frac{15}{16}$.

The Pope proceeds to Censure.

Grasse, M. Paris.

The King pro-
vides against
them.

of his tedious Disturbances, and understanding that the Arch-Bishop of Sens in Person had solicited the Pope to put the Kingdom of *England* under a general Interdict, he immediately sent out his Edicts from *Normandy* into *England*, declaring, *That whoever brought any Letters of Interdict from the Pope or Becket, should immediately suffer as a Traitor to his King and Country. That no Clerk should go out of the Land without a Passport from his Justiciaries, and none return again without a Licence from the King himself. That none receive any Message from the Pope, or Becket, nor make any Appeal to them, or hold any Plea by their Mandates. That if any Prelate, Clerk or Lay-Man obey a Sentence of Interdict, he and all his Relations shall be banish'd, and his Goods forfeited to the Crown. That all Clerks having Rents in England, shall return home within three Months, or lose all their Revenues. That Peter-Pence be not paid to Rome, but reserv'd.* Thus, as *Gervase* laments, all from the Eldest to the Youngest, were forc'd to abjure Obedience to Pope *Alexander*, and Arch-Bishop *Becket*.

A. D.

1170.

Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.

He makes a
grand Inquisi-
tion in the Nation

He crowns his
Son Henry.

After four Years Continuance in *France*, the King took Shipping for *En-^{General}land*, in which he narrowly escap'd a violent Storm, that destroy'd several ^{Hien} of his best Vessels, in one of which his chief Physician, and about four hun- ^{Part} dred Persons were drowned. Shortly after *Easter* he held his Court at *Wind-*
for, where *William* King of the *Scots*, and *David* his Brother, and all the Bishops and great Men of the Nation were present; when the King also appointed certain Earls, Abbots, Knights and Clerks to go as Commissioners throughout the Kingdom, to inquire into all sorts of Frauds, Extortions, Mis-carriages and other Failures of Sheriffs their Bailiffs, and other of the King's Officers. Which Inquisition being finish'd, all Parties concern'd in it were commanded to appear before the King at *London* on the fourteenth Day of *June*, where at the same Time he held a grand Council of all the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Bailiffs and Aldermen of *England*, who appear'd with their Sureties in no little Fear, not imagining the King's Designs. But when all were present, the King proceeded to an Act unknown to *England*, and to the Surprise of all Men, commanded his Son *Henry* to be anointed and crowned King, by the Consent of the whole Assembly. The Ceremony was perform'd by the Arch-Bishop of *York*, assisted by the Bishops of *London* and *Durham*; and the next Day he receiv'd the Fealties of the King of the *Scots* and his Brother, and of all the other Earls and Barons of the Kingdom. This Transaction was a Contempt of the Authority of Arch-Bishop *Becket*, and likewise a Strengthening of the Regal Customs; but most of all it was the greatest Security to the Succession of the King's Issue, who was sensible that for want of this, the Nation could not be kept in their Duty to his Mother *Matilda*. Yet this new King *Henry* was far from being sensible of his Father's great Kindness and Trust; tho' he in Honour to his Son, at the Coronation-Feast vouchsaf'd to carry up the first Dish, congratulating him *for having a greater Servitor than any Prince in the World*. For when the Arch-Bishop of *York* gravely told him, *How much he was oblig'd to his Father for so signal a Favour*; he haughtily reply'd, *That it was no great Condescension in his Father, who was only the Son of an Earl, to perform that Service to Him, who was the Son of a King*.

The King of *France* was highly disoblig'd because his Daughter *Margaret* was not crown'd with the young King her Husband; but that Matter was soon accommodated by the King's Passage into *Normandy* shortly after. Where, being weary'd out by the Pope's repeated Threatnings, which might have proved fatal to him, he resolv'd to be reconcil'd to Arch-Bishop *Becket*, who now had been punish'd with above six Years Exile. To that End he repair'd to *Amboise* near *Tours*, where he was met by most of the Bishops and Noblemen of *France*; and on the second Day, by the Mediation of King *Lewis*, and the Admonitions of Pope *Alexander*, the King receiv'd the Arch-Bishop into his

Grace

Grace and Favour, as well as all those who were with him in Exile; promising entirely to restore to him all the Rights and Possessions of the Church of *Canterbury*, as he held them the Year before he left *England*. Which Conclusion the King signify'd to his Son in *England*; so that the great Controversie between the King and the Arch-Bishop seem'd to have been happily ended. But in a short Time another great Mischief arose; for the Arch-Bishop being implacably inrag'd against those Bishops that had crown'd the new King, procur'd Letters from the Pope for the Suspension of the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and Bishop of *Durham*; and for the Excommunication of the Bishops of *London*, *Exeter* and *Salisbury*, who assisted in the Coronation; and at his first Arrival he publish'd these Letters, to the great Disturbance of the Nation; nor would he, at the young King's Request, absolve them but upon very hard Conditions.

The King and Becket reconcil'd.

Becket raises new Disturbances.

Immediately upon this Publication, the suspended and excommunicated Bishops went over into *Normandy* to the King, and throwing themselves at his Feet, complain'd, *That he had made an unhappy Peace for them, since they and his most faithful Friends were thus unreasonably treated*: To which the Arch-Bishop of *York* added, *That as long as Thomas Becket was alive, it was impossible he should enjoy happy Days, or a peaceable Kingdom*. At which Words, the King, transported with Rage and Passion, inconsiderately cry'd out, *I am a miserable Man, who have fed so many ungrateful cowardly Servants, none of whom durst vindicate me from the Injuries I suffer at the Hands of one Priest*. Upon which unhappy Expression, four of the King's Domestick Servants, remarkable for their Birth and Valour, *Raynold Fitz-Urse, William Tracy, Richard Brito* and *Hugh Morville*, bound themselves by a solemn Oath to revenge the King's Quarrel, and destroy the Arch-Bishop. To that End they privately withdrew from the Court; and finding an easie Passage into *England*, they soon arriv'd at *Canterbury*. And coming into the Presence of the Arch-Bishop, who had lately shown himself with the utmost Pomp and Grandeur, they upbraided him with Obstinacy and Arrogancy, and finding him immovably resolute as to his former Actions and Opinions, without the Warrant and Privacy of their Master, they proceeded first to threaten Force, and then to commit it; and that after an execrable Manner. Having put on Armor, to make themselves more formidable, they enter'd the Arch-Bishop's own Church, whither he had withdrawn himself to the High-Altar, while the Monks were at Divine Service; and there calling him Traitor and other opprobrious Names, they gave him many Wounds, and at length beat out his Brains, so that the Altar it self was shamefully polluted with Blood and Gore. His passionate Behaviour in these last Moments; his courageous Meeting of Death; his devout committing the Cause of the Church and his own Soul to God and the Saints; the Place, the Time, the Manner, and all Things aggravate the Horror of the Fact, and cause Compassion and Opinion to be on his Side. The Assassins having effected this audacious Design, afterwards considering the Hainousness of their Crime, and doubting whether the King, tho' secretly pleas'd, would openly countenance so odious an Act, retired to the North of *England*; and being driven from thence, in a few Years dy'd miserable Fugitives in Foreign Countries.

The King is inrag'd.

A. D.
1171.
Reg. 17.
18.

Becket murder'd.

This was the fatal Period of the famous *Thomas Becket*; a Person of a capacious Genius and singular Abilities, and of strict Morals and great Austerities; yet unhappily allay'd with exceeding Haughtiness, Ostentation and Popularity, which caus'd great Mischiefs to the Nation. And tho' several have exalted him among the greatest Saints and Martyrs, yet others have doubted whether he deserv'd the Name of a good Man; and about fifty Years after a celebrated Question was debated among the learned Doctors of the University of *Paris*, Whether *Thomas* was sav'd or damn'd; the one Party declaring *That* he

His Character.

he deserv'd Death and Damnation for his Contumacy against the Minister of God his Sovereign, and the other asserting, That his many Miracles were a Sign of his Salvation; which was fairly alledg'd, had the Truth of them been as well prov'd, as reported. And indeed the Fame of them was exceeding great; which occasion'd for him one of the richest and noblest Shrines in the World. He was not only canoniz'd, but also several Solemnities were ever after observ'd in his Memory, and a famous Jubilee kept every fifty Years at *Canterbury*. It is almost incredible what Multitudes of People flock'd to that City, upon the Time of the Solemnity; particularly in the Year 1420, Mr. *Somner* informs us that there were by Estimation a hundred thousand Persons, as *English, Irish, Welsh, Scots, French, Normans*, and other Foreigners, who came thither to procure the Health or Salvation of their Souls; for whom the *Bailiffs* of the City commanded the Citizens, Victuallers and Inn-keepers, to provide sufficient Lodgings, and all other Conveniencies.

III. King *Henry* was now freed from the greatest Disturber of his Repose, yet the News of this barbarous Murther, with all its heightning Circumstances, gave him fresh Disquiets, and new Troubles. For the King of *France*, the Earl of *Blois*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Sens* sent such inflaming Letters to the Pope concerning this Parricide, that *Henry* found it extraordinary difficult to preserve his Kingdom from a general Interdict, tho' he made use of his Power, Mony, and Protections to submit to the Judgement of such Legates and Cardinals as his Holiness should send to inquire into the Fact. To divert himself in these melancholy Perplexities, the King resolv'd to display his Sovereignty, and more vigorously carry on that great Design of subduing the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which in part had been begun a Year or two before, and had been protected, and sanctify'd by the *English* Pope *Adrian* in the Beginning of this Reign. It is very observable at this Time, that not only the Manners of that Nation were extreamly corrupted, but the *Christian* Faith it self was decay'd; Barbarism over-running the one, and more than Superstition the other: So that there were then all the usual Forerunners of great Revolutions and Conquests. King *Henry's* Pretensions to this Kingdom were an ancient Title, as well as the continu'd Injuries the *Irish* had committed by their Piracies, buying and selling *English* Captives, and using them like the worst of Slaves: Which made the *Irish* Clergy confess, *That it was nothing but their Deserts, that their Land should be transferr'd to that Nation which they had so cruelly treated.* But the particular Occasion of that Kingdom's Invasion proceeded from those constant Effects of Looseness and Immorality, Factions and Divisions among themselves; which in no long Time ruin'd them, and brought them under the Subjection of other Masters.

The King's Designs upon Ireland.

Ireland, besides inferior Governors, was now under the Subjection of five Rulers, which our ancient Historians often call by the Name of Kings; one of whom was *Dermot* Prince of *Leinster*, who from his Youth, and first Accession to his Kingdom, had been a Tyrant and great Oppressor of his Subjects. To add to his Crimes, he took occasion to corrupt and steal away the Wife of *Orocic* Prince of *Meath*; who being justly provok'd with this Indignity, gather'd what Forces he could procure, and gain'd the Assistance of *Roderick* Prince of *Connaught*, then chief Monarch of *Ireland*; by whose Power, and the Conjunction of many of his injur'd Subjects, after several Conflicts, he was dispossest'd, and driven from his Dominions. Upon which, *Dermot* fled to King *Henry*, then in *Aquitain*, imploring his Protection and Assistance, and swearing to be his Vassal and Subject. The King, glad to find his former Designs thus promoted, entertain'd him very kindly; and tho' he could not as then furnish him, being engag'd in other great Affairs, yet he permitted such of his Subjects as pleas'd to venture their Fortunes with him. With this Permission *Dermot* repair'd to *Wales*, where he first prevail'd with *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, a

King Henry's Assistance desired.

Man

Man of great Interest tho' of deperate Fortunes; and soon after with *Richard Strongbow*, Earl of *Pembroke*, a Lord of great Courage and Worth, which produc'd him many Followers, and of large Possessions in *England* and *Normandy*, which gave him Means to entertain them. *Fitz-Stephen* was perswaded by the Promise of great Rewards, and the Earl by the Hopes of *Eva* the Daughter of *Dermot*, and the Succession of the Kingdom of *Leinster*.

Cambrenf.

Dermot having thus succeeded in his Affairs, while his Friends in *England* prepar'd themselves and their Forces, he sail'd into his own Country, carrying with him the Promises of Confederates, and using all Methods to facilitate the Entrance of the *English*, by extolling their Civility and Piety, their Valour and Riches, and all other Qualifications that might move either their Love or their Fear. Not long after *Fitz-Stephen* with his Half Brother *Fitz-Gerard*, pass'd the Sea with a small Number of Soldiers, and landed at a Place near *Waterford* call'd by the *Irish* *Bagg and Bunn*, which signifies *Holy*, and therefore was interpreted as a happy Presage of good Success, of which this Time retains the Memory, *At the Head of Bagg and Bunn, Ireland was lost and won.* The next Day *Maurice de Pendergast*, with other Soldiers and some Archers, in two Ships, arriv'd at the same Place; and joining with *Fitz-Stephen's* Forces, march'd to the City of *Wexford*, with Colours display'd, and in such a peculiar Form and Order, that tho' they were not above four hundred in Number, yet the *Irish*, unacquainted with such unusual Bravery, and overcome with Fear, soon surrender'd themselves and the City of *Wexford*; which with the neighbouring Country was given by *Dermot* to *Fitz-Stephen*, as an Earnest of greater Rewards. And here was planted the first Colony of the *English*, which, according to *Speed* and *Daniel*, has ever since continu'd, retaining a Sort of our ancient Attire, and much of our Language, proper only to that City and the neighbouring Parts, and by a distinct Denomination call'd *Wexford Speech*. The next Year new Supplies were sent out of *Wales*, and upon Intelligence of good Success, the Earl of *Pembroke* sail'd to the Bay of *Waterford*, and landing with twelve hundred Men, soon took the Town, which was then call'd *Portblarge*, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, partly to revenge their Infidelity to *Dermot*, but chiefly to give Terror to his Arms, and make Way for future Conquests. Here *Dermot* gave him his Daughter *Eva* in Marriage, with the Dowry of his Country, which, after his Wickedness had ruin'd, he liv'd not to see much longer, but dy'd miserably; leaving the Stile of *Ningal*, signifying *the Strangers Friend*, added to his Name in Memory of his unnatural abandoning his own Country. The Earl, after he had secur'd the new acquired Places, march'd with his small Body of Forces into the Bowels of the Kingdom with no Opposition; and *Roderick*, who had assum'd the Title of the great Monarch of *Ireland*, confin'd himself to the Wilds and Fastnesses of *Connaught*. So that passing through the Country at his Pleasure, he took what Pledges of Security he thought fit from the Inhabitants, and with a little Difficulty possess'd himself of the City of *Dublin*, the Metropolis of the whole Island. Thus *Wales* first gain'd us the Kingdom of *Ireland*, with a small Force, and without a general Battel; a Thing almost incredible that a Country so populous, and of that Disposition, should do so little in its own Defence, and be so languid and remiss, when their All was at stake: But this must be attributed to their great Disuse of military Discipline, their dispirited Minds, and those general Corruptions before-mention'd.

Fitz-Stephen and other English arrive in Ireland.

A Colony planted at Wexford.

Great Successes of the English.

Ibid.

But King *Henry* being advis'd of the extraordinary Success of these Adventurers, and the true State of the Country, now became jealous of them, thinking they presum'd further than their Subjection would allow, and that they thought to carry away that Glory which ought to be his; and therefore by Proclamation commanded, *That no Vessel should transport any Thing out of his Dominions into Ireland, and that all his Subjects should return from thence, and abandon their Designs, otherwise they should forfeit their Estates at home.* By which Edict the Affairs of

A. D.

1171.

Reg. 17.

The King is jealous of them.

He pass'd into
Ireland in Per-
son.

The Irish sub-
mit.

A. D.

1172.

Reg. 18.
19.

The King
makes many
Regulations in
Ireland.

The Reduction
of that King-
dom.

The King pur-
ges himself
from Becket's
Murder, and
submits to Pe-
nance

of the Adventurers were reduc'd to the lowest Ebb, but were soon brought to a better Condition, by certain Mediators sent to the King, who found him in *Glocestershire* with an Army ready to accompany him into *Ireland*; where it was agreed, 'That the King should have *Dublin*, with all the Sea-Coast Towns and 'Castles, and the rest to remain in the Conquerors, to hold of the King and 'his Successors, and so to continue under his Protection as Subjects; which Sub-
jection the King thought they design'd to have renounc'd. Shortly after *Michaelmas* the King pass'd over the Sea with a great Fleet and Army, and landed near *Waterford* upon the Eve of *St. Luke*; where a white Hart starting out of a Bush being immediately taken and presented to him, it was interpreted as a happy Prefage of certain Success. The next Day he march'd to *Waterford*, where he continu'd fifteen Days; to which Place came the Kings of *Cork*, *Limerick*, *Offery*, *Meath*, and all of any Power in *Ireland*, except *Roderick*, and voluntarily submitted themselves with all the Clergy, and took their Oaths of Fealty to him and the young King, and their Successors for ever. So these divided Princes, holding no publick Council for the common Safety, rather than join those Hands which had so often injur'd each other, fell all from themselves, and with the same Emulation they had express'd in Liberty, strove who should first receive the Yoke of Servitude from a Foreign Master.

From *Waterford* the King march'd to *Dublin*, where he receiv'd the Homage of *Roderick* the chief Monarch, and kept his *Christmases* with great Pomp and Splendor, magnificently feasting all his Kings and great Men of the Country, and settling the great Affairs of the Nation. And being mindful of his Duty to God, whilst the Island was calm and silent by the Presence of so great a Monarch, he caus'd all the Bishops and the Clergy to assemble at *Cassel*, and appointed a special Chaplain of his own, with the Arch-Deacon of *Llandaff* to be Assistants and Advisers to them in the Reformation of Church Affairs, which were as much disorder'd as the People. For tho' the *Irish* had been long since *Christians*, it was now after a wild and mix'd Fashion; and therefore according to his Promise made to the late Pope, and to do a pleasing Work to him now in the Chair, it was decreed, 'That all Church Lands should be free from the Ex-
'action of secular Men; and that thenceforward, all Divine Things should be 'order'd and us'd in every Part of *Ireland*, according to the Manner of the 'Church of *England*. For, says the Constitution, *as Ireland has by God's Mercy obtain'd a Lord and King out of England, so it is fit that they should receive from thence a better Form of Life and Manners than they had before*. After this the King planted Garrisons in all convenient Places; and made *Hugh Lacy* Justice of all *Ireland*, giving him the Keeping of *Dublin*, confirming besides by Charter to him and his Heirs the County of *Meath* to hold the same in Fee, for the Service of a hundred Knights. He made *Robert Fitz-Bernard* Governor of the Towns of *Waterford* and *Wexford*, which he took from *Fitz-Stephen*, the first Invader, with a Charge to build Castles in them; and to humble the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to level him with the rest of his Subjects, he took all his Dependants from him, which by his Bounty he made his own. Thus it was but one Winter's Work to gain a Kingdom; which tho' thus easily won, it prov'd more difficult and chargeable to keep, because the Prosecution of a full Establishment, by reason of other Diversions, was not for several Ages thoroughly accomplish'd.

On *Easter Monday* the King set sail for *England*, and from thence hasten'd into *Normandy* to meet the two Legates sent by the Pope to enquire into the Murder of the late Arch-Bishop *Becket*. Four Months were spent in debating the Matter, and at length, the King by his solemn Oath taken upon the Relicks of Saints, and the Holy Evangelists, in the Presence of all the great Men of the Country, purg'd himself, of either commanding, or consenting to the Murder; and declaring withal his infinite Sorrow for having by rash Words in his Passion given occasion for others to commit that Fact, and giving a further Oath

to perform enjoin'd Penances, he was by the Legates absolv'd. The Conditions were these: 'First, That he should never oppose the Pope's Authority, so long as he was us'd as a Catholick King: Secondly, That all Appeals should be freely made to the Pope in all Ecclesiastical Causes: Thirdly, That he should undertake the *Crusado*, and go to *Jerusalem* for three Years; and if diverted by the *Saracens* in *Spain*, maintain two hundred Soldiers for a Year in the Holy Land: Fourthly he should freely restore all that were Exiles upon the late Arch-Bishop's Account: And fifthly abolish all Customs introduc'd in his Time to the Prejudice of the Church of *Canterbury*, or of any other Church in his Kingdom. And thus ended this vexatious Controversie, by which the Pope establish'd and enlarg'd his Ecclesiastical Power to a high Degree; so that the King's long Opposition, and the Murder of the Arch-Bishop, as much added to his growing Authority, as unsuccessful Rebellions do to the Power of Temporal Princes.

IV. When King *Henry* had, as he imagin'd, surmounted all Difficulties and Troubles, an unnatural Rebellion and Conspiracy began to disclose new Mischiefs, which were ordain'd to exercise this wise and warlike Prince; being first begun in *England* during his Absence in *Ireland*, and in a short Time encreas'd to a dangerous Degree. One of the chief Fomenters of it was Queen *Eleanor* his Wife, violently inrag'd at the Injuries done to her Bed by her Husband, who was immoderately addicted to Variety of Loves; more particularly he was captivated by the Charms of the beautiful Lady *Rosamund Clifford*, whom he kept at *Woodstock*, some say in a Labyrinth, where the Queen found Means to end her Life. Besides his Queen, his own Son *Henry* was another great Actor, whose Ambition transported him beyond all Reason and Duty; so that as *M. Paris* expresses it, God stirr'd up the King's own Bowels against himself. This Conspiracy was justly formidable; for to these were added the King's two younger Sons *Richard* and *Geoffry*, whom their Mother persuaded to join with the young King, the two Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, *Matthew* Earl of *Bulloign*, *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*, *Roger Mowbray*, and other Noblemen in great Numbers: So that they seem'd to want nothing but a good Cause; however they gave the most plausible Turn to their Designs, and were pleas'd to repute the Father no King, because he had crown'd his Son.

Tho' nothing could be more afflicting than this unnatural War, yet the King proceeded with his usual Vigour and Dexterity, and found great Numbers whose Hearts were inflam'd with Indignation at so much Injustice. The Particulars of the Wars would fill a Volume: At one Time *Normandy*, *Guienne* and *Bretaigne* were invaded by the Confederates in *France*, and at the same Time *Cumberland* by the *Scots*. But the King of *England* had Friends in all those Parts, and hearing that *Vernvil* was besieg'd by the *French* King in Person, and that the Place had agreed to surrender if not reliev'd by a certain Day, he began to exert his Power, and sent a Message to King *Lewis*, *That if he did not leave Normandy immediately, he would come and visit him at the appointed Day*. Upon which, *Lewis*, who meant more to weaken him by Factions, than overpower him by Force, immediately rais'd the Siege, and abandon'd the Place with such Precipitation, that he left all his Tents and warlike Provisions behind him. And now King *Henry* beginning to shake his dreadful Sword, had many successful Encounters, mixt with some Losses, tho' not great nor many, in respect of the Overthrows given to the Enemy. In *Bretaign* his Forces worsted *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* and *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and slew above fifteen hundred upon the Spot, taking these two Persons Prisoners, with many others; and in *England*, *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwall*, and *Richard de Lucie* in a bloody Battel overthrew the insolent Earl of *Leicester*, and enter'd the Town of *Leicester* by Force,

A. D.

1173.

Reg. 19.

A great Faction
and Conspiracy
against the
King.Upon which a
great War in-
sues.

Force. Yet after these Advantages, the *French* King moving for a Parly, *Henry* the Father desirous to use the good Fortune of War only to reclaim his Rebels, was so willing to make Peace, that he seem'd to have out-gone Expectations in the Freeness of his Offers; but through the wicked Persuasions of some Persons, it prov'd ineffectual. Among these Incendiaries the Earl of *Leicester* was chief, who having match'd with a Lady no less haughty and ambitious than himself, proceeded so far as to affront the King in his Presence, in behalf of his young Master the Son, and likewise laid his Hand upon his Sword to have stricken him, but was stopp'd in that audacious Attempt. This Man with all Heat and Violence join'd with the young King the Son, not that he thought his Cause more just, but, as *Walsingham* tells us, because his Father, labouring to enlarge the Sovereign Power, sought to set his Foot upon the Necks of the Proud and Haughty.

The King's
Party gains
Ground.

But God, who thought fit to chastise the King, without delivering him into his Enemy's Hands, destroy'd those Hopes that mov'd the Sons to their unnatural Attempts; for not long after News was brought into *Normandy*, that his faithful Friends and Servants *Richard de Lucie*, and *Humphrey de Bohun* High-Constable of *England*, being assisted by the Earls of *Cornwall*, *Glocester* and *Arundell*, near *St. Edmund's Bury* bravely engag'd with the Earl of *Leicester* and his *Flemmings*, of whom above five thousand were slain, or taken; and among the Prisoners was the Earl himself and his Masculine Countess, who were shortly after sent over to the King in *Normandy*. Upon this great Victory, and other Advantages, King *Lewis*, apprehensive of Success, sought for six Months Truce and had it granted. But because two great Men in *England*, the Earl of *Norfolk* and *Roger Mowbray*, still held out, and kept *Leicester* and other Places; tho' *Geoffry*, the King's natural Son and Bishop Elect of *Lincoln*, had taken two of *Mowbray's* Castles, and done great Service for his Lord and Father, the Enemy made no better use of the Truce than to breath, and repair their Losses. In the mean Time the King recover'd *Xaintes* from his violent Son *Richard*, and proceeded with that Expedition, that the *French* King said *He seem'd not to go, but to fly*. Yet before he could finish all in those Parts, the News from *England* oblig'd him to hasten into *Normandy*; where he met with *Richard* the Elect of *Winchester*, sent over by his Justiciaries of *England*, to lay before him the present dangerous State of the Nation. For *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* having sworn to invade *England*, in favour of young *Henry*, several Forces joining with the Earl of *Norfolk*, had taken and plunder'd the City of *Norwich*, and done other Damage, which gave great Incouragement to the young King and his Faction, and he and the Earl of *Flanders* were ready to come over with fresh Forces into *England*. Moreover, *Robert* Earl of *Ferrars* had suddenly enter'd *Nottingham*, burnt the Town, drove out the King's Garrison, and slew the Inhabitants; and being enrich'd with the Plunder, he retir'd to *Leicester*, to which Place *Anketill Maioire* had also brought two hundred Prisoners, taken at *Northampton*, which he had suddenly surpriz'd and taken with the Slaughter of a considerable Number of the Townsmen. So that the whole Kingdom stood wavering and in extrem Peril; to add to which, *William* King of *Scotland*, a Principal in the Confederacy, invaded *England*, dividing his Forces into two Parts, himself wasting the Province of *Northumberland*, and *Duncan* a cruel Commander, destroying the Western Borders.

Yet still the
King's Affairs
are in an ill
Condition.

A. D. King *Henry* highly exasperated at these Transactions, left *Normandy* in as good a Condition as the Time would permit; and sending his own Queen *Eleanor*, and his Son's Queen *Margaret*, his Son *John*, the Earl of *Leicester* with his Countess, and many other Prisoners, and a powerful Army on board, he took shipping at *Barfleur*; where being detain'd by the Wind, he is said to have publicly pray'd, *That if this Voyage was for the Peace of the Clergy and People of England, he might have a prosperous Wind, but if otherwise, he desir'd never*

1174.
Reg. 10.
11.

11.
11.
11.

never to set a Foot upon that Shore again. Which Prayer was succeeded by a fresh Gale of Wind, which in the same Day carry'd him safe to *Southampton*. From whence he took his Journey towards *Canterbury*, where the Remainder of his Penance enjoin'd him at his Absolution was to be perform'd. For besides the Conditions formerly mention'd, the Author of *Becket's Life* says, the Legates enjoin'd him some other Things secretly, which came not to our Knowledge; and the Legates in their own Letters write that he promis'd to do some Things voluntarily which were not fit for them to commit to Writing. And what they were *Hoveden* has told us: The King coming towards the Church where the late Arch-Bishop was bury'd, cloath'd all in Woollen, went three Miles bare-footed, infomuch that the very Ground where he walk'd was distain'd with the Quantity of Blood running from his tender Feet cut by the hard Stones. Nor was this the worst, for after this, coming to the Sepulchre, and there prostrating himself, he receiv'd Discipline by Rods on his bare Flesh, at the Hands of the Bishops, Priests, Abbots and Monks there present; so that we may easily believe *Baronius* and his Author, who acknowledge that he receiv'd eighty Lashes. So he who in his Life-Time could only make him bow, after his Death brought him upon his Knees; and tho' he had then prosecuted him as a Traitor, he now ador'd him as a Saint and Martyr.

The King finishes his Penance for Becket's Murther.

M. Paris, Walsingham, &c.

Some of the Monks of that Age attribute the happy Success which ensu'd, to the Reconciliation which King *Henry* thus made with God, for the Blood of his Servant *Thomas*; for it pleas'd Him to deliver his Enemy *William* King of the *Scots* into his Hand, about the very same Time, and also to drive back his disobedient Son, the young King, into *France*; who being under Sail for *England*, his whole Fleet was dispers'd, and a great Part of it lost by a Storm. The King's other Actions till his next Return into *Normandy*, which was not long after, are by *Walsingham* comprehended in these few Words; he tam'd his Rebels, put his Enemies to Flight, and seiz'd on their Forts. And thus having in a manner miraculously quieted the Nation, he took with him the King of *Scotland*, the Earls of *Leicester* and *Chester*, with his other chief Prisoners, but leaving his seditious Wife behind him under strict Custody, he arriv'd with his Forces at *Normandy*. This being understood in the *French* and Confederate Army, which had besieg'd *Roven*, King *Lewis* immediately broke up, and setting fire to all his Engines of War retreated in such Haste into *France*, that the *English* Soldiers took great Quantities of Baggage and Ammunition. *Hoveden* assures us, that as soon as *Lewis* heard the victorious *Henry* was near *Roven*, he first sent away the weak and worst of his Army, and then deceiving the *English* with a solemn Promise of returning the next Day, to negotiate a Peace with the King, departed with all the rest; so that this Author aggravated the Dishonour of the Retreat, with an open Breach of Faith.

His great Successes after it.

Ibid.

And here if we look upon the Grandeur and Felicity of this King, it will appear, That no Prince in those Times was so oblig'd to Heav'n for the numerous Favours bestow'd upon him. The King and all the Power of *France* were now flying at his Presence, without one Blow given; the valiant King of *Scotland* was his Prisoner, and the chiefest of his Rebels under his Feet; *England* was secured, *Scotland* dismay'd, *Ireland* retain'd, *Wales* subservient to his Arms, *Normandy* in Possession, and all the coasting Regions of *Bretagne*, *Guienne*, *Gascony* and others as far as the Borders of *Spain*, under his Dominions; and the Blessing of Peace shortly after ensuing upon his own Terms, made him like another *Solomon* to be sought to by others. His Wisdom and Magnificence being in such high Credit through the Christian World, that afterwards the Kings of *Castile* and *Navarre* chose him sole Arbitrator in a Contest between them, which he wisely determin'd to both their Satisfaction; and then at one Time in his Palace at *Westminster* were seen together the Ambassadors of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, the Emperor of *Germany*, the Arch-

His Grandeur.

Arch-Bishop of *Triers*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Earl of *Flanders*, all in great Pomp and Splendor. Moreover he had the Government of *France* for a Time, the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* offer'd to him but refus'd, and two of his Daughters marry'd to the two Kings of *Castile* and *Sicily*.

A Peace concluded.

But to return, a Truce was first made between the three Kings, *Lewis* and the two *Henry's*; in which *Richard*, who stood out, was left to his Father's Prosecution, who after some Shows of Resistances, and great Conflicts with himself, threw himself upon his Father's Mercy and Affection, and obtain'd full Pardon and Favour. A most fatherly and fortunate Act; for *Richard*, melted with this unexpected Goodness, never desist'd 'till he had brought the young King to a final Atonement; and Arms being laid aside, the chief Heads of the desired Peace were these: 'That *Henry* the young King, with *Richard* and ' *Geoffry* his Brothers, freed from all Oaths of Confederation, should return to ' a full Obedience of the King their Father. That the Prisoners on all sides should ' be set at Liberty without Ransom; except the King of *Scotland*, the Earls of ' *Leicester* and *Chester*, and such others as had compounded for their Ransoms ' before the Beginning of this Treaty. That King *Henry* the Father should take ' Security of Loyalty, either by Hostage or Oath of such as were enlarg'd; and ' that King *Henry* the Son should ratifie that Grant which his Father had made ' to his Son *John*, of some Castles and annual Revenues in *England*. As to the King of *Scotland's* Ransom our Historians differ, but *Hector Boetius*, a Writer of that Nation, says it was an hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, one Moiety in ready Coin, and the other at an appointed Time. Besides which he was oblig'd to do Homage for all his Dominions, to the King of *England*. And for the Performance of all Articles, King *Henry* had a double Security; on the one Side the *Scotch* Bishops swore to put their King and his Land under an *Interdict*, if he broke them; and on the other the King of *Scotland* deliver'd up the Castles of *Edenborough*, *Rokesburgh*, *Berwick*, *Gedworth* and *Sterling*. In the mean Time King *Henry* freed nine hundred sixty nine Prisoners of War, and his Son above an hundred; and having happily establish'd all Things, they prepar'd for *England*, where the joyful Letters concerning their Return had produc'd a longing Expectation in the Subjects. In their Journey homewards, their Confidence was such upon this new Reconciliation, that one Room and one Table serv'd both, for whom before a whole Kingdom was not large enough. They landed at *Portsmouth* upon *Friday* the twenty sixth Day of *May*, 1175.

A. D.

1175.

Reg. 21.

The King makes many Regulations.

V. At this present Time the State and Face of *England* was like that of a serene Sky, and a calm Sea, no Blasts, no raging Waves, no appearing Sign of Discontent; the better to continue which, King *Henry* the Father, accompany'd with the King his Son, omitted no Office of a just and prudent Governor, visiting a great Part of his Kingdom in Person, consulting, ordering and enacting such Laws and Courses, as might best establish a lasting Peace. Upon which Account, at *Westminster*, both the Kings were present at a Synod, in which *Richard*, lately chosen Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, publish'd several Canons and Decrees for the better Government of the Church of *England*. Among which, this laudable Order was especially enacted both by the Authority of the King and Synod, ' That every Patron of a Benefice taking a Reward for ' any Presentation, should for ever lose the Right of Patronage. And the same Kings not long after being at *Woodstock*, in Accomplishment of such Holy Purposes, by the Advice of the Clergy provided Men to such Bishopricks, Abbies and principal Cures as were vacant; where King *Henry* the Father forgot not his faithful Friend *John* of *Oxford*, whom he prefer'd to the See of *Norwich*. From hence coming to *York*, he establish'd the Affairs of the North, and meeting with *William* King of *Scotland*, several Matters of Importance were treated between the two Kings: As likewise afterwards at *Windsor*, where the King had call'd a grand Council or Parliament; where, at the Suit of the Arch

Arch-Bishop of *Tuam* and other Ambassadors from *Ireland*, the chief Monarch *Roderick*, King of *Connaught* was receiv'd into Protection and Favour, and became a faithful Tributary. This King *Henry* chose, rather than to fish with a Hook of Gold; for so a War against *Ireland* was accounted.

In the following Year, the King held another Parliament at *Northampton*, where by the Advice of all, he divided the Kingdom into six Parts or Circuits, and for every Circuit constituted three Itinerant Justices, either Barons or Knights, causing them to swear upon the Holy Evangelists, to oblige all the King's Subjects inviolably to observe the Assizes or Ordinances of *Clarendon*, and renew'd at *Northampton*; which were principally against Murther, Theft, Robbery, Burnings of Houses, and Cheats; which Facts if found by the Verdict of twelve Men, the Accused were to pass the Trial of Water Ordeal, and if not acquitted, they were punish'd with Loss of Limbs or Banishment, that Age holding the miserable Life of a Malefactor of a greater Example than Death it self. These six Circuits were almost the same as they are at this Day, only *Essex* then belong'd to that of *Norfolk*, which Circuit also consisted of more Counties than at present, having the Addition of *Hampshire*, *Barkshire* and *Oxfordshire*, which are now join'd with *Herefordshire*, and the rest of the Western Counties. Yet about two or three Years after, for another Design, the King divided the whole Nation into four Circuits, assigning five Justices to each; not long after which, he appointed the famous *Glanville* to be chief Justiciary of *England*, by whose Wisdom and Advice the Laws of King *Edward*, which had been before confirm'd by King *William* the First, were again renew'd. As this King took Care for the Security of his Subjects, so he took Care of his own, by causing the Walls and Castles of *Leicester* to be demolish'd, as likewise the Castles of *Groby*, *Thresk*, *Malest*, and the new Castle at *Alverton*, with those of *Framingham* and *Bungey* in *Suffolk*, and indeed almost all the Castles of *England* and *Normandy*, that had been fortify'd against him in the late War.

A. D.

1176.

Reg. ²²/₂₃.

He divides the Nation into six Circuits.

Not long after, King *Henry* in a grand Council made his youngest Son *John* King of *Ireland*, by Virtue of the Bull formerly granted him by Pope *Adrian*; by which Title no more was meant than Vice-Roy, or Feudatory King at the most, since King *Henry* himself was never otherwise stil'd than *Lord* of *Ireland*. In the same Year, the King enlarg'd his Dominions by a Purchase of the Province and Earldom of *Marche* in *France*; for which he gave fifteen thousand Pounds of *Anjou* Money, twenty Mules, and as many Palfreys. For four or five Years after, we find not many Transactions of Moment, besides some few Regulations concerning the Coin, and some other Ordinances. Only in the Year 1179 the Fame of *Thomas Becket* became so celebrated abroad, that when the *French* King's Son fell dangerously sick upon the Day of his design'd Coronation, his Father resolv'd to come over into *England* on Pilgrimage to the Tomb of this new Saint, to implore his Assistance for the Recovery of his Health; or, as our Writers relate, was commanded by *St. Thomas* in a Dream so to do. However it was, it is certain that he came into *England*, attended by the Earl of *Flanders*, and divers other Princes and Noblemen; and was met by King *Henry* at *Dover*, and conducted to *Canterbury*, where he spent two Days in Prayers at *Becket's* Tomb, and offer'd a weighty Golden Cup, bestowing also upon the Monks of that Church an annual Portion of an hundred Measures of Wine, to be deliver'd without Charge or Duty, and granting that whatever those Monks should buy for their own Use in his Kingdom, it should be free from all Tolls and Customs. Upon his Return home he found his Son perfectly recover'd, by the Mediation of *St. Thomas*, as he and many others believ'd.

A. D.

1177.

Reg. ²³/₂₄.

The King of France comes in Pilgrimage to Becket's Tomb.

At length, after a considerable Calm, the young King discover'd fresh Aliens in his Mind against his Father; who dissembling all, notwithstanding arm'd himself upon the Defensive, and encreas'd his Garrisons both in *England* and

A. D.

1182.

Reg. ²⁸/₂₉.

New Contentions between the King and his Sons.

A. D.
1083.
Reg. ²⁹/₃₀.
Young King Henry dies.

and *Normandy*, which the sooner reduc'd the Son within Bounds. But the old King, fearing an Union among his four warlike Sons might prove no better than a Conspiracy against himself, is said to have daily promoted Contention between them. However to divert the War from himself, he satisfy'd his Royal Son *Henry* with an Augmentation of a Maintenance of an hundred Pounds *Anjouen per Diem* for himself, and ten for his Wife the Queen. And whereas *Alice*, the *French* King's Daughter, who had been espous'd at three Years of Age to his second Son *Richard*, and was now demanded from King *Henry* that *Richard* might enjoy her, the old King, who was justly suspected to have deflower'd her, at that Time shifted off the Delivery of her Person, in such a manner that a Peace was intirely hinder'd by it. But while the young King by his Father's Instigation endeavour'd to force his Brother *Richard* to do Homage to him for *Aquitain*, and the Father for the same Cause commanded his third Son *Geoffry* to be assisting to his eldest Brother; while also the jealous Father out of his Sons Contentions fought his own Safety, and in nourishing it had by the Treachery of the Sons been twice endanger'd, and at both Times miraculously preserv'd; and while the young King by profound Disimulations plotted to reduce both his Father and Brother *Richard* to Subjection, at length the Hand of God, by taking away the young King at *Martell*, put an end to this infamous and intricate Contention. Tho' the Life of this Prince had been rebellious, yet his Death was not inglorious: For finding himself past Recovery, he desir'd to see his Father, to obtain his Pardon, which his Father freely sent, with a Ring as a Token of it, not thinking it safe to come in Person. Upon which he call'd the Bishops, and other religious Men present, and first in private, and then in publick confess'd his heinous Sin in rebelling against so indulgent a Father; and after Absolution, putting on Sackcloth, and a Rope about his Neck, he begg'd of the Bishops to pull him out of the Bed on to a Couch made of Asbes, where being laid, and receiving the Eucharist, he expired, to the exceeding Grief of his Father, who mourn'd for him like *David* for his rebellious Son *Absolon*. He dy'd in the twenty eighth Year of his Age, after he had born the Name and Title of King about thirteen; being a Prince of excellent natural Qualifications, but first ruin'd by his Father's Indulgence, and afterwards by his Severity; not allowing him to be what he himself had made him: So that this Prince tho' he was solemnly crown'd, yet he never actually reign'd; and his Name was never inserted in the Catalogue of our *English* Kings. After his Death, his Wife Queen *Margaret* was sent back into *France*, and the present King's surviving Sons were once again reduc'd to Obedience and Reconciliation, not any Enemy daring to appear against him.

A. D.
1185.
Reg. ³¹/₃₂.
Heraclius implors the King's Assistance in the Holy War.

VI. It might reasonably have been imagin'd, That this active Prince should have had Opportunity to end his Days in Peace and Glory; but it was otherwise ordain'd by Providence; and several Writers are of Opinion, that he was principally scourg'd, for being drawn by seeming Reasons of State to lay aside a holy Enterprize, which he had more than once oblig'd himself to undertake, and had now a fresh Occasion offer'd. For *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, induc'd by the resounding Fame of King *Henry*'s Wisdom, Riches and Valour, travell'd from thence into *England*; where at *Clerkenwel* by *London*, in a grand Assembly of the States purposely call'd, the King made known to them, That Pope *Lucius* had by pathetic Letters recommended to him the deplorable State of the *Holy-Land*, together with *Heraclius* the Patriarch. At the same Time *Heraclius*, there present, mov'd Compassion and Tears at the Relation of the tragical Afflictions of the Eastern World, and brought with him the Keys of the Places of Christ's Nativity, Passion and Resurrection, of *David's* Tower and the Holy Sepulchre, together with the humble Offer of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, as rightfully belonging to him, who was the Son of *Geoffry* Ear of *Anjou*, whose Brother *Fulk* was King of *Jerusalem*. Nevertheless, the King

King, having formally adjured the Lords to advise him to what was most for his Soul's Health, it was thought fit to aid and promote the Cause with Mony, but not to employ his Person, nor the Person of any of his Sons, which was the Patriarch's last Request; thereupon he utterly refus'd the said Kingdom, and, according to our Authors, abandon'd as noble an Occasion of immortal Renown, as ever any King of *England* had been offer'd. The Patriarch declar'd, *That he had rather have such a Man without the Mony, than the Mony without such a Man*; and so departed with great Sorrow and Concern, and not without some Imprecations against the King's Person. However the King gave leave to all his Subjects whatsoever to take the Cross; upon which the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, several Bishops, with many Earls, Barons and Knights of *England*, and the rest of the King's Dominions, undertook the *Crusado*.

But King *Henry*'s Mind was more fix'd upon settling the Estate of his already possess'd Kingdoms, and therefore sent his Ambassadors to Pope *Lucius*, of whom he desired many Grants; but the Pope being displeas'd at his Behaviour, deny'd all except one, which gave him leave to crown which of his Sons he pleas'd King of *Ireland*. This he not only confirm'd by his Bull, but as a Token of his Approbation and Satisfaction, he sent the King a Crown of Peacock's Feathers interwoven with Gold; reserving to the *Roman* See the *Peter-Pence*, and all other Rights and Privileges. Accordingly the King solemnly knighted his beloved Son *John* at *Windsor*, but deferring his Coronation, he sent him over into *Ireland*, under the chief Directorship of our Author *Giraldus Cambrensis*, being then near twenty Years of Age. He was solemnly receiv'd by the Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, and the chief of the State; but by reason of his Parsimony towards his Soldiers, he found it convenient to return the same Year without performing much, but not without wasting the greatest Part of his Army by Skirmishes with the *Irish*. Tho' his Father gave him the Title of King, yet he was but Vice-Roy to him, and in his great Seal for that Kingdom, he is only stil'd *Lord of Ireland*.

The King sends his Son John into Ireland.

After a short Calm, King *Henry* was again disturb'd by his undutiful Sons, particularly the furious Earl *Richard*, who fortify'd himself against him in *Poitou*, and defeated *Geoffry* Earl of *Bretaign*; upon which he prepar'd a powerful Army against him, the Fame and Terror of which soon reduc'd *Richard* to Subjection, and by the Order of his Father he surrender'd the Earldom of *Poitou* to his Mother *Eleanor*, whose Inheritance it was. Not long after Heaven's Vengeance pursu'd the Disobedience of the second surviving Brother *Geoffry*, who in a publick Tournament at *Paris*, was trodden under the Horses Feet, and miserably crush'd to Death in the twenty eighth Year of his Age. So that the King saw half of his rebellious Male Issue extinct before him, and by Deaths as violent as their Dispositions: The other two who surviv'd him, were no less miserable in their Ends. About these Times, all Affairs between the *French* and *English* stood in an unsettled Posture, sometimes War, sometimes Peace, and then War again; occasion'd chiefly by King *Philip*'s challenging the Guardianship of *Arthur*, the posthumous Son and Heir of *Geoffry* Earl of *Bretaign*, which would by no Means agree with the Ambitious Temper of our King *Henry*. At length a two Years Truce was concluded, after which Earl *Richard*, contrary to his Father's Will, remain'd with the King of *France*; and such a great Intimacy grew between them, that one Table and one Bed usually serv'd for both. This extraordinary Amity rais'd the Jealousie of King *Henry*, who several Times sent for his Son out of *France*; but *Richard* pretending many Grievances, as the unjust Detention of *Alice* his Spouse, the Fear of being disinherited, and other Matters, again stood out against his Father, and after some Time again submitted to him. Upon which King *Philip* again broke out into Arms: And while Affairs stood thus, the Western World was fill'd with the afflicting News of the Loss of *Jerusalem*, and the

A. D.

1186.

Reg. 32.
33.

His Son Geoffry kill'd in a Tournament.

A. D.

1187.

Reg. 33.
34.

Captivity of *Guido* the King of it, with an innumerable Number of *Christians* besides, whom Sultan *Saladin* had vanquish'd, to the great Grief and Dishonour of all Christendom.

A. D. 1188. Upon this News, King *Henry* and King *Philip* met, for the Honour of God, and laying aside their former Displeasure, in the Presence of *William* Arch-Bishop of *Tyre*, took upon them the Badge of the Cross as Soldiers of *Christ*; and the better to distinguish themselves, it was agreed that the *French* should wear red Crosses, the *English* white, and the *Flemish* green. And this Determination was seconded by all warlike Preparations, Levies of Money, Institution of martial Discipline, with great Privileges and Indulgences to all who should undertake the War; notwithstanding which all prov'd of little Effect. For a Breach of this honourable Confederacy arose through *Richard's* Means, who revenging himself upon some Rebels in *Poitou*, that could not bear his severe Government, it rais'd such new Disturbances, that at length both the Kings of *England* and *France* became Parties to the Contest; much against the Inclination of King *Henry* who seem'd now firmly resolv'd to revenge the Cause of *Christ* upon Sultan *Saladin*; as appears from his Answer to the Petitioning Letter of the Patriarch of *Antioch*, in which he told him, *That among other Princes, Himself and his Son, rejecting all the Pleasures and Glories of this World, would by the Favour of God, speedily visit him in Person, with their whole Forces.* And now the State of those Parts requir'd it, *Saladin* having slain many of the Knights Templars, and Nobility, and above thirty thousand Soldiers, besides innumerable others in Cities and Towns by him subdu'd. Which so affected the Earls of *Flanders*, *Blois*, and other Princes, that when they were desir'd to join with one of the two contending Kings, they made answer, *That they would not, contrary to their Promise made to God, put on Armour against any Christian, 'till they had discharg'd their Duties against Saladin.* In the Treaties therefore between *Henry* and *Philip*, the Demands of the latter on the behalf of *Richard* were such as *Henry* thought unsafe, which was that the Marriage between *Richard* and the Princess should be consummated, and all Subjects swear Fealty to him, while his Father was alive. Which Propositions being rejected by *Henry*, his Son immediately fell from him, and became a Homager to the King of *France* for *Normandy* and other Places. At a second Treaty, set on foot by the Mediation of a Cardinal Legate, King *Philip's* Demands were harder than before, as that King *Henry* should not only settle his Kingdom upon *Richard*, but likewise take his Son *John* with him into the *Holy-Land*; otherwise *Richard* should stay behind, being jealous of his Brother's Favour with the Father. King *Henry* thought himself affronted at these Propositions, and disdaining to be compell'd by any Man, both Parties betook themselves to their Arms.

A. D. 1189. The unhappy Effect of this Contest was, that the mighty Monarch King *Henry*, being abandon'd by his former good Fortunes, was now disgrac'd in his declining Age, sustain'd many Losses by the Armies of King *Philip* and *Richard*, was driven out of *Mans*, his beloved Birth-Place, with the Burning of that City, and at length was constrain'd to yield to such dishonourable Conditions as *Philip* thought fit to propose, one of which was That he should pay him twenty thousand Marks in Silver. *Hoveden* tells us that at the Meeting of these two Kings, when the Sky was clear, a dreadful Flash of Lightning fell between them and parted them, and coming together again, it thunder'd more terribly, so that the old King had fallen off his Horse, had not his Followers sustain'd him; upon which he durst not retard the Peace one Moment, but immediately submitted; but to his unspeakable Affliction, who had been so often us'd to give, and not to take Conditions. At his leaving of *Mans*, he in a violent Passion declar'd, *That since Richard had taken that Place from him which he most lov'd in this World, he would deprive him of what ought to be most dear to a Child, which was his Heart.* But after the Conclusion of the Peace, another

another Thing touch'd him more nearly; for finding the Name of his beloved Son *John* in the Catalogue of the Confederates against him in that Action, overcome with Rage and Grief, he bitterly curs'd the Hour of his Birth, and solemnly laid God's Imprecations and his own upon both his Sons; which no Persuasions of the Bishops could cause him to revoke: But falling dangerously sick at *Chinon*, finding the Approaches of Death, he caus'd himself to be carry'd into the Church before the Altar, where after an humble Confession and Sorrow for his Sins, and an Acknowledgment of the Justness of this last Misfortune, he expired. It is observable, that immediately after his Death, his Domesticks, contrary to Decency and Humanity, rifled him of his Cloaths, and left him stript and naked. Nor must it be forgotten, That the violent *Richard*, now Heir of all, coming to meet his Father's Body, royally adorn'd for the Funeral, the Corps gush'd forth Blood, as it were accusing him of his unnatural Behaviour; at which *Richard*, touch'd with Remorse, melted into Floods of Tears, in a most penitent Manner attending the Remains of his unfortunate Father to the Grave, which was at *Fontevrand*. He dy'd on the sixth Day of *July*, and in the fifty sixth Year of his Age, after a troublesome and pompous Reign of thirty four Years, eight Months, and twelve Days.

He dies with Grief.

This was the End of the greatest Potentate that had hitherto sat upon the *English* Throne, and perhaps the greatest that was then in the Christian World; a Prince highly celebrated for his Abilities and Qualifications. He was of a robust sound Constitution, of a sanguine Complexion, and of a warm martial Disposition. He had a strong and penetrating Understanding, which he daily improv'd by Conversation and Study; was valiant and vigorous in War, and prudent and politick in Peace; magnificent in publick, frugal in private, generous to Strangers, and sparing to his Domesticks, severe to Opposers, and mild to all Compliers. But tho' he had many shining Virtues, yet he knew not how to set Bounds either to his Ambition or his Lusts; as to the former, he was wont to say, *That the whole World was but sufficient for one great Man*; and the latter were so exorbitant as to occasion the greatest Calamities in his Reign. He was likewise covetous, and no strict Observer of his Word; so that upon the whole, he had such a Stock of Vices as well as Virtues, natural Perfections and Imperfections, so blended together, that he can neither be said to be an exceeding good, nor an exceeding bad Prince; all which were accompany'd with the like Measures of good and ill Fortune. Vices in Princes, being more contagious than in private Persons, seldom escape God's Vengeance in this World; so the Adulteries, and perhaps Incests, of this Prince met with their natural Punishment from the Fruit of his own Body, whose Disobedience brought him in his latter Years to see the Reverse of his former Fortunes, and all his Laurels to wither on a sudden. Whereby we find that neither the Number of his Children, the Extent of his Dominions, nor all his eminent Qualities, could make his Prosperity durable; but for want of a Conquest over his Passions, and a Command over himself, he lost that Empire he had obtain'd over others. Tho' this King never impos'd many Taxes, yet he is said to have left behind him more than ninety thousand Pounds in ready Coin, besides Plate, Jewels, Household Goods, and an ample Provision for a War. In this Reign the unhappy Distinction between the Names of *Normans* and *English* was in a great measure ended. And Doctor *Hody* tells us that in these Times, the King's Court of Justice was where the King himself resided; and since the Courts were fix'd in *Westminster Hall*, our Kings have sometimes sat there in Person, and not *incognito*, but openly, with their Crowns on their Heads, as they us'd formerly to sit in the *Curie* held on the three great Festivals.

His Character.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

*The Reign of King RICHARD the First.**Containing nine Years, and nine Months.*

A. D. I. **K**ING Henry left two Sons behind him, *Richard* and *John*; and both these succeeded him in the Throne of *England*. The former

1189.

Reg. I.

Richard succeeds in the Throne.

was now about thirty one Years of Age, and obtain'd the Sirname of *Coeur de Lion*, or *Lion's Heart*; a violent and valiant Prince, who from his Father's Death, seem'd to have set his whole Heart upon the Re-advancement of the Cross of Christ, lately so much dishonour'd by the Infidels in *Asia*. But first he took care to establish his Affairs in *Normandy*, and his other Dominions in *France*; and then sent Letters into *England* to set his Mother Queen *Eleanor* at Liberty, whom her Husband had made a Prisoner for twelve, or as others say, sixteen Years; who now sensible of others Misfortunes by her own, perform'd many Acts of Mercy and Bounty to those in the like Circumstances. Yet *Richard* honourably banish'd all those from his Presence and Acquaintance who had abandon'd his Father, and rewarded many others who loyally stood for him against himself in the former Contests. And having in a short Time settled all transmarine Affairs, he pass'd over into *England*, intending to make a short Stay there; as well to receive all the Rights of Sovereignty, as to take all proper Means and Methods to carry on his intended holy Expedition, together with *Philip* King of *France*, and several other Christian Pontentates.

The Manner of his Coronation.

Being safely arriv'd in *England*, he was by universal Consent crown'd at *Westminster* by *Baldwin* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; the Particulars of which Solemnity we have from *Hoveden* and *Diceto*, and which in Substance were thus. First the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury*, *Roven*, *Triers*, and *Dublin*, with the other Bishops, Abbots and Clergy, cloath'd in rich Copes and Habits, with the Cross, Holy-Water and Censers born before them, came to fetch Duke *Richard* at the Door of his Privy-Chamber, from whence they led him to the Abby-Church of *Westminster* in a solemn Procession. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy were four Barons, bearing golden Candlesticks and Tapers; and after them came *Geoffry de Lucy* with the Royal Cap, *John* the Marshall with a massie Pair of golden Spurs, *William* Earl of *Pembroke* with the Royal Scepter and a golden Cross at the End of it, and *William* Earl of *Salisbury* with the golden Rod and a Dove on the Top. Then came three other Earls, *David* Earl of *Huntington*, Brother to the King of the *Scots*, *John* Earl of *Mortaign*, Duke *Richard's* Brother, in the middle, and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; each bearing a large Sword upright in his Hand, with the Scabbards richly adorn'd with Gold. These were follow'd by six Earls and Barons bearing a checker'd Table, with the *Regalia* upon it; and those by *William Mandeuil* Earl of *Albermarle*, bearing a large and rich Crown of Gold; after whom came *Richard* himself, between the Bishops of *Durham* and *Bath*, under a Canopy of State born by four Barons. Then follow'd a noble Train of Earls, Barons, Knights and others as well of the Clergy as Laity, who in a pompous manner accompany'd him to the High-Altar, where solemnly laying his Hands upon the Holy Evangelists, and the Relicks of divers Saints, he took a formal Oath, 'To observe Peace, Honour and Reverence to Almighty God, his Church, and Ministers, all the Days of his Life; That he would exercise Justice and Equity towards the People committed to his Charge; and that he would abrogate all evil Laws and unjust Customs, and make, keep and sincerely maintain those that were good and laudable. Then the Arch-Bishop proceeded to anoint him in three Places, the Head, Breast and Arms, signifying by those Unctions *Glory, Fortitude,*

The Oath.

itude, and Wisdom; and before he gave him the Crown he solemnly adjur'd him in the Name of the High God, *Not to presume to take this Dignity upon him, unless he resolv'd inviolably to keep those Vows and Oaths, he had just then made*; to which the King answer'd, *That by God's Grace he would faithfully perform them all*. Upon which the Arch-Bishop set the Crown upon his Head, deliver'd the Scepter into his right Hand, and plac'd the Rod-Royal in his left; in which manner he was led to his Throne, and after Mass and the Offertory was over, to his Lodgings, in the same solemn Procession. This in short was the Form of the King's Coronation, which Solemnity was unfortunately polluted with the Blood of many *Jews*, tho' utterly against the King's Will, who pressing into the Abby Church to see the Ceremony, were in a Tumult barbarously murder'd by the People.

*Howden.
Devizes.*

Shortly after his Coronation, King *Richard* proceeded to all Kind of Methods for the Prosecution of the Holy-War, for which all his Father's vast Treasure, and those great Sums he extorted from *Stephen Turnham* his Treasurer, were not thought sufficient. Therefore he sold many of his Manors and Castles to divers Persons; as to *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* the Manor of *Sadbery* for six hundred Marks, and soon after the Earldom of *Northumberland* to be held with his Bishoprick, with this Piece of Rallery upon it, *He had made a young Earl of an old Bishop*; and this not satisfying his ambitious Temper, he besides gave the King one thousand Marks more to be one of his chief Justiciaries in his Absence. Besides these the King sold many other Manors and Lands to such Bishops and Abbots as would purchase them, they being then the chief mony'd Men in *England*; by which means he rais'd immense Sums towards his intended Expedition. He granted to *William* King of the *Scots* the Castles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough* for ten thousand Marks, and releas'd him of those Covenants made to his Father, as extorted from him when a Prisoner, only reserving to himself such Rights as had been allow'd by his Brother *Malcolm* to the former Kings of *England*. Moreover upon some Displeasure he imprison'd the great Lawyer *Glanville*, and forc'd him to purchase his Liberty at no less Sum than fifteen thousand Pounds; and even his Favourite *William Longchamp* pay'd three thousand Pounds to have the great Seal continu'd in his Custody during the King's Absence; and when he was question'd why he sold so many Places and Manors, he made Answer, *That he would sell London it self, if he could find a good Chapman*; so earnestly intent he was upon this plausible Enterprize. As for Men and Soldiers, the Prelates, Friars and other Preachers excited great Numbers by their various Exhortations in Pulpits and private Conferences, resounding nothing but the Cross and Passion of *Jesus Christ*, calling upon the World to revenge his glorious Cause against all Pagans and Infidels.

The King prepares for the Holy War.

*Howden.
M. Paris.*

The main Danger of the State in the King's Absence was in his Brother *John*, of whose Ambition he had reason to be jealous, as knowing that his Father, not long before his Death, had design'd him his Successor; therefore to conquer his aspiring Thoughts with Bounty and Munificence, and to remove all Occasions of Complaint, King *Richard* did in some Degree share his Kingdom with him, investing him with six Earldoms, *Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby* and *Lancaster*, besides Castles, Honours, Manors, Forests, and Bounties, and finally with the Earldom of *Glocester*, and the Heiress of that County for his Wife; tho' the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* forbade the Nuptials, alledging she was within the Degrees of Consanguinity. But lest through ill Nature or Advice, Earl *John* should make a wrong Use of these great Donations, he laid several Restraints upon him, and intrusted him with no Part of the Regal Power; but laid the main Burthen of the Government upon his Chancellor *Longchamp*, Bishop of *Ely*, chief Justiciary, and Legate to the See of *Rome*, who was now invested with whatsoever either King or Pope could grant for the Completion of his Authority. So that, as *Paris* says, he might well be call'd *Prince and Priest of England*, as being the most powerful Subject for the

He wisely settles the Nation.

the Time, that had been known in the Nation; for tho' the King had join'd *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* with him in Commission, for all the Parts beyond the *Humber*, yet *Longchamp* in a short Time easily made himself sole Justiciary, and by his Authority silenc'd the Name and Endeavours of his Collegue. Thus the chief Command, and the Sovereign Power it self was in the Chancellor as Vice-Roy, but for the Defence and Execution of his Justice, the King prudently associated with his Justiciaries, *William* Earl of *Arundell*, *Hugh* *Bardolfe*, *William* *Marshall*, *Geoffry* *Fitz-Peter*, *William* *Brimere*, *Robert* *de* *Whitfield*, and *Robert* *Fitz-Reinfield*, all Men of Honour, Wisdom and Authority. To compleat all, King *Richard* took care to provide for the Neighbourhood of *Wales* and *Scotland*; but tho' he did not so well succeed with *Rees* Prince of the former, yet *William* King of *Scotland* came to the King in *England*, and concluded a firm Alliance with him, which he religiously kept, in the greatest Troubles of King *Richard*, to His and his Nation's Honour; and, as some write, sent his Brother *David* with five thousand *Scots* to serve him in the Holy War.

A. D.

1190.

Reg. 1.

He joins with
the French
King.

The two Kings
set forwards for
the Holy Land.

They meet at
Messina.

The Affairs of *England* being thus establish'd, King *Richard* cross'd the Seas to meet King *Philip* in *France*, according to Appointment, that from thence, with Minds and Forces united, they might set forwards under the Banner of the Cross; which after some Stay, occasion'd by the Death of *Philip's* Queen, they undertook upon these Christian and Friendly Terms: 'That each should preserve the other's Honour, and bear Faith to him as to Life, Member and wordly Dignity: That neither should fail the other in their Affairs; but the King of *France* should help the King of *England* to defend his Land, as he would defend the City of *Paris* if besieg'd; and the latter should help the former to defend his, as he would defend the City of *Roven* if besieg'd. This being committed to Writing, and then ratify'd by Oath, the two Kings sent it to their Earls and Barons, who solemnly swore not to trespass against their Fealty, nor stir up any War in either of the King's Dominions, during the Time of this extraordinary Pilgrimage; and on the other side the Arch-Bishops and Bishops firmly promis'd to execrate and excommunicate all such as should transgress this Agreement. Thus, after some necessary Delays, these two, the greatest Monarchs of the Western World, set forwards by Land, to the reputed publick Service of Christianity, with such Numbers as they themselves thought most proper; which were so great, that having pass'd the *Rhone* at *Lions*, and receiv'd some Loss by the Breaking of the Bridge, they parted Company for meer Conveniency of travelling. *Philip* pass'd over the *Alps* into *Italy*, and *Richard* to the Sea-Coast at *Marseilles*, there to meet with his Royal Navy, which consisting of all the capital Ships of *England* and *Normandy*, and his other *French* Dominions, was appointed to attend at that Port. But the Fleet being not arriv'd, King *Richard*, impatient of Delays, after eight Days Continuance there, embark'd with the Attendance of twenty hired Gallies, and ten great Busses, and set Sail for *Messina* in *Sicily*, the Rendezvous of both the Kings and their Armies. In which Passage, occasionally lying at Anchor at the Mouth of the *Tiber*, he was desired by the Bishop of *Ostia* in the Pope's Name to make a Visit to his Holiness; but the King freely charg'd the Pope with Avarice and Simony in relation to some new advanc'd Bishops in his Dominions, and therefore utterly refus'd to see *Rome*. Thus after several Accidents and Landings, hearing that his Navy was safe, he tarry'd for all, and after that, upon the twenty third Day of *September*, came to Anchor before the City of *Messina*, with so great a Shew of Power, and Noise of Warlike Instruments, and other Marks of Grandeur and Majesty, in the Sight of *Philip* and his *French*, and of many other Nations there assembled, that it caus'd a Terror to the Inhabitants, and no small Envy to his Confederates.

Tancred was at that Time King, or rather Usurper of *Sicily*, after the Death of *William*, who had marry'd *Joan* the Sister of King *Richard*, and out
of

of Hatred or Policy had imprison'd that Queen; but upon the Appearance of her Brother, he honourably sent her to him, and yielded to several Articles, and to the Payment of large Sums of Money. And now Fear wrought on both Sides; and *Richard* being among Strangers, and not fully sure of the *French*, seiz'd upon a Fortrefs in the Island of a valiant People call'd *Griffons*, and after that by means of an extraordinary Tumult took the City of *Messina* it self. From which Time the Spirit of Discord seems to have been sown between the two Royal Adventurers; for King *Richard*, flush'd with Victory, display'd his Banners, even in those Parts of the City appointed for King *Philip's* Quarters, which gave great Offence to the other, and occasion'd many warm Expressions. Yet at length by the Mediation of great Men on both Sides, the Contest was for the present adjust'd; and *Richard* order'd his Ensigns to be taken down, and then deliver'd the Custody of the City to the Knights Hospitallers, and Templars, 'till all Things required from the King of *Sicily* were perform'd. After much Deliberation, in answer to King *Richard's* Demands, *Tancred* insisted That he had already paid to his Sister, late Queen of the Island, large Sums of Money in lieu of her Dowry or Jointure; and concerning the Legacies intended by his Predecessor King William, to the Father of King *Richard*, he was ready to satisfy him, as far as he ought according to the Customs of his Kingdom. But to appease that Power he could not resist, he gave to King *Richard* twenty thousand Ounces of Gold, in Consideration of his Sister's Jointure; and further to be acquitted of all other Claims and Pretences, and likewise in Consideration that *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, Nephew and next Heir to King *Richard*, should marry the Daughter of King *Tancred*, he paid a second Sum of twenty thousand Ounces more: After which, to purchase the Amity of King *Richard* and the Love of the *English* Nation, as also for the greater Assurance of Performance of Articles, he voluntarily added a third Sum of twenty thousand Ounces, and afterwards four great Ships call'd *Urfers*, and fifteen Gallies. On the other Side King *Richard*, that he might not be wanting in any Thing which in Honour and Equity might be expected from him, besides Letters Patents, he chose unexceptionable Sureties upon Oath, as two Arch-Bishops, two Bishops, and no less than twenty Lords and great Men, whose Names are upon Record in *Hoveden*. And for a final Confirmation, he offer'd that Pope *Clement* should undertake for the Performance of his Part of the said Agreement; and accordingly wrot Letters to him upon that Subject, freely giving him leave, upon any Failure in him, to put all his Dominions under the severest Censures.

King Richard gains Advantages in Sicily.

Tancred King of Sicily gives him large Sums

The Peace being happily concluded, *Tancred* before he took leave of King *Richard*, discover'd to him a foul and dishonourable Design of the *French* King, against his Person and Safety; which shortly after coming to be warmly debated between the two Kings, *Philip* charg'd *Richard* with inventing and promoting of Contests; and further added That unless *Richard* marry'd his Sister *Alice*, according to the ancient Contract, he would be his irreconcilable Enemy. To which King *Richard*, being urg'd, return'd in Answer, That the Princess during her Abode in England, had a Child by his Father *Henry*, which he was ready to prove by many Witnesses then present; so that he had far more Cause than a bare Suspicion of Incontinency, to refuse the Marriage. Upon this ungrateful Discovery, and upon certain new Conditions between the two Kings, *Philip* left the other at liberty to chuse a Wife where he thought fit, and seem'd to be reconcil'd to him; yet still *Tancred's* late Information rais'd such a Distrust and Jealousie between 'em, that from thence forward they were never true Friends. Not long after, they both parted for the intended holy Expedition. But because Examples of true Christian Humility are too rare among Princes and Potentates, we must not pass by that of this famous General King *Richard*, who about this Time, as *Hoveden* expresses it, being inspir'd with Divine Grace and studying to fit himself for this great Enterprize, felt such a Compunction for

A. D.

1191.

Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

Richard and the French King disagree.

Richard is very penitent.

his Sins, that he made a solemn Confession of all his Excesses before his Bishops, humbly imploring the Mercy of God, and the Absolution of his subordinate Ministers. Our Author adds that God respected him with the Eyes of Mercy, and gave him a penitent Heart, so that from thenceforward he prov'd a Man fearing God, and eschewing Evil. And now addicting his Mind to Contemplation, and the Honour of the Christian Church, whose Champion he was, he desir'd the Conference of a famous Visionary Abbot in *Italy* call'd *Joachim*, celebrated for his profound Knowledge of the Scriptures, and his prophetic Revelations. This Man preaching before the King upon the Apocalypse of *St. John*, concerning the coming of *Antichrist*, freely declar'd That *Antichrist* was then born, and in the City of *Rome* should be advanc'd to the Apostolick See, of whom the Apostle said, *he should exalt himself above all that is call'd God*; and that the seven Crowns were the Kings and Princes of the Earth who obey'd him. This, tho' accidental, administer'd sufficient Occasion for Reflexions; by reason Kings and Princes were suppos'd to be those Gods over whom *Antichrist* should exalt himself: For shortly after, *Henry* the Emperor together with his Empress *Constantia*, at their Coronation in *St. Peter's* Church stooping down to the Ground, receiv'd their Imperial Crowns from between the Feet of the Pope, with which he immediately struck them off their Heads; signifying by that Action, That he had Power to throw them out of their Dominions whenever he thought fit.

He removes from Sicily.

The same Day that *Philip* and the French Forces set Sail from *Messina*, *Eleonor* King *Richard's* Mother arriv'd with *Berengaria* his new intended Spouse, Daughter to *Sanctius* King of *Navarre*, whom he afterwards marry'd in *Cyprus*; but his Mother after a short Stay return'd by *Rome* into *England*, leaving the young Lady with *Joan* Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, both which accompany'd the King towards the *Holy-Land*, his whole Navy consisting of an hundred and fifty large Ships and fifty three Gallies, besides thirteen Busses, and many Tenders; but we do not find what Number of Soldiers were in the *English* Army. This Royal Navy, sailing between the Isles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, was dispers'd by a terrible Storm, which turn'd much to the Honour and Advantage of King *Richard*, as giving him an Occasion of new Conquests. For two of the Vessels being cast away upon the Coasts of *Cyprus*, near the Port of *Limezun*, and the Ship that carry'd the Princess in great Danger; *Isaac* the King, or, as he was call'd, Emperor of that Island, barbarously rifled and imprison'd those Persons that escap'd, and would not permit the Ladies to enter the Harbour, tho' in great Distress: Which uncommon Inhumanity, neither Heav'n nor King *Richard* would forgive. For the said inhospitable Prince, having thrice refus'd to make Restitution of his unlawful Seizures and Prisoners, was soon after enter'd upon and invaded by the *English*, driven from the Coasts with great Dishonour and Slaughter, the City of *Limezun* left a Prey to the Victors, and himself beaten out of his Camp, and taken Prisoner. After an Escape made by him, his only Daughter and Heiress was forc'd to yield her self Prisoner, and lastly himself, despairing to be conceal'd, came of his own Accord, and was put into Fetters of Silver; upon which the whole Island, with all its People, Strength and Riches, became Subject to the King of *England*, and both Father and Daughter were led into Captivity. In this Island King *Richard* was honour'd by the Attendance of *Guido* King of *Jerusalem*, *Geoffry* his Brother, *Raimund* Prince of *Antioch*, *Boemund* his Son, and many other Princes, who offer'd him their Service; and here he finish'd the Nuptials of his beloved Lady *Berengaria*. *Isaac* was sent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, his Daughter committed to the King's Sister and Queen, and the Island intrusted to *Richard Camvile* and *Robert Turnham* his Vice-Roys, with competent Forces and Provisions; and the Islanders were suffer'd to enjoy all such Laws and Liberties, as they held in the Reign of *Manuel* the Emperor of *Constantinople*.

He conquers the Isle of Cyprus.

loved.
t. Paris.
ubrigen.

II. During these prosperous Transactions abroad, the State of *England* suffer'd extreamly at home under the Government of Bishop *Longchamp* the Chancellor, who arrogating to himself that Authority which belong'd to the rest of the Commissioners in common, acted as he thought fit, and with that Insolence deputed himself, that he incurr'd the Hatred of the whole Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity. His Train was said to be so great, and his Attendance so numerous, that whenever he lay in any religious House but one Night, three Years Revenues would scarce recover the Charge. Besides, being a Foreigner himself, and employing only *Frenchmen* about him, he render'd his Actions more insupportable to the *English*: Insomuch that the whole Clergy and Nobility oppos'd his Proceedings; and the King's Brother *John* taking Advantage of their Discontents, to render himself popular, and to make way for his design'd Usurpation, join'd with the State against the Bishop, as being the Person who had ever defeated his aspiring Attempts; having a particular Eye upon him, as a most dangerous Man, in respect of the King's Charge and his own Safety. In a short Time he found a fair Opportunity to ruin the Chancellor by means of *Geoffry* the Elect Arch-Bishop of *York*, natural Son to the late King *Henry*, to whose Preferment in *England* King *Richard* was averse, and therefore had confin'd him to *Normandy* during his Absence, where after much Difficulty, he had obtain'd Power of the present Pope to be invested in the said See. *Longchamp* being inform'd of this Person's Arrival, order'd him to be apprehended at *Dover*, where he was forcibly drawn out of the Church to which he had retir'd, and ignominiously dragg'd from the Altar to the Castle in his Pontifical Habit. Upon this Violence, Earl *John* commanded the Chancellor not only to release him, but immediately to answer the Matter before the Assembly of the Bishops and Nobility at St. *Paul's*; where they urg'd against him many heinous Actions, committed contrary to his Commission, and the Good of the King and Kingdom. The Arch-Bishop of *Roven*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* openly shew'd the King's Letters Patents, dated at *Messina*, by which they were made equal Commissioners with him in the Government of the Kingdom; in which notwithstanding he would not suffer them to be concern'd, but according to his violent Methods govern all himself. Upon which he was by the Assembly formally depos'd from his Office, and the Arch-Bishop of *Roven* put in his Place; as also the Tower of *London*, and Castle of *Windsor* were taken from him, and deliver'd to the Arch-Bishop. Thus this great Officer, presuming too much upon his own Power, was thrown down from his Seat, and forc'd to resign his Legantine Cross at *Canterbury*, and take up that for the Holy War; and endeavouring to escape privately over the Sea, he was in the Habit of a Woman, with a Web of Linnen Cloath under his Arm, taken upon the Shore at *Dover*, and opprobriously made a Spectacle to the People, and conducted with all Derision to the Castle. Whence after eight Days he was releas'd by Earl *John*, and permitted to pursue his intended Voyage; in which, being the Messenger of his own Usage, he had the Advantage of his Adversaries, and prevail'd against them with the Pope, who was highly displeas'd to find the Legantine Power so vilify'd. In the mean Time Earl *John*, with the Commissioners, confirm'd to the City of *London* their common Liberties, and caus'd the Citizens to swear Fealty to King *Richard* and his Heir; and if he dy'd without Issue, they were then to maintain Earl *John* as their Lord and King, against all Men whatsoever.

Troubles in
England occa-
sion'd by the
Chancellor.

The Chancellor
depos'd.

He leaves the
Nation.

the

Thus forward was Earl *John* in his Attempts upon the Crown of his Brother King *Richard*, while he was passing into the *Holy-Land* with the Spoils and Treasure of three noble Islands, *England*, *Sicily* and *Cyprus*, besides *Normandy*, and other Parts of *France*; in which distant Country almost all was consum'd, tho' to the great Renown of himself and Nation. And here, for the Reader's clearer Understanding of these Affairs, it will not be amiss to take notice, That about ninety two Years since, *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* and his Assistants recover'd

A short Ac-
count of the
Crusades.

the City of *Jerusalem*, with the Country of *Palestine*, and a great Part of *Syria*, out of the Hands of the *Saracens*, obtain'd the Kingdom, and reigning one Year dy'd, and left his Brother *Baldwin* to succeed him; who governing eighteen Years, left the Crown to another of that Name *Baldwin de Borgo*, who reign'd thirteen Years, and left a Daughter, and the Kingdom in Dispute. *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* marrying this Daughter, enjoy'd the Kingdom eleven Years, and left two young Sons, *Baldwin*, who reign'd twenty four Years, and *Almerick* twelve; which last left the Kingdom to his Son *Baldwin*, who being sickly and despairing of Issue, made his Sister *Sibill's* Son *Baldwin* his Successor, and committed the Charge of him, with the Administration of the Kingdom to *Raynmond* Earl of *Tripoly*, whom *Guido de Lusignan*, having marry'd the Widow *Sibill*, put from that Charge, usurp'd the Government, and at length the Kingdom, not without Suspicion of poisoning the young King. *Raynmond* making War upon him, *Guido* imprudently drew in Sultan *Saladin* of *Egypt* to his Assistance, who improving this Opportunity of enlarging his Dominions, soon destroy'd them both, with their Kingdom, and won the Cities of *Acon*, *Azotus*, *Berytus*, *Ascalon*, and after one Months Siege, the City of *Jerusalem* it self, eighty eight Years after it had been conquer'd by the famous *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*.

To recover this ruinous State, the two great Kings of *England* and *France* came from far distant Countries, with Armies compos'd of different Nations and several Inclinations, as *English*, *French*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and others, against a mighty Prince of an united Power, within his own Territories, acquainted with the Manner of the Fights and the Nature of the Forces of the Christians, and possess'd of the best Parts of the Country. And here they successively sat down before *Acon* or *Ptolomais*, defended by the Power of *Saladin*, which had been before besieg'd by the Christians for the Space of three Years, and had cost the Lives of many worthy Princes and great Men of several Nations, whose Names are still in the Records of Fame. And notwithstanding all the Forces of those two Kings, the Garrison held out four Months after, and then surrender'd upon these Articles. 1. That *Saladin* should by a certain Day restore the Holy Cross. 2. That he should set free fifteen hundred Christian Captives. 3. That the City, and all Things contain'd in it, should remain to the Christians. 4. That the Garrison should only have their Lives sav'd, if these Conditions were perform'd. 5. That they should pay twenty thousand Pieces of Gold, towards the Charges of the two Kings. At their Entrance into the City, the Banners of *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, being planted on the Walls, were with great Disgrace taken down by the Command of King *Richard*, and those of the two Kings erected; which highly incens'd the Duke, who immediately quitted the Service, and afterwards found Means to revenge himself. Besides this, during the Siege, divers Marks of Jealousie and Displeasure appear'd between the Kings themselves; and the Competition of Honour made the least Disproportion of it a Wound beyond Cure. And now that Article formerly concluded of equally dividing their Profits in the Expedition, came to be question'd: The King of *France* claim'd half the Isle of *Cyprus*, and the King of *England* half the Treasure and Goods of the Earl of *Flanders*, which the other had lately seiz'd; and in this neither were satisfy'd. Then appear'd the two Pretenders to the Crown of *Jerusalem*, *Guido* of *Lusignan*, and *Conrade* of *Montferrat*; the former pleading Possession in right of his Wife *Sibill*, the King of *England* espous'd his Cause; and the King of *France* join'd with *Conrade*. These Differences created continual Heart-burnings between 'em, and they were so much distemper'd by their own violent Heats, and the hot Contagion of the Country, that they fell into a most dangerous Sicknefs, which occasion'd the intire Loss of their Hair. But being recover'd, the *French* King resolv'd to stay no longer, where he saw so little Probability of Honour or Advantage, and the rather because by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders* he had an Opportunity of enlarging his

The Kings of
England and
France take
the City of
Acon.

They disagree.

Winf.
Hov.
M.P.
&c.

his Dominions at home; therefore he sent to King *Richard* for his Consent to return home. *Richard* fearing to let an offended Lion loose, would not grant it, 'till he had taken a solemn Oath, That he would protect his Dominions and People 'till his Return, and would do no Damage to them, nor suffer any to be done by others.

The King of France returns home.

Insanif. loveden. 100.

The King of *France* thus leaving *Acon*, in the Castle of which King *Richard's* Queen and Sister were lodg'd, and the Duke of *Burgundy* remaining behind with the *French* Army, and a great Part of his Master's Treasure, King *Richard* the same Day set forwards upon a new Enterprize: For before, by reason of the Dissention between the Kings which should be greatest, scarce any Thing prosper'd; and *Richard* had just Cause to complain in his Letters, *That Philip to the great Reproach of himself and Kingdom, had dishonourably forsaken his Purpose and Vow to God.* When *Saladin* could by no Means obtain a longer Day for the Performance of the said Articles of Composition, he barbarously cut off the Heads of all his Christian Captives; in Revenge of which King *Richard* brought out his Mahometan Captives, to the Number of two thousand seven hundred, and in the sight of *Saladin's* Camp, caus'd them all to be beheaded; the Duke of *Burgundy* doing the same to near the same Number, by the Walls of *Acon*, only seven of the chief being preserv'd alive by the Christian Generals. King *Richard* vigorously proceeding in his new design'd Enterprize, march'd towards *Joppa*, in which he was furiously set upon by *Saladin*, who had just before put the Duke of *Burgundy* to flight, and slain the valiant *Jaques de Avennes*, who made a noble Resistance with only a few in the Reer; but *Richard* encounter'd him with so much Courage and Bravery, that he constrain'd him to fly dishonourably, with the Loss of three thousand of his choicest Soldiers. About this Time the King met with a remarkable Deliverance from the Hands of the *Saracens*: For one Day diverting himself with Hawking, attended by a small Retinue, and being tired with the Exercise, he laid himself under a Tree to sleep; of which a Party of the Enemy having notice, they laid an Ambuscade, and sent some of their Men to set upon the King, and provoke him to fight; which when they had done, by a feign'd Flight they drew him into their Ambush, and suddenly surrounded him and his Company. Here he had certainly been taken Prisoner, had not one of his Gentlemen nam'd *William de Pratellis*, out of an uncommon Piece of Generosity, sav'd him by causing himself to be taken in his stead, and crying out in the *Saracen's* Tongue, *I am the King*; upon which they all seiz'd upon him, while the King and divers of his Followers made their Escapes. Afterwards, the King in Consideration of this noble Act, gave in Exchange for him ten of the greatest Noblemen among his Prisoners; manifesting the Esteem he had for this brave Man, whom alone he valu'd at the Rate of ten Princes.

King Richard defeats Saladin.

Insanif. 100.

Still King *Richard* vigorously pursu'd his Designs, and after several brave and important Actions, march'd up within sight of *Jerusalem*, where he skirmish'd with the Enemy, and overthrew the Convoy or Caravan of *Saladin*, which camerichly laden from *Babylon*, and was guarded by ten thousand Men; whom *Richard* valiantly attack'd with five thousand select Soldiers, put most of them to the Sword, took three thousand Camels and four thousand Horses and Mules, and recover'd a noble Booty. After this, and many other great Exploits, as the Relief of *Joppa*, and the Repulse of *Saladin* from that Place, the King, indefatigable in his brave Attempts, endeavouring to regain *Jerusalem* and the City of *Baruck*, was abandon'd in that Enterprize by the Duke of *Burgundy*, who is vehemently suspected to have been brib'd by *Saladin*: Upon which he began to hearken to the Knights Templars, and the chief of the Christian Army, who perswaded him not to refuse *Saladin's* Offers for a Cessation of Arms, especially considering that he design'd to return with greater Forces and Treasure; that his present Power, by Divisions, by Sickness and Encounters was much wasted and weaken'd; and that the dangerous State of his own Dominions, by

A. D.

1192.

Reg. 3.

He gains a great Booty.

reason

He makes a
three Years
Truce with Sa-
ladin.

reason of undue Practices at home, and the Designs of King *Philip* abroad, did now require his own Presence. At length after some Struggles of Honour and Conscience, the King concluded a Truce with *Saladin* for three Years upon these Conditions: 'First that *Ascalon* should be demolish'd, and not fortify'd 'by either Party during the Truce; yet *Joppa* might be possess'd by the *Christians*, and all the Country then in the *Christians* Hands, without Molestation 'from the *Saracens*. And then the *Christians* should have free Liberty to go 'in Pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre without Charge, and likewise have free 'Commerce through *Saladin's* Dominions. Upon Conclusion of the Treaty, King *Richard* let *Saladin* know, *That when the Truce was ended, he would return again, and once more endeavour to recover the Holy-Land from his Domi-* nions. To which *Saladin* is said to have return'd this generous Answer, *That he had so great an Esteem for King Richard's Worth, that if it must be his Fate to lose his Country, he had rather it should be to him, than to any other Prince whatsoever.* Thus this great Crusade ended with little more Advantage than the taking of one single City; and King *Richard* departed with the Displeasure of having on one Side concluded a dishonourable Truce, and on the other, with the Satisfaction of having bestow'd two Kingdoms at his Departure, that of *Jerusalem* upon the Count de *Champaign* his Nephew, and that of *Cyprus*, which he had conquer'd by his own Arms, upon *Guido de Lusignan*, in whose House it continu'd two hundred and eighty Years.

He leaves the
Holy-Land.

He goes into
Austria:

Thus *Richard* having settled the Affairs of the East, and sent away his Queen and Sister, with the King of *Cyprus's* Daughter, under the Conduct of *Stephen Turnham*, he went on board a large Buſs at *Acon*, and set sail in the Beginning of *October* for *Corfu*; where arriving in less than a Month, he continu'd his Voyage to *Ragusa* in the Gulf of *Venice*, and landing near that City, resolv'd to go by Land through *Sclavonia* into *Austria*. Where when he arriv'd, tho' he and his Attendants, endeavouring to be unknown, had disguis'd themselves like Pilgrims with long Hair and Beards, yet they could not be long conceal'd, by reason of their extraordinary Expences; which was also confirm'd by the Rumours of the King's being somewhere in those Parts. *Richard* had now reason to fear the Duke of *Austria* whom he had affronted at *Acon*, and because he knew he had a secret Hatred towards him, by reason of the League he had made with *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, the Emperor's Competitor for that Kingdom; as also because of the Assassination of *Conrade* Marquess of *Montferrat* his Kinsman, in which he suspected King *Richard* to have been concern'd. Wherefore fearing to be taken Prisoner, *Richard* privately withdrew from his Retinue, committing the Charge of them to one of his principal Gentlemen that waited on him; and so taking Horse with one single Servant, he travell'd Day and Night 'till he arriv'd near the City of *Vienna*. But coming to a small Village, and lying down on a Bed to repose himself, while his Servant went out to buy Provisions, the Man was known by one belonging to the Duke of *Austria*; and being seiz'd and brought before him, after many Enquiries he was constrain'd to reveal where the King was. Upon which the Duke immediately sent thither, and took him Prisoner as he lay asleep; of which Prize the Duke was not a little joyful, having now an Opportunity not only of revenging himself for the Affront put upon him at the taking of *Acon*, but also of enriching himself by an extraordinary Ransom, which he resolv'd to have for him, before he gave him his Liberty. But shortly after the Emperor *Henry VI.* sent to demand him, alledging, *That the Duke being his Vassal, it belong'd to him to have the Custody of the King's Person*; whereupon the Duke, being promis'd a large share of his Ransom, deliver'd him into the Emperor's Hand, who kept him Prisoner about a Year. And thus this great Prince's unfortunate Expedition to the *Holy-Land* ended as ingloriously, as it was at first magnanimously undertaken: having consum'd therein all that mighty Treasure left him by his Father, and all that he could draw from his Subjects, and others, by violent Extortions, plausible Promises, or subtle Practices.

Where he is
taken Prisoner
by the Duke.

and sent to the
Emperor.

Hoveden.
M. Paris.
Gervase.

III. The strange News of King *Richard's* Imprisonment, after so much Valour shewn, flying through *Europe*, soon disclos'd who were faithful or perfidious. His careful Mother and best Friends, overcome with Grief and Sorrow, put new Oaths to the Nation to be true to him, watch'd the Coasts, provided for the Security of the State, and fortify'd all the Cities and chief Towns of the Kingdom. On the contrary Earl *John*, being by the cunning Insinuations of his Brother's Foes, not only put in Hopes of his perpetual Bondage, but also incens'd against him for designing the Crown to his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, enter'd into an unbrotherly Attempt against his Sovereign; and after he had allur'd many Persons by Promises, and fortify'd many Places in *England*, pass'd the Sea, and enter'd into a League with the King of *France*, utterly to put his Nephew *Arthur* from the Hopes the *Britains* had conceiv'd of his Promotion. The *Normans* giving way to his disloyal Practices, he swore Fealty to *Philip* King of *France*, and promis'd to marry his Sister *Alice*, tho' dishonour'd by his own Father, and for that Cause rejected by King *Richard*. Out of *Normandy* he posted into *England*, soliciting both Peers and People, but met with a very loyal Resistance; yet not so discourag'd, he labour'd to excite the *Scots* and *Welsh* to join in an Invasion with him, for which end the *French* and *Flemmings* assur'd them that King *Richard* would never be set at Liberty: But still *William* King of the *Scots* would never give Consent or Countenance to such dishonourable Practices. In this dangerous Time the Valour and Loyalty of the City of *Roven* appear'd in a most exemplary Manner: For *Philip* coming before it with a powerful Army, solicited the Citizens by the most alluring Promises to revolt; upon which, setting open their Gates, they return'd no other Answer but *That he might enter if he pleas'd*. But this vain-glorious King, finding that the very Women and Virgins had poll'd their Heads like Men, and with the rest of the Inhabitants pour'd melted Pitch and such like Materials upon the Heads of the Besiegers, he march'd away in great Confusion.

A. D.
1193.
Reg. 4.

His Brother
John proves
disloyal.

Hoveden.
Vubrigen.

During these Disturbances King *Richard*, formerly a Conqueror now a Prisoner, was brought into the Presence of the Emperor in a publick Assembly of the Nobility; where the Emperor to terrifie him charg'd him with many Crimes, especially the Assassination of the Marquess *Conrade* his Cousin. But the King knowing his own Innocency, answer'd all the Emperor's Allegations with so much Eloquence and Courage, that he not only gave full Satisfaction to all present, but mov'd the covetous Emperor to compassionate his Misfortunes, and to reverence his Person; but not to that Degree as to make him willing to discharge him without a great Ransom. Not long after the King sent Letters to the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, Clerks and Free-Tenants of *England*, wherein he desired all the Clergy and Laity to raise such a Sum as might procure him his Liberty. The Emperor wrot to the same Purpose, and the Pope, who threaten'd the Kingdom with an Interdict, unless the King were speedily set free, also wrot to the King of *France* that he would anathematize his Kingdom, unless he forbore disturbing *Richard's* Territories while he was a Prisoner. Upon the Receipt of the King's Letters, and upon their Authority, the Queen-Mother and the Lords Justices determined that all Clerks and Laicks should contribute the fourth Part of their Revenues that Year for the Redemption of the King; and that they should add so much more out of their moveable Goods, as their Sovereign might at his Return own it as an Obligation. To this they added twenty Shillings upon every Knight's Fee, and order'd That the Abbies of the *Cisterciens*, and Houses of the Order of *Templengham*, should contribute all their Wool of that Year, and that all the Gold and Silver in the Churches should be brought out and deliver'd to that purpose. Thus a vast Sum was rais'd in *England*, and receiv'd by the Emperor's Envoys at *London*, in part of the King's Ransom; and not long after the Emperor and

King Richard
answers before
the Emperor.

Great Sums
rais'd in En-
gland for his
Ransom.

King came to a final Agreement upon these Conditions. 1. 'That the King should pay an hundred thousand Marks to the Emperor, and fifty thousand more to the Duke of *Austria*. 2. That the King should marry his Nephew *Arthur's* Sister to the Duke's Son, and deliver up the Captive King of *Cyprus* and his Daughter. 3. That the hundred thousand Marks should be brought into the Empire at the Peril of the King of *England*, and Hostages to be given for the rest. But to colour over this unprincely Extortion, the Emperor by a particular Charter gave to King *Richard* the Country of *Provence* in *France* with several other large Territories, containing five Archbishopricks, and thirty three Bishopricks, which had been long out of the Emperor's Possession; and crown'd him King of them all, and wrote magnificent Letters into *England* upon that Occasion.

A. D. 1194. Reg. 5. Still King *Philip* us'd all Methods to hinder *Richard* of his Liberty, and finding that the Emperor and he were agreed, he sent Messengers to Earl *John*, advising him *To look to himself, for the Devil was now let loose*, and urg'd him to usurp the Kingdom of *England*. Now when King *Richard* expected his Liberty at a general Diet held at *Spires*, where were present the three Arch-Bishops of *Mentz*, *Cologne* and *Saltzburg*, the three Bishops of *Worms*, *Spires* and *Liege*, the three Dukes of *Suabia*, *Austria* and *Lovain*, the Count *Palatine of the Rhine*, and several others, who had undertaken for the Emperor, whose Officers had already receiv'd the greatest Part of the Ransom; his Business was unfortunately obstructed by the Arrival of Envoys from King *Philip* and Earl *John*, who offer'd fifty thousand Marks from the King, and thirty thousand from the Earl to the Emperor to keep *Richard* Prisoner till *Michaelmas* following; or if the Emperor thought fit, they would give him a thousand Pounds a Month, as long as he should keep him Prisoner; or else the King of *France* would give him an hundred thousand Marks, and Earl *John* fifty thousand to deliver him Prisoner into their Hands, or at least to keep him one whole Year. These great Proffers had such an Effect upon the Emperor's corrupt Disposition, that he immediately deferr'd the Day of setting *Richard* at Liberty, which almost reduc'd that Prince to Despair; but the above-nam'd Heads of the Empire, freely reprov'd the Emperor for his excessive Avarice, and his dishonourable Treatment of a crown'd Head, and so far prevail'd, that upon the fourth Day of *February*, he was by the Arch-Bishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne* restor'd after fifteen Months Imprisonment into the Hands of his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who with all there present receiv'd him with Tears as well as Transports of Joy. Yet so prevalent is the Power of Money, that some Writers report, that after this the Emperor repented of his Release, and sent Messengers after in order to seize him; but the King being inform'd of this Design, hasten'd on Shipboard, and happily landed at *Sandwich* on the thirteenth Day of *March*. In *England* he was receiv'd in a triumphant Manner; and coming near *Rocheſter*, *Hubert* the new Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who had been with him at the Siege of *Acon*, met him in a pompous Solemnity; whom when the King saw, he immediately dismounted, and having bow'd his Knee, fell upon the Earth, which in like Manner was done by the Arch-Bishop, till at length both rising up, run into each others Arms, with the highest Marks of Pleasure and Satisfaction.

After much Difficulty, he is freed.

He arrives in England.

Punishments upon the Duke of Austria and the Emperor.

And here most Writers take Notice of the Vengeance of Heav'n upon the covetous Duke of *Austria* and the Emperor; that the former was punish'd with several Plagues and Calamities in his Country, of which he was so far from being sensible, that he press'd more earnestly for the Payment of the rest of King *Richard's* Ransom, threatening the Hostages with Death, if it was not speedily discharg'd. Upon which one of them call'd *Baldwin de Betune*, was by Consent sent over into *England*, to remind the King of his Articles; and he compassionating the Case of his Hostages, immediately dispatch'd this *Baldwin* with his Niece *Eleanor*, to be marry'd to the Duke of *Austria's* Son; but before their

Arrival

Arrival the Duke by a Fall from his Horse, broke his Leg, and brought himself to a tedious and miserable End. Finding his Death certain, in a penitent Manner he commanded the Hostages to be discharg'd, and the Remainder of the Money to be remitted; to which his Son not being willing to comply, the Clergy of that Country would not permit the Duke's Body to be bury'd, 'till he had perform'd his Father's Will. As to the Emperor, he to carry on an evil Design, did afterwards remit some Part of the Ransom; yet he was pursu'd by many Troubles, and by the Pope excommunicated upon King *Richard's* Account. At length falling into a great Fit of Sickness in *Sicily*, he sent his Chancellor a Bishop to King *Richard*, to desire his Pardon, promising Restitution of what he had taken for his Ransom: But before he could arrive and deliver his Message, the Emperor dy'd under that Sentence at *Messina*. Nor were the King of *England's* Afflictions unprofitable to him; for they gave him Occasion to reform his Life, taking home his Queen *Berengaria*, whose Society he had a long Time neglected, tho' she was a virtuous, wise and beautiful Lady, who for the Love of him had ventur'd her Person with him through the World.

Sweden.
Paris.
Magbrigen.

IV. King *Richard* having happily recover'd both his Liberty and Kingdom, repair'd to the great Abby of *St. Edmund's Bury*, where in performance of his Vow he offer'd up the rich Imperial Standard, taken from *Isaac* King of *Cyprus*. From thence he march'd into several Parts of the Nation, and took in by Surrender such Castles as the Adherents of his Brother *John* had held out against him; but for *Henry de Pomeroy*, who had fortify'd *St. Michael's Mount* against him, finding that the King was certainly return'd, he dy'd with Grief and Fear. And now the forty Days of Summons being expired, which were allow'd to Earl *John*, *Hugh* Bishop of *Coventry*, and others, for making their Appearance, to answer to such hainous Crimes as were alledg'd against them; and they not appearing, *John* in particular was cast by the Peers and States of *England*, and not only disinherited of all his Lands he then held in *England*, but also of all Honours which he expected to enjoy after the King's Decease: The Bishop of *Coventry* and others met with Censures according to their Offences, and the Usage of those Times. After which King *Richard* proceeded to draw in Money more voraciously than was agreeable to so great a Man; particularly by resuming those Crown Lands he had formerly sold to others, pretending that they were only mortgag'd and not sold outright; in which, says *M. Paris*, he is rather to be pardon'd than accus'd, since he then wanted a powerful Army against the *French*. But first of all to wipe away the Sorrow and Contumely of his late Restraint, he caus'd himself to be crown'd again at the City of *Winchester*, which Solemnity was honour'd by the Presence of *William* King of the *Scots*, who bore the Sword before the King of *England*. From whence arose a great Affection between these two Princes; and *Richard* granted to the other, and his Successors of *Scotland*, a fix'd Pension, and several other Allowances and Princely Attendants, from the first Day of their Friendly Entrance into *England* 'till their Return. The King likewise caus'd a new Broad Seal to be made, requiring that all Charters granted under his former should be confirm'd by this, which rais'd great Sums to the Exchequer; subscribing such renew'd Charters thus, *This was the Tenor of our Charter under our first Seal, which because it was lost, and in the Time of our Captivity in the Power of another, we cause to be chang'd, &c.* Some have observ'd, as *Richard* was the first *English* King who bore Arms on his Seals; so he was the first who carry'd in his Shield three Lions passant, born ever after for the Royal Arms of *England*.

Earl John de-
priv'd of his In-
heritance.

The King crown-
ed a second
Time, at Win-
chester.

Walsingham.
Paris.

The King having been about two Months in *England*, and at Dinner Time receiving News that *Vernuil* in *Normandy* was besieg'd by the *French* King, *Walsingham* tells us, that the King swore *he would never turn his Face 'till he had gotten over to the French Army*; and accordingly caus'd the Wall to be

He goes into
France.

Earl John re-
stored.

cut through, never resting 'till with a hundred great Ships he pass'd the Sea into *Normandy*, where the Fame of his Approach caus'd the *French* King to raise the Siege, and without Sight of his valiant Enemy, retire with Shame and Loss. Nor was this King's Clemency less than his Courage, as appears from his ready receiving Earl *John* into Favour, thorough the Mediation of his Mother *Eleanor*, and his generous saying to him, *I wish I may as easily forget your Offence, as I doubt you will my Pardon of it.* Afterwards he restor'd him to all his Honours and Possessions; and *John* was so mindful of the King's Admonition, that he ever after serv'd him faithfully and valiantly in all his Wars against the King of *France*.

Richard ob-
tain. a great
Victory over the
French King.

A. D.

1159.

Reg. 6.

His Answer to
the French
King.

His Piety.

England infest-
ed with Robbers

A. D.

1196.

Reg. 7.

After several Skirmishes, Burnings of Towns, Taking of Prisoners, and inferior Acts of Hostility, the two main Armies drew near to each other at *Vendosme*; where early in a Morning King *Philip* sent a Message to our King, *That he would give him a Visit with his Army that Day*; to which *Richard* return'd Answer *He would expect him, and if he did not perform his Promise, he would the next Morning return his kind Intentions, and make the Visit to him.* Notwithstanding this Overture, the *French* King thought fit to retire, which he did with such Precipitation and Fear, that great Numbers of his Men were kill'd and taken Prisoners by the *English*, and all the Waggons and Baggage, with a great Treasure fell into their Hands. The King's portable Chappel was also taken, and the Charters of all those Vassals of the King of *England* who had confederated with King *Philip* and Earl *John*; to which *Mezery* adds, that this Prince carrying with him the ancient Records of the Crown, they were all taken by the *English*, and lost, to the great Damage of the King's Affairs, as well as the History of those Times. This Victory produc'd a Year's Truce; before the Expiration of which, King *Philip*, to save the Effusion of Blood, by Ambassadors propos'd *To decide the Controversie between them by five select Combatants on each Side, and the vanquish'd Party to submit to the Terms agreed on before they began.* To which Proposal King *Richard* reply'd, *That he well approv'd of it, provided the King of France would be the fifth Man on one Side, and he himself would be so on the other*: Which Message being carry'd to King *Philip*, he would not agree to it, so the Proposal became ineffectual. As these Passages shew the Courage, so another shews the Piety of this Prince: About this Time he was admonish'd by a poor Hermit to remember the Subversion of *Sodom*, and to abstain from unlawful Lusts; which at first the King slighted, as coming from a despicable Person, but at length being visited with a great Sickness, he sent for several Religious Men, and freely confess'd himself guilty of that unnatural Impurity. And after his Recovery he betook himself to his Queen, became very charitable, and bountifully reliev'd the Poor at his Court, and restor'd all the Gold and Silver Vessels which for his Ransom had been taken from the Churches.

In the mean Time *England* was extremely infested by Robbers, Thieves and Outlaws; for the suppressing of whom, *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and chief Justiciary of the Nation, was very diligent and serviceable. Among these we are told of a famous Man call'd *Robin Hood*, accompany'd with another call'd *Little John*, and a hundred strong Bow-Men, who in *Yorkshire* molested all Passengers upon the High-Way. Some say he was of a great Family, and made no less noble than an Earl for some considerable Service; but having wasted his Estate in riotous Courses, Penury forc'd him to serve his Necessities in robbing others: Yet in this he was generously rapacious; for he never hurt either Man or Woman; spar'd the Poor, and made a Prey only of the Rich; 'till Proclamations being issu'd out against him, he fell sick at a Nunnery in *Yorkshire* call'd *Birkleys*, and desiring to be let Blood, was betray'd and bled to Death. About the same Time the City of *London* was exceedingly afflicted by the seditious Behaviour of a Citizen, vulgarly call'd *William Longbeard*, who by his natural Eloquence, his popular Arts, and his Undertaking the Cause of

the

the Poor, had procur'd a mighty Veneration from great Numbers of the ordinary Sort. After several turbulent Practices, he rais'd such a Tumult about a Tax, which he pretended was unequally laid, that in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard many were slain, and the whole City was in great Danger; 'till at length by the Care and Management of Arch-Bishop *Hubert, William* and his chief Accomplices were forc'd to fly into *Bow-Church*, where they fortify'd themselves for some time; but being driven out by Fire and Smoke, he and eight of his Companions were executed at *Tyburn*, and hung up in Chains, which put an end to the Sedition.

A Sedition in London.

Hoveden.
M. Paris.

But to return to King *Richard*, and his Affairs beyond Sea, there pass'd several Interchanges between the *English* and *French*, sometimes of Wars with Plunderings and Devastations, and sometimes of Truces with Interviews and Parlies; in one of which the Lady *Alice*, King *Philip's* Sister, was restor'd according to the Treaty of *Messina* to her Brother, who immediately marry'd her to *John* Earl of *Pontif*. In the mean Time both the Kings sought to augment the Number of their Friends; but King *Richard* by his Munificence, and other Methods, drew from the *French* King a great Party of his nearest Neighbours, as *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Raimund* Earl of *Tholouse*, to whom King *Richard* gave his Sister *Joan* Queen of *Sicily*. So that King *Philip* was oblig'd to trust wholly to his own Power and Interest; for tho' he had lately marry'd the Sister of the King of *Denmark*, purposely to use the *Danish* Shipping against the *English*; yet immediately after his Marriage, upon Pretence of Consanguinity, she was divorc'd, and the Benefit of the Alliance lost. In one of these military Actions the Bishop of *Beauvais*, who was also an Earl and of Royal Blood, was taken Prisoner by King *Richard's* Party; and being long detain'd in that Condition, he sent Letters to the Pope complaining, That he was made Prisoner by the King of *England*, and loaded with Irons, contrary to his Order and Dignity. Upon which the Pope wrote to King *Richard*, expostulating with him, *Why he detain'd his dear Brother and Son the Bishop?* The other in answer immediately sent to the Pope the Bishop's Armour in which he was taken, and likewise a Letter with this Passage in it, *Holy Father, will you be pleas'd to see whether this is your Son's Coat, or not?* Upon this the Pope return'd the Bishop a long Letter to this Effect; 'That he had put on the Armour of a Soldier, instead of the Habit of a Priest: And tho' the King of *France* had been bound by Oath to do no Damage to the King of *England's* Dominions during his Pilgrimage, yet he had shamefully, against his Faith and Oath, taken his Towns and wast'd his Territories; the Equity of whose Cause fought for him against the Arrogance and Injuries of the *French* King. That he, the Bishop, was not only a imprudent Adviser, but an insolent Actor in this unlawful Contest: Concluding thus, *That he could only supplicate the King of England in his Behalf, for in such a Case he neither could, nor ought to command.* The Bishop finding no Assistance from the Pope, was constrain'd in the following Year to give ten thousand Marks for his Liberty.

Several Actions in France.

A. D.
1127.
Reg. 8.

The Pope writes to King Richard.
His Answer.

Hoveden.
M. Paris.
Ge. 10.

While these several Hostilities pass'd between the *English* and the *French*, the King of *England* increas'd his Party by new Confederates, as *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, the Duke of *Lovain*, with the Earls of *Guienne*, *Bulloign*, *Perche* and *Blois*, and several others; and *Hoveden* tells us of the *French* King's being three several Times in a short Space repuls'd with Loss and Dishonour by King *Richard*; having also the Misfortune to lose *St. Omers*, *Air*, and other Towns taken by *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, besides the Waste of the *French* Dominions by several invasions. But the greatest of the three Victories was the second, which King *Richard* gain'd between *Curcel* and *Gisors*, where the King of *France* himself in great Hazard of his Life fell into the River *Ept*, the Bridge breaking under him with the Weight of the Multitudes that fled before the *English* Lion. This was a glorious Victory; for besides a long Catalogue of great Names extant in Authors, there were taken above a hundred Knights with their

A. D.
1128.
Reg. 10.

A great Victory over the French

King Richard's
Valour.

A. D.
1199.
Reg. 10.

A Treaty be-
tween the two
Kings.

Horses, Footmen without Number and other inferior Soldiers, two hundred great Horse, of which one hundred and forty had Barbs and Caparisons arm'd with Iron. King *Richard* in his own Person did Wonders, and by the Force of his own Lance overthrew three valiant Knights, *Matthew Monmorancy*, *Alan de Rufci*, and *Fulk de Giberval*, and took them Prisoners. The ancient Motto of *DIEU ET MON DROIT* is attributed first to this King, who in his Letters ascrib'd this Victory not to himself but to *God and his Right*. The War continuing still, many virtuous Men labour'd to make a final Agreement; and the new Pope *Innocent*, having proclaim'd a new *Crusado*, sent a Cardinal to reconcile the two mighty Kings of *France* and *England*. At length Articles of Peace were drawn up; but *Richard*, having the Advantage in the Field, was not in haste to conclude them; therefore deferr'd it 'till his Return from *Poitou*, whither he went to chastise some Rebel Subjects, tho' some say he did then conclude the Peace. At this Enterview or Treaty, King *Philip*, the perpetual Sower of Discord, shew'd a Writing to King *Richard*, implying That his Brother *John* had come over to the *French* Party; upon which *Richard* in a great Passion, order'd him to be disseiz'd of all his Territories. Which when Earl *John* understood, and the Reason of it, he immediately sent two Knights to the *French* Court, who bravely undertook to defend his Honour and Innocence against all Accusers; but when neither that King, nor any other would undertake the Cause, King *Richard* for the future put more Confidence in his Brother, and gave less Credit to the *French* King's Insinuations.

The King
wounded.

Not long after this Treaty the King's Avarice was the Occasion of his Death; ^{Horrid} for *Vidomar* Vicount of *Limosin*, having found a great Treasure of Gold in his Land, sent a large Part of it to the King; but not being content with that, he demanded the whole as *Treasure Trove*, and his Prerogative. The Vicount not yielding, the King in a Rage march'd with a strong Army, and besieg'd his Castle of *Chaluz*, in which he suppos'd the Treasure was hid: But tho' the Knights and others in the Castle went out to him, and offer'd to surrender it, provided they might have their Lives, Limbs and Arms, yet the King would not consent, but swore he would take the Castle and hang every Man; at which the Knights return'd much confounded, resolving to defend themselves to the utmost. Upon the same Day, the King taking a view of the Castle, a certain Cross-Bow Man shot at him from the Wall, and gave him a desperate Wound in the Shoulder, joining to the Neck; upon which he immediately return'd to his Quarters, and order'd *Marchade* and his Army never to leave storming the Castle 'till they took it, and then to hang up every Man, except him who had wounded him. The King was put into the Hands of an unskilful Surgeon, who as he strove to pull out the Arrow, left the Head in the Fleth, which he so grievously mangled, that it turn'd to a Gangreen; and lying thus eleven Days in great Torment, and finding no Hopes of Recovery, he by his Will bequeath'd *England* and all his other Dominions to Earl *John* his Brother; leaving him three Parts of his Treasure, and the fourth to be divided between his Servants and the Poor. A little before his Death, after great Devotion, he caus'd *Bertram*, who had given him his Death's Wound, to be brought before him, demanding of him *What Injury he had done him, that he should kill him?* To whom the other roughly reply'd, *That he had kill'd his Father and his two Brothers with his own Hand, and was endeavouring to kill him, therefore he might take what Revenge he pleas'd; He was willing to endure any Torments, since he had slain him who had done so much Mischief in the World.* The King, notwithstanding this desperate Answer, caus'd him to be set free, and not only gave him his Life, but a hundred Shillings besides; but *Marchade*, after the King's Death, caus'd him to be flead alive, and hang'd. The King deceas'd upon the sixth Day of *April*, and the forty first Year of his Age, after a magnificent and tumultuous Reign of nine Years and nine Months. His Body was interr'd at *Fonteverard* at the Feet of his Father, his Heart at *Roven*, and his Bowels

His Death.

Bowels at *Charron* in *Poitou*, as he had appointed himself, declaring *That he had dispos'd of the first to testifie his Repentance, for offending his Father; by the second he shew'd his Esteem for his valiant and loyal Normans; and by the third, the small Value he had for the inconstant and disaffected Poictovins.*

This was the fatal End of the bold and magnanimous *Richard*, from his Qualities firnam'd *Cœur-de-Lion*; a Prince who had somewhat of the Fierceness and Brutality, as well as Courage and Bravery of that Creature; whose Disloyalty to his Father was punish'd with innumerable Troubles in his Reign, and whose voracious Temper met with Death it self. As to his Person he was very tall, of a fair and comely Visage, his Eyes blue and sparkling with Fire, his Hair between red and yellow, his Limbs strait, of a noble and majestick Mein, that seem'd worthy of Empire. His Courage and Prowess was great beyond Exception; and so formidable to the *Saracens*, that it is said they were wont to still their crying Children, by telling them, *That King Richard was coming for them*; but withal he was fearless, violent and impetuous. He was very witty and eloquent, but with too great a Mixture of Pride and Arrogance; magnificent and liberal to excess, which occasion'd him at other times to be as covetous and rapacious. He was noted for *Pride, Avarice and Luxury*, which were call'd his three Daughters; and being once urg'd to part with them, he in Rallery declar'd, *He would dispose of the first to the Templars, the second to the Monks, and the third to the Prelates.* Tho' he had many noble Qualifications, yet *England* suffer'd severely under his Government, through the constant Occasions he had for Mony, and the great Rapacity of his Justiciaries, during his Absence from *England*, where he never spent above eight Months of his whole Reign; so that his Subjects felt all the Inconveniences of his Courage, without being much the better for that, or his other good Qualities in Time of Peace. It is observable, that he who had reviv'd the Use of that fatal Engine, the Cross-Bow, and had himself dispatch'd so many with it, now himself perish'd by the same Instrument. In this King's Reign the City of *London* began first to receive the Form and State of a Common-wealth, and to be divided into Companies and Corporations as at this Day.

His Character.

London divided into Companies.

S E C T. III.

The Reign of King J O H N.

Containing 17 Years, 7 Months, and 13 Days.

I. **T**HE valiant King *Richard* being thus suddenly remov'd, Earl *John* his sole surviving Brother, now about thirty three Years of Age, immediately us'd all his Interest with *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and others of the Nobility, to preserve the Peace of *England* till he could come over; and with all Expedition went to *Chinon* in *Tourain* to secure his Brother's Treasure, then in Custody of *Robert de Turnham*, who upon his Arrival deliver'd it up to him, together with the strong Castles of *Chinon* and *Saumur*. But his Affairs did not so well succeed in other Parts; for the Provinces of *Anjou, Tourain and Main*, in a general Assembly of their chief Men firmly adher'd to his Nephew *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretaign*, as their Sovereign Lord, declaring it to be the Custom of those Territories to prefer the Elder Brother's Son before the Younger Brother. In Compliance to which Determination, all the Towns in those Provinces were surrender'd to *Arthur's* Use, except some few which Earl *John* had secur'd at first: Upon which the Lady *Constance*,

A. D.

1199.

Reg. 1.

Earl John endeavours for the Crown.

His Nephew Arthur sets up against him in France.

John made
Duke of Nor-
mandy.

stance, Mother to young *Arthur*, carry'd him to the City of *Tours*, and deliver'd him in the thirteenth Year of his Age to the Custody of the *French King*, who sent him to be educated with his Son *Lewis* at *Paris*; and at the same Time possess'd himself of all his strong Places and Castles, resolving to make the young Heir subservient to his ambitious Designs. Which unwelcome News caus'd Earl *John* immediately to march with a strong Force into the Province of *Main*; where he soon took the City of *Mans*, and to show his Revenge, and to be a Terror to other Places, he demolish'd the Walls of the City and Castle, with all the Store-Houses, and carry'd away the Citizens Prisoners, because contrary to their Fealty sworn to him, they had receiv'd *Arthur* for their Lord. From thence he went to *Rouen* in *Normandy*, where on the twenty fifth Day of *April*, in the Cathedral Church he was girt with the Sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and a Coronet adorn'd with golden Roses was put upon his Head by the Arch-Bishop of that City; after which, in the Presence of the Clergy and Laity, he took an Oath upon the Holy Gospels and Relicks of the Saints, 'To preserve the Holy Church, with all her Privileges, and Dignities, to administer true Justice, to abrogate evil Laws, and to ordain such as were good.

The Peers of
England ac-
knowledge
John.

While these Affairs were transacting beyond Sea, *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *William* the Earl-Marshal, caus'd all the Free-Men of the Kingdom of *England*, both of Cities and Boroughs, as also the Earls, Barons and Free-Tenants, to swear Fealty to *John* the Son of King *Henry* against all Men: Yet still all the Bishops, Earls and Barons who had Castles, fortify'd and stor'd them with Victuals and Ammunition; being either not well satisfy'd with Earl *John's* Title, or else suspecting the Effects of his changeable and imperious Humour. Upon Notice of this, the Arch-Bishop, with the Earl-Marshal and chief Justiciary met at *Northampton*, and there summon'd those of the Nobility they most suspected, whom they satisfy'd by assuring them, *That Earl John would certainly restore to every one their Right*; upon which Condition or Agreement, the Earls and Barons renew'd their Oaths of Fealty to *John*, and engag'd to serve him faithfully against all Opposers. In the mean Time the Earl, now lately become a Duke, resolv'd to take Possession of the Crown of *England*, and landing in *Sussex* on the twenty fifth Day of *May*, he immediately came up to *London* in order to his Coronation, where appear'd a noble Concourse of Bishops, Earls and Barons, who in most solemn Procession attended him to the Abby Church in *Westminster*. Here before the Solemnity was perform'd, *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, having requir'd the Attention of his Audience, according to *M. Paris* made this Speech. *No Man has a Right to succeed in this Kingdom, unless, after seeking the Holy Spirit, he be first unanimously elected for the Excellency of his Manners by the general Body of the Kingdom, and anointed King after the Example of Saul, whom God set over his People, tho' he was neither a King's Son, nor descended of Royal Blood; and after him David the Son of Jesse; the one because he was valiant and brave, the other because he was pious and humble; so that he who surpass'd others in Valour and Virtue, might exceed them in Dignity and Power. Therefore if any one of the Family of the deceas'd King excels the rest, we ought most readily to consent to his Election; and this we speak in favour of the noble Duke John here present, Brother to our illustrious King Richard, who dy'd without Issue of his Body: This Duke being prudent and valiant, as well in respect of his Merits as of his Royal Blood, with the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, we do unanimously elect King.*

John comes to
be crown'd in
England.

The Arch-Bi-
shop's Spe ch.

John is elected
King.

Here our Author observes, that the Arch-Bishop was a Man of a deep Foresight, and so eminent for Constancy and Wisdom, that none durst dispute what he said, knowing that he had not without good Cause thus determin'd the Matter; with which Speech Duke *John* and the rest acquiesc'd, and all unanimously electing and receiving him for their King, cry'd out, *Long may the King live!*

But

But the Arch-Bishop being afterwards ask'd why he made such a Speech, answer'd, *That he was fully assur'd by certain remarkable Presages, that King John would bring the Kingdom and Crown into great Confusion; therefore to put some Restraint upon his Temper, he had affirm'd, That he ought to come in by Election, and not by Hereditary Succession.* This Election being over, the Arch-Bishop plac'd the Crown upon the King's Head with the usual Ceremonies, notwithstanding the Bishop of *Durham* appeal'd against it, because of the Absence of the Arch-Bishop of *York*. Then the Coronation Oath was administer'd, consisting of these three Heads, '*That he would cherish the Holy Church, and all the Clergy, and preserve her from the Violence of her Enemies; That all evil Laws being abrogated, he would establish such as were good; That he would exercise true Justice throughout the Kingdom of England:* And he was further adjured by the Arch-Bishop, *That he should not presume to undertake this Dignity, unless he resolv'd to fulfil what he had now sworn;* to which he answer'd, *That he would by the Assistance of God observe all those Things he had promis'd;* and on the next Day, having receiv'd the Homage and Fealties of the Nobility, he went to pay his Devotion at *St. Alban's Shrine*. On the same Day, to reward those who had lifted him into the Throne, he made *William Marechal* and *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, Earls of *Pembroke* and *Essex*, and the Arch-Bishop Lord High Chancellor of *England*; who seeming to glory in this Addition of Honour, was told by the Lord *Bardulf*, *That the Height of the Archiepiscopal Dignity was such, that it was ever reputed a great Advancement for a Chancellor to be made an Arch-Bishop, but none for an Arch-Bishop to be made a Chancellor.*

The King's Enemies now found Opportunities to disturb his Affairs abroad, while he was settling those at home; for the *French King* easily surpriz'd the City of *Eureux* in *Normandy*, and recover'd the County of *Main*, while the *Britains* regain'd the City of *Angiers*, with many other strong Places. The News of which caus'd King *John*, after settling some Preliminaries with the *Scotch King*, to hasten into *Normandy*, where his Army was so much encreas'd by Friends and Volunteers, that King *Philip* was content to accept of a Truce for fifty Days; upon the expiring of which an Interview was agreed on to establish a lasting Peace. But for securing his Designs, *Philip* the very Day before the Meeting, knighted Earl *Arthur*, and receiving his Homage for *Bretagne, Normandy, Anjou, Poictou, Tourain, and Main*, faithfully promis'd to yield him all Assistance for the acquiring those Territories. On the other side King *John* strengthen'd himself with the Alliance and Homage of *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*; and after the sixteenth Day of *August* treated with the *French King* two Days by Commissioners, and on the third in Person, between the Towns of *Butivant* and *Gaillon*. At this Treaty *Philip* demanded all the *Norman Veuxin* for himself, alledging, That *Geoffry*, Father to King *Henry II.* had given it to *Lewis* the late King of *France*, for his Assistance in gaining *Normandy* from King *Stephen*; and further demanded, that *Poictou, Anjou, Tourain* and *Main* might be deliver'd to Earl *Arthur*; and made divers other unreasonable Demands, to which the King of *England* could not in Honour condescend, so that their intended Amities ended in more hostile Defiances. But *Philip's* Demands for young *Arthur* were only Compliments to that Earl, as his own Words discover'd, when being afterwards ask'd *Why he entertain'd such an Aversion to King John, who had never injur'd him,* his Answer was, *Because he had possess'd himself of Normandy, and the other Territories, without first asking him Leave, or offering Homage to him:* So much did King *Philip* now assume to himself, above what any of his Predecessors had done before.

The King of
France sets up
Earl Arthur
against him.

The Flames on both Sides breaking out the stronger for being so much stifled, many Earls and Barons of *France* who formerly adhered to King *Richard*, now became Homagers to King *John*, swearing never to return to King *Philip* with-
out

Several Hostilities between the Kings of France and England.

out his Consent, and he swearing never to make Peace without including them in the Articles. In the Heat of the Contests, a chief Adherent of the Earl of *Flanders*, being Bishop Elect of *Cambray*, fell into the Hands of the *French* King, and at the same Time *Philip* Bishop of *Beauvois* was detain'd Prisoner by King *John*; and neither of these Kings being willing to release their miter'd Champions, *Peter* of *Capua* the Pope's Legate interdicted *France* for the one, and *Normandy* for the other. Yet King *John* obtain'd the Favour of the Pope to require six thousand Marks from his Prize, with an Oath never to bear Arms against Christians. In *October* the King of *France* seiz'd the Castle of *Balun*, and demolish'd it; which was highly resent'd by Earl *Arthur*'s General *William de la Roche*, who expostulating with him, as being contrary to Covenants with his Master, *Philip* scornfully reply'd, *That his Lord Arthur's Dislike should not hinder him from doing what he thought fit with such Places as he had taken*; and then went and besieg'd *Lavardin*: But hearing the King of *England* was coming to relieve it, he left the Siege, and march'd to *Mans*; King *John* follow'd him, and he also quitted that Place. In the mean Time, Earl *Arthur*'s General finding that his Master was only made a Mask for *Philip*'s Ambition, by Subtelty got him out of his Custody, and reconcil'd him to his Uncle King *John*, to whom he also deliver'd the City of *Mans*, of which he was Governor. Yet still this Design prov'd unsuccessful, for some of *Philip*'s Party infus'd such needless Terrors of Imprisonment into *Arthur* and his Mother, that being overcome with jealous Apprehensions, they fled together with many other Noblemen, to the City of *Angiers*, and from thence return'd again to the King of *France*, so that *Arthur* being neither sure to *John* nor *Philip*, was now in danger of being crush'd between both those powerful Monarchs.

A. D.

1200.

Reg. 1.

A Treaty between them.

The Breach between these two Kings seem'd the more dangerous, because King *John*'s Nephew *Otho*, just now advanc'd to the Empire, promis'd him great Assistance, if he would defer making Peace with the *French* King. Yet still *Peter*, the Pope's Legate, who had formerly procur'd a five Years Truce between King *Richard* and *Philip*, by his assiduous Mediation so far prevail'd, that the same Truce should continue 'till the Feast of St. *Hillary*. After which King *John* through his Weakness was led into a disadvantageous and dishonourable Treaty, in which it was agreed, That *Lewis* the *French* King's Son should marry King *John*'s Niece *Blanche*, Daughter to *Alphonso* King of *Castile*; that King *John* should give for her Dowry the City and County of *Eureux*, with several strong Places in *Normandy*, besides thirty thousand Marks of Silver; swearing also not to assist his Nephew *Otho* either with Men or Money towards his Establishment in the Empire; and further promising, if he dy'd without Issue, to leave to *Lewis* all the Territories he held in *France*. All which Articles were formally engross'd, and afterwards finally concluded about Midsummer, between *Butavant* and *Gulatum*, two Castles belonging to either King; when the Places were actually surrender'd to King *Philip*, the Lady *Blanche* marry'd to his Son *Lewis*, and Earl *Arthur* yielded up, and made a Servant and Homager to King *John* for his own Dominions, whom yet his Uncle was satisfy'd to leave with King *Philip*, who had only supported him for his own Advantage. In these Matters King *John* prov'd more firm to King *Philip*, than either *Philip* to him, or he himself to *Otho* the Emperor, who sending his two Brothers *Henry* and *William*, to demand some Territories, with such Treasure and Jewels as King *Richard* had given him by Will, King *John* deny'd all, only in Regard of his Oath he had sworn to *Philip*, that he would yield no Assistance to the Emperor. And further, to preserve a most intire Amity with *Philip*, by his Advice he divorc'd his Wife *Avise*, upon Pretence of Consanguinity, and marry'd *Isabell*, Heiress to *Aymer* Earl of *Engolesme*, a beautiful young Lady, but contracted to the Earl of *Marche*, who afterwards prov'd a dangerous and implacable Enemy to him.

II. This

II. This Agreement with *Philip*, who now acknowledg'd King *John* right-ful Heir to his Brother *Richard*, gave him Leave and Opportunity to reduce all Opposers in his transmarine Dominions, and soon after to return and inspect the Affairs of his Kingdom of *England*, from which he had been somewhat too long absent. Yet in the Heat of the foreign Employments, he on occasion had recourse thither to settle his State Affairs and Crown Revenues, to enact Laws for Trade and Commerce, to raise a Tax for his Niece's great Dowry, and mi-
Taxes rais'd.litary Occasions; which Tax, being three Shillings upon every Plough-Land, occasion'd great Heats and Prejudices, tho' it was the only Subsidy since his coming to the Crown: And this chiefly by the Means of his natural Brother *Geoffry* Arch-Bishop of *York*, who being swell'd with the Greatness of his Family and Preferment, directly forbid the Collectors to come within his Pre-cincts; and being also requir'd by the King to attend him in *France*, to conclude the Peace and celebrate the Nuptials of his Niece, he undutifully deny'd his Service. The King justly mov'd with these disloyal Actions, caus'd all his Temporalties to be seiz'd by his Sheriff, whom the Arch-Bishop solemnly excommunicated, offer'd Violence to the King's Officers, and proceeded so far as to interdict the whole Province of *York*. Notwithstanding this, not long after, upon the King's Return, and *Geoffry's* Submission, he was restor'd to Fa-vour at a very solemn Time, which was at the Coronation of King *John's* Queen *Isabella*, with whom the King himself was a second Time formally crow-
The King crown-
ed a second
Time.n'd at *Westminster* by *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

This Solemnity being over the King resolv'd to end a depending Controversie between him and *William* King of *Scotland*, who had claim'd the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland* as his ancient Right of Inheritance; and ac-cordingly he sent an honourable Embassie of several of the Nobility to conduct him safely to the City of *Lincoln*, where both Kings met upon the twenty first Day of *November*, with all the Marks of Civility and Courtesie. The next
He goes to
Lincoln.Day to promote his Temporal Affairs by spiritual Devotions, King *John*, tho' dissuaded by the ominous Pretensions of some about him, undauntedly enter'd the Cathedral Church, and there offer'd a Golden Chalice on St. *John's* Altar, which, according to our Author, no King before him durst do. These Devo-tions ended, the two Kings with great Pomp and Magnificence ascending that high Hill on the North Side of the City, since call'd *Bore-Hill*, swore Amity
Treats with the
King of Scot-
land.and faithful Alliance upon the Crozier of Arch-Bishop *Hubert*, in the Presence of three Arch-Bishops, thirteen Bishops, the King of *South-Wales*, with a Mul-titude of *English*, *Scotch*, *French* and *Irish* Nobility. This Spectacle so splen-did to the Beholders was succeeded by another no less honourable to King *John*, occasion'd by the Arrival of the Corps of the pious Prelate *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*, a Person so justly honour'd by his Majesty, that when his Body was brought to the Gates of *Lincoln*, he and all his Regal Train went forth to meet it: And to show his Respect and Humility, he with the two Kings and their Allies bore the Coffin upon their Shoulders, from whom the great Peers receiv'd it, and carry'd it to the Entrance of the Cathedral, whence the three Arch-Bishops and Bishops convey'd it to the Quire, and interr'd it the next Day with all answerable Solemnities. Nor did the King rest here in showing his Respect and Kindness to Ecclesiasticks; when twelve Abbots of the *Cistercian* Order, whose whole Society had highly offended him in refusing the late Tax, now came to *Lincoln*, and all prostrate at his Feet begg'd his Mercy and the Remo-val of the Punishments laid upon them; this Sight of these venerable Suppli-ants so affected his Heart, that he fell at their Feet, desir'd their Forgiveness, restor'd them to his Favour, and after that founded an Abby for their Order in *Hampshire* call'd *Beaulieu*, designing to be enthrin'd there himself, and making it a Refuge and Asylum for the greatest Offenders.

*The first
Breaches be-
tween the King
and Clergy.*

A. D.
1201.
Reg. 2.
3.

*The King
crown'd a third
Time.*

*The first
Breaches be-
tween the King
and the Lay
Peers.*

Notwithstanding all outward Kindness and Obligations, a dangerous Breach now began to be open'd between the King and the Clergy, occasion'd by the increasing Power of the latter, who being supported by the mighty Authority of the Pope, insisted upon Exemption from Regal Commands, and daily trench'd the Royal Prerogative. This he found in a short Time; for when he came to nominate a Successor to *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*, according to the Usage of his Ancestors, he was with peremptory Affronts withstood by the Canons of that Church, who as long as they had the Pope in their Interest, little regarded the Commands of their Prince. Likewise *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, being now disappointed, and repenting that he had advanc'd *John* to the Crown, as Legate to the Pope held a general Synod of all the Bishops and Clergy at *Westminster*, notwithstanding the positive Prohibition of the King's chief Justiciary; which is one of the first Examples of that independant Power, the Arch-Bishops and other Legates from the Pope, ever after usurp'd 'till the Reformation, of holding Ecclesiastical Synods, and making Canons by their sole Authority, without the King's Licence or Confirmation. Nor did *Hubert* cease here, but shortly after endeavour'd to outvie with his Sovereign in Magnificence; for understanding that the King design'd to keep the Feast of *Christmas* with his Queen at *Guildford* with great Pomp and Solemnity; he, whose Palace usually for Splendor, Attendants, and Entertainments exceeded that of some Princes, thought this a proper Time to manifest his great State and small Regard to his King's Favour, by equalling his own Sumptuous Preparations to his, with his rich Habits and munificent Gifts bestow'd upon his Attendants at *Canterbury*. The King mov'd with no small Indignation, concluded this Prelate had too much Riches, or too little Discretion; and therefore to diminish the one, and add to the other, after a Journey into the North to raise Money, he resolv'd to go to *Canterbury*, and keep his *Easter* at the Charge of *Hubert the Rich*. Here he increas'd that great Expence with a greater, which was his and his Queen's solemn crowning again on *Easter* Day, in the Cathedral Church; where in lieu of the Expence *Hubert* had the Honour to set the Crown upon the King's Head, but not the Favour to sit near his Heart.

Such were the first Contests between the King and the Clergy, which afterwards broke out into a more dangerous Flame; which the Lay Peers were so far from extinguishing, that they made it fiercer than before. For mistaking either his Title or his Temper, they resolv'd upon the first Opportunity to shew their Resentments; which happen'd in a short Time after his last Coronation, when the King had occasion for their Service against the *Poictovins* in *France*, who had rebell'd and besieg'd their Governors in their Castles. The King having summon'd them to appear with their Arms at *Portsmouth* by *Whitsonside*, the whole Body of the Nobility held a solemn Assembly at *Leicester*, and after a formal Consultation, sent this Message to the King, *That they would not go over with him, unless he would first restore to them their ancient Rights*. Which so provok'd the King, that instead of complying with their Demands, by the precipitate Advice of some, he impolitickly demanded of them their Castles as Pledges of their Fidelity, particularly he took the Castle *Beavoir* into his Hands, with the Children of some of them. Yet it appears that most of them were at last prevail'd upon to go with him, and being assembled at *Portsmouth*, he took Money of the greatest Part of them to be excus'd, and permitted them to return home; *M. Paris* says it was two Marks out of each Knight's Fee. In the mean Time the King sent *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Roger* *Lacy*, with two distinct Bodies of Men into *Normandy*, to repel the Enemy on the Borders of that Province; and also intrusted *Hubert de Burgh* his Chamberlain with another Body to defend the Borders of *England* and *Wales*. And that he might give no Cause of Discontent to the Clergy, and prevent all Obstructions in raising of Money, he fully reconcil'd himself to *Geoffrey* Arch-Bishop of *York*, restor'd all his Manors, and by a Charter confirm'd all the Privileges and Immunities

nities of that Church. Having settled his Affairs in *England*, he pass'd over into *France*, where King *Philip* agreed to a personal but private Parly; in which each gave and receiv'd such reciprocal Marks of Satisfaction, that not only the former Bonds of Amity seem'd inviolable, but were also more strengthen'd with a new Association, wherein several great Peers were made Sureties under Hand and Seal, with this Condition, that when either of the Kings broke the Articles, all his cautionary Lords should be freed from their Allegiance, and join with the other. And that the World might take notice of their combin'd Friendship, they both agreed to contribute the fortieth Part of their whole Crown Revenues to the Holy Wars; sending their Letters throughout their Dominions, to encourage all their Nobles and People to follow their Examples. With these Intercourses and other Compliments, three Days were spent between them; and King *Philip* the further to insinuate himself into the other's good Opinion, desir'd the Favour of his Company, first to St. *Denis's* Palace, where he enter'd with a pompous Procession of the Clergy, and was royally lodg'd by King *Philip*; and the next Day he enter'd *Paris*, where he was receiv'd with very noble Presents from the City, and great Applauses of all Sorts, to see such Marks of Affection between two such great Princes, so lately mortal Enemies. Here the *French* King betaking himself to a more private Mansion, left his own Palace to honour and accommodate the King of *England*; and after some Days Continuance in magnificent Diversions and Entertainments, King *John* royally attended out of the City, took his leave of King *Philip*, with such Signs of mutual Satisfaction, that nothing could have appear'd more lasting than their Alliance and Amity.

A new Treaty between the Kings of England and France.

King John highly complimented.

*Historien.
Wander.
M. Paris.*

But these fair Prospects prov'd but of a short Continuance; for while King *John* was passing his *Christmass* at *Argenton*, in the beloved Company of his fair *Isabell*, *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*, to whom that Lady was first promised, inflam'd with Love and Revenge, perswaded several of the *Norman* Nobility, *That he was unworthy to be a King, who had thus injur'd him, and was ready to do the like by any of them.* Upon which young *Arthur's* Hopes, which were grown cold, were now rekindled by these Incendiaries; the *Britans*, then fascinated with his ominous Name, resolv'd to raise him to the highest Pitch of Grandeur; and King *Philip* who secretly hated King *John*, and continually grasp'd at his *French* Territories, design'd not to be backwards in their Assistance. Thus Earl *Hugh* out of Love, Duke *Arthur* out of Ambition, King *Philip* out of Avarice, and all out of Hatred, were conspiring King *John's* Ruin; while he himself was furthest from Suspicion, when nearest the Danger. But the Mischiefs were soon disclos'd in a second Interview between the two Kings, near the Castle of *Guleton*; where *Philip* forgetting all former Compacts, and pretending some imaginary Wrongs, peremptorily requir'd *John* immediately to restore all his transmarine Dominions to *Arthur* Duke of *Britaign*; otherwise, as Sovereign Lord of those Countries, which *John* held by Homage, he expressly cited him to appear personally at *Paris* fifteen Days after *Easter*, there to answer what should be laid to his Charge, and to abide the Judgment of the Court. King *John*, amaz'd at this strange Proposal and Alteration, disdain'd both his Citation and Commands, as unworthy for *England's* King to accept, or the *French* to offer. After this, we are told that King *John* for his Non-appearance was actually adjudg'd by the Peers of *France* to lose his Territories in the Continent; however it is certain that upon his Refusal of the *French* King's Demands, that Prince immediately invaded the King of *England's* Territories, first levelling the strong Castle of *Butemant*, and then taking the Town of *Ongis*, with the Castle of *Lymis*, and many other Places. He also besieg'd the Castle of *Radford* eight Days, but hearing of King *John's* Approach, he retir'd, and turn'd all his Forces against *Gorncy*, where breaking down the Head of a large Pool above the Town, a great Part of the Walls were overthrown by the violent Fall of the Water, so that the Garrison retiring, the King took the Town without any considerable Opposition.

A. D.

1202.

Reg. 5.

The French King breaks with him.

Historien.

After these Advantages, *Philip* returning to *Paris*, appointed certain Tutors M. Paris, &c. or Governors for Duke *Arthur*, and assign'd him two hundred Horsemen for his Guard, who were order'd to march with him into *Poitou*, to reduce those Parts; but as he was marching thither in a mighty military Pomp, he was inform'd that the old Queen *Eleanor* was in *Mirabel*, which was but a weak Garrison. Therefore knowing the Advantage of such a Prize, he turn'd all his Forces thither, and invested the Place, soon forcing the outward Castle to surrender: But the Queen and some of the principal Soldiers retiring into a strong inward Tower, there made a valiant Defence. This occasion'd almost all the Noblemen and Knights of *Poitou*, and principally the Earl of *Marche*, King *John's* inveterate Enemy, to come to Duke *Arthur's* Assistance; so that they all together made a powerful Army, and reduc'd the Queen to great Straits. This being understood by her Son King *John*, he march'd with the utmost Expedition, Day and Night, and arriv'd sooner than could be expected. The Effect of his Appearance was, that the *French* and *Poitouvins* left the Siege to give him Battel, which prov'd highly successful to King *John*, who after a great Slaughter put them to flight, and so closely press'd upon them, that he enter'd the outward Castle with them, where the Conflict was soon ended by the Valour and Bravery of the *English*. This was a glorious Victory, by the gaining of which two hundred *French* Knights were taken Prisoners, with Duke *Arthur* himself, the Earl of *Marche*, and most of the Nobility of *Poitou* and *Anjou*; who being put into Fetters, were ignominiously sent away in Carts, some into *Normandy*, and others into *England*, there to be kept close Prisoners. Duke *Arthur* was sent to *Falaise*, and kept under a strong Guard; and his Sister *Eleanor*, call'd the *Beauty of Bretain*, was committed to *Bristol* Castle, where she liv'd near forty Years with very honourable Usage. King *John* returning his Thanks to Heav'n, sent his Letters to all his Nobility in *England*, inciting them to *render all Praise to God for so wonderful a Work, and so gracious Assistance*; and the *French* King who had for fifteen Days batter'd the Walls of the Castle of *Arches*, was so confounded at this News, that he immediately rais'd the Siege, and return'd to *Paris*, without any further Action that Year.

King John obtains a great Victory.

Duke Arthur made Prisoner.

Shortly after this Victory, King *John* going to *Falaise*, caus'd his Nephew *Arthur* to be brought before him, us'd many kind Expressions to him, and promis'd him great Honours, if he would totally relinquish the King of *France*, and adhere to him as his Lord and Uncle. But notwithstanding he now lay at his Mercy, he answer'd him disdainfully, and with plain Threats demanded the Kingdom of *England*, and all the Dominions enjoy'd by King *Richard*, as his Right by Inheritance, adding by an Oath, *That he should never enjoy Peace 'till he had restor'd them*. King *John* inrag'd at these high and unexpected Demands, immediately sent him to *Roven* to be kept in stricter Custody than before in the new Tower, under the Care of *Robert de Viepont*. Some Writers affirm, that before he was brought to *Roven*, the Nobility of *Bretain* and *Anjou* shew'd so much Zeal for him, that the King's Friends advis'd him to deprive him of his Eyes and Genitals, to render him incapable of Government or Procreation, to which cruel Proposal he consented, but was disappointed by the three Persons design'd to be Agents in it: One of whom, out of a publick Experiment spread a Report of his Death, which instead of appeasing, rais'd new and greater Exasperations among the Inhabitants of *Bretain* and *Anjou*. Upon which the King, to prevent future Disturbances, remov'd him to a safer Prison at *Roven*; where in a short Time he quite disappear'd, and was never seen after; but by what Means, there is still a great Uncertainty. All suppose and believe it was by a violent Death; and the King's Friends reported, that endeavouring to make his escape out of the Prison, he was accidentally drown'd in the River *Seyne*, upon which the Castle stood: But most Writers press hard upon the Memory of *John*, and say that by his Orders he was privately and basely

He is supposed to be privately murder'd.

basely murder'd; and some more expressly tell us, that he himself came secretly in a Boat by Night, and causing his Nephew to be brought before him, without all Pity slew him with his own Sword, and caus'd his Body to be thrown into the *Seyne* some Leagues below the Town. But of this black and difficult Affair, we can say nothing positively.

*M. Paris.
Æmilius.*

III. King *John* being now freed from his Rival, for his better Security, caus'd himself to be a fourth Time crown'd at *Canterbury*, on the fourteenth Day of *April*, by *Hubert* the Arch-Bishop; but upon his Return into *Normandy*, he soon found that it was but an Introduction to greater Troubles than ever. For the Report of the Murder was soon spread in all Parts, to the great blackning of the King's Name; for tho' very few could know how the young Prince came by his Death, yet all had too much reason to conclude that it could not have been brought about without the King's Orders. Upon which the Lady *Constance*, Mother to the Deceas'd, repair'd to King *Philip*, and made violent Complaints of the unheard of Barbarity of King *John*; which caus'd *Philip* to assemble all his Peers and Nobility, who immediately summon'd King *John*, as Duke of *Normandy*, to appear before them, and answer this Accusation, at an appointed Day. King *John* readily sent *Eustace* Bishop of *Ely* and *Hubert de Burgh*, as his Ambassadors, to let that King know, *That he would willingly appear at his Court, provided he might have safe Conduct for his Going and Returning*; to which *Philip* answer'd with a stern Look, *He may come in Peace*; but when the Bishop ask'd, *Whether he might return so*, his only Answer was, *Yes, if the Sentence of his Peers would permit him*. The Ambassadors still insisting upon a safe Conduct for their Master, King *Philip* in a Rage swore by all the Saints of *France*, *That it should not be otherwise than the Judgment of his Court*. Then the Bishop began to lay open the Dangers that might happen to his Master by his Appearance, and now urg'd, *That the Duke of Normandy could not attend his Court, since the same Person was also King of England; and the Baronage of that Nation would not permit it, tho' he himself should consent to it, since there was so much Danger either of his Death or Imprisonment*. To which the King reply'd, *Pray, my Lord Bishop, what is that to me? It is well known that the Duke of Normandy is my Vassal, and if he thought fit to conquer England, and so acquire a higher Title, ought his Sovereign Lord to lose any Thing by that?* No Answer being given to this, and King *John* not appearing at the appointed Time, the Court proceeded to condemn him for Treason and Murther, and *P. Æmilius* has recorded the Sentence to this Effect, 'That *John* Duke of *Normandy*, being unmindful of his Oath to *Philip* his Lord, had murder'd his elder Brother's Son, an Homager to that Crown, within the Sovereignty of *France*; whereupon he is judg'd a Traitor, and as an Enemy to the Crown of *France*, to forfeit all his Dominions which he held by Homage, and that Re-entry be made by Force of Arms. Thus by a partial and undue Sentence, the King and Peers of *France*, at a Time whilst they were in open Hostility with King *John*, condemn'd him, tho' absent, unheard, without either confessing, or being convicted of the Crime, and without any legal or equitable Cognizance of it.

*The King
crown'd a
fourth Time.*

*He is sum-
mon'd by the
Court of
France.*

*and condemn'd
unheard.*

Paris.

However the *French* being then very powerful, soon began to put this Sentence in Execution, while King *John*, free from the Noise and Thoughts of War, feasted magnificently with his Queen at *Caen*, and lay in Bed with her every Day 'till Noon. At the same Time the *French* King took many of his Castles, kept the strongest, and demolish'd the rest; and when King *John* was told what the Enemy had done, he only reply'd, *Let him alone, whatever he takes now, I will soon recover again*. But when the *English* Barls and Noblemen heard this, and observ'd his insuperable Sloath, they begg'd leave to return home; and so left but a very few Knights or military Men to tarry with him in *Normandy*. In the mean Time, *Hugh de Gourney* surrender'd the strong

A. D.
1203.
Reg. 4.

*He loses ma-
ny Places in
France.*

Castle

Castle of *Montfort* to the *French* King, with the entire Honour belonging to it, while King *John* continu'd securely at *Roven*; insomuch that the People said, *Sure he was enchanted*, being still as pleasant and unconcern'd as if nothing had befallen him. The *French* King still proceeded further, and with a powerful Army sat down before the strong Fortrefs of *Ruil*, within the Territory of *Roven*; and *Fitz-Water* and *De Quincy*, in whose Custody it was, shamefully deliver'd up that important Place, as soon as he appear'd before it. But King *Philip* abhorring their Cowardice, generously commanded them to be kept close Prisoners, and to be loaded with Fetters, 'till they could pay their Ransoms. *Normandy*, and the King's other Dominions being thus left naked and defenceless, the *French* King pass'd through divers Provinces without any Opposition, and reduc'd several Castles to his Obedience. He also about that Time besieg'd that strong Castle on the Rock of *Andeli* on *Seyne*, which King *Richard* had built from the Ground, and call'd it *Castle Galliard*; but that being defended by the admirable Valour and Fidelity of *Roger de Lacy*, King *Philip* could gain so little Advantage against it, that he was forc'd to turn his Siege into a Blockade: In which Juncture some *Normans* revolted from the King of *England*, while others outwardly adher'd to him.

He returns into
England.

King *John* at length seeing his own Weakness, and that he was left without any Forces, took shipping, and landed at *Portsmouth* on the sixth Day of *December*; and immediately after his Arrival he turn'd his Resentments against his Earls and Barons, alledging, *That they had deserted, and left him among his Enemies beyond Sea, and through their Neglect he had lost his Castles and Territories there*; wherefore by way of Punishment he forcibly took from them the seventh Part of their Moveables. Neither did he spare in this Tax even the Conventual or Parochial Churches, for, as *Paris* tells us, he had such as severely executed his Rapines, viz. *Hubert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, upon the Clergy, and *Fitz-Peter* the Justiciary, upon the Laity, who spared no Person in this Imposition. At the same Time the *French* King taking advantage of King *John*'s Absence, march'd with a strong Force before several other Cities and Castles of his Dominions, politickly declaring to the Inhabitants, *That King John had cowardly deserted them, and he being chief Lord over those Countries, stood oblig'd in that case to preserve the Fee from Injury and Damage; therefore he amicably requir'd them to receive him for their Sovereign, since they had no other: But if they refus'd this fair Proposal, and after Resistance were subdu'd, he declar'd by an Oath, he would either hang or flea them all alive.* At length, after many Disputes and Consultations, they unanimously consented to give Hostages for one Year's Truce; and if the King of *England* reliev'd them not within that Time, they would recognize him for their Lord, and surrender their Cities and Castles to him. Yet, as *Trivet* better informs us, many of the chief Cities of *Normandy*, as *Falaise*, *Constance*, *Bayeux*, and others, being by Force or Treachery soon reduc'd to the *French* King's Power, King *John* had nothing left there, besides the City of *Roven*.

He loses more
in France.

A. D.

1204.

Reg. 1.

Upon the second of *January*, King *John* and all the great Men of *England* met in a grand Council or Parliament at *Oxford*; where was granted to the King a military Aid of two Marks and a half of every Knight's Fee; nor did Bishops, Abbots, or Ecclesiasticks depart without promising the same. But notwithstanding this great Aid, we do not find that he made any better use of it than to spend it in an unactive and luxurious Life. However he found it convenient after *Midlent* to send the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with the Bishops of *Ely* and *Norwich*, and the Earl-Marshal and the Earl of *Leicester*, as Ambassadors to the King of *France*, to sound his Inclinations to a Peace, and to propose some new Terms of Agreement, if he would receive them. But King *Philip*, swell'd with his former Successes, would agree to none of them; but finding that Duke *Arthur* was really dead, he demanded *Eleanor* his Sister to be given in Marriage to his younger Son, with all the Territories in *France*, designing

A Treaty pro-
pos'd. but in-
effectual.

designing to make a further Advantage of her, as the true Heirefs to the Crown of *England*. But this being thought an unreasonable Demand, the Embassie became ineffectual. About the same Time King *Philip* sent a valiant Champion to justify by Combate before the States of *England*, what his Master had done in *France* against their King; and tho' it was not thought fit to hazard a Title of that Moment on the Arms and Fortune of one Man, yet it was resolv'd that this bold Challenger should not pass unanswer'd. Accordingly the King fix'd on *John Curvy*, Earl of *Ulster*, now a Prisoner in the Tower, a Man of a Gigantick Body and undaunted Fierceness, who when the King ask'd him Whether he would combate in his Cause, answer'd *No, not in thy Cause, nor for thy Sake, but for the Kingdom's Right I will fight to the last Moment of Life*. While with vast Eating he repair'd his decay'd Limbs and Nerves, the *French* Champion hearing of his excessive Feeding, and his proportionable Strength, and dreading him as a Monster of Nature, he retir'd secretly into *Spain*, not daring to visit *France* again. Of this Earl *Curvy* we are further assur'd, that afterwards when the two Kings met upon a Truce in *France*, King *Philip* hearing he was in the *English* Camp, desir'd King *John* to let him see some Experiment of his fam'd Strength. Whereupon an Helmet of excellent Proof, full fac'd with Mail, was set upon a wooden Block; when the Earl first looking round with a most dreadful Aspect, lift up his mighty Sword, and cleft so deep through the Steel into the knotty Wood, that none present but himself could draw it out again, which he did with Ease. Then being ask'd by the King, *Why he look'd so fiercely before he struck*, he answer'd, *That if he had fail'd of his Blow, he then resolv'd to have kill'd them all, both Kings, and other Spectators*. Both Kings made him large Presents, and *John* freely restor'd him to his Earldom of *Ulster*.

The French King sends a Champion to justify him.

who privately retires.

M. Paris, &c.

But what King *Philip* could not perform by one Champion in *England*, he effected in *Normandy* by many, where after great Success he took the chief City of *Roven*, by the Surrender of the Citizens, and that after a long Siege, and merely for want of sending them timely Assistance. It was surrender'd upon honourable Terms and divers advantageous Articles, the chief of which were, That the City should enjoy all its ancient Franchises and Privileges; but as *Mezeray* well observes, This Precaution prov'd as feeble against absolute Power, as Paper is against Iron; for as soon as he became Master of it, he utterly demolish'd all its noble Walls, and forbad them ever to be built again. After this the Castle on the Rock of *Andeli* was taken, partly by undermining, and partly by Famine, after it had been besieg'd almost a Year; but before the Enemy could enter, when they had scarce Provisions left for one Meal, the valiant Governor *Roger Lacy*, scorning to make Conditions for himself, and resolving to make the Prize as dear as possible to the Enemy, he courageously with Sword in Hand, together with divers of his brave Companions mounting their Horses, sall'y'd out, and killing great Numbers of the *French*, maintain'd a noble Fight, before they were taken. After the Surrender of the Castle, *Roger* was carry'd into *France*; yet for the great Courage and Bravery he shew'd in the Defence of it, the King commanded that he should be Prisoner at large; this Prince having so much Generosity as to make a wide Distinction between this gallant Man, and such Cowards as *Fitz-Water* and *De Quincy*, before-mention'd; and indeed this unfortunate Gentleman was worthy to have serv'd a better and more vigilant Master. Not long after, the *French* King having taken the Castles of *Arches* and *Vernevil*, became compleat Master of all *Normandy*. And thus was that Dukedom, the noblest Jewel in the *English* Diadem, which had been dismember'd from *France* for three hundred and twenty Years, and govern'd by twelve successive Dukes of the *Norman* Race, now torn from it, and made subject to another Master; ingloriously to him who lost it, unjustly by him who got it, and in a great Measure perfidiously by such as should, and might have kept it.

Roven surrender'd to the French.

All Normandy lost from England.

Nor-

Normandy was not the only Country that was lost, for almost all the rest of the transmarine Dominions sustain'd the same Fate: And the Cities and Castles subject to the King of *England*, being now reduc'd to great Streights, sent over to let him know their Condition, *That the Time of the Truce was almost expir'd, and that they must either deliver up their Fortresses, or suffer their Hostages to be destroy'd.* Whereupon the King answer'd their Messengers, *That they must expect no Assistance from him, and therefore they might act as they thought fit.* Thus for want of Relief, likewise all *Main, Tourain, Anjou and Poictou*, came under the Dominion of the *French* King, except *Rochel, Toarx and Niors*; and thus was King *John* treated by the same Person, with whom he had so perfidiously join'd against his own Father and Brother. Yet still the King spent his Time with his Queen wholly in Pleasures, as if in her he had enjoy'd all the World; only *Trivet* does in some degree excuse him, alledging, That King *John* discourag'd by so many Disasters, could not raise an Army sufficient either to defend his Territories, or to recover what was lost; for his own Subjects being now generally discontented, refus'd to fight for him, and so he learnt by unhappy Experience, That all the real Power of Princes consists in the Love of their People. About this Time the King's Mother, Queen *Eleanor*, dy'd very aged, a Princess of an high and active Spirit, who had been Wife to two mighty Kings, and Mother to three; who after she had met with all the Vicissitudes of Fortune, liv'd just long enough to see most of her own hereditary Dominions lost to a prevailing Conqueror.

with *Main, Tourain, Anjou and Poictou.*

The Death of Queen *Eleanor.*

A. D. 1205. Reg. 6. IV. King *John*, being reduc'd to smaller Dominions than any of his Predecessors since the *Norman* Conquest, began now to be sensible of his Foreign Dishonours, and his Domestick Affronts; and by the Advice of his best Friends, he gather'd together a powerful Army and a mighty Navy, resolving to revenge his Wrongs, and repair his Losses. But all his Designs were suddenly blasted, chiefly by the means of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Pembroke*, who, when he was ready to take Shipping at *Portsmouth*, came to him and dissuaded him from this Expedition; alledging many Inconveniencies and Mischiefs, using many Intreaties, and likewise threatening to detain him by Force. At length being overcome by their Importunities, he by their Advice sent his Brother the Earl of *Salisbury* with a considerable Force to *Rochelle*, whither his natural Son *Geoffry* had been sent before, and so dismiss'd the greatest Part of his Noblemen and Knights; who having been put to vast Charges, in Expectation of an honourable Campaign, solemnly curs'd the Authors of this Advice; and more especially the Mariners, who to the Number of fourteen thousand, for this Design brought their Ships from the utmost Parts of the Kingdom. As this prov'd a severe Disappointment to many, so most of all to the King himself, who being restless and uneasie, put to Sea with a small Force; but after two or three Days waiving backwards and forwards, he found it convenient to return and land at *Warham* in *Dorsetshire*. Immediately after he extorted a vast Sum of Money from his Earls, Barons, Knights and Clergy, for refusing to follow him beyond Sea to recover his lost Dominions: Which was the second Time he had rais'd Money upon the Nation without the People's Consent; and was one of those Grievances which afterwards caus'd the Barons to take up Arms against him, and one of the particular Heads provided against by his great Charter.

The King defeated in his Designs.

Arch-Bishop *Hubert's* Design.

About the same Time Arch-Bishop *Hubert* dy'd, and the King in Person at *Canterbury* seiz'd upon all his Wealth and Possessions, shewing himself highly satisfy'd, That he was freed from him whom he suspected to have held private Intelligence with the *French* King, declaring, *That he was never a King till now, by reason of Hubert's presumptuous crossing his Royal Resolutions, as of late he did.* But this Joy and Expectation of happier Days, was soon stilled and bury'd in the same Tomb with the Arch-Bishop; out of whose Ashes such a Fire-

M. Paris.
M. Hys.
&c.

M. Paris.
Cognat.

Fire-brand was produc'd, as exceedingly inflam'd and embroil'd the Affairs of King *John*, and the whole Nation. For immediately after his Death, the junior Monks of *Canterbury*, too little valuing a declining King, and too much esteeming a rewarding Pope, proceeded to an unprecedented Action, and at Midnight chose *Reginald*, the Sub-Prior of their Convent, for their Arch-Bishop, without the least Knowledge of the King. And obliging of him to the strictest Secrecy, they sent him away to *Rome* with the utmost Expedition, not doubting but his Holiness out of Interest would confirm their Election. But this vain-glorious Monk, being got into *Flanders*, divulg'd the Secret in all Parts, declar'd himself Arch-Bishop, and shew'd the Instrument of the Convent under their Seal: Of which when the rest had notice, and that he had broke his Oath of Secrecy, they were highly incens'd, and to prevent the King's just Displeasure, they now submitted themselves to his Majesty, humbly desiring his Licence to chuse a new Arch-Bishop. This was freely granted by the King, but with this Intimation, *That if they would chuse John Gray, Bishop of Norwich, they would do him an acceptable Piece of Service*; upon which the Monks unanimously chose him in due Form, and the King and he went immediately to *Canterbury*, where the next Day the Prior in the Presence of them and the Convent, declar'd the said *John* duly elected Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. After which the Monks plac'd him with great Solemnity in the Archiepiscopal Throne; and the King with no less Ceremony put him in Possession of the Temporalities belonging to the Archbishoprick, to the general Satisfaction of all Men.

which was the Beginning of King John's Troubles.

M. Paris. Thus the King's Affairs seem'd to succeed well in *England*, and not worse in *France*, where his Majesty landed with a powerful Army at *Rockell*. Upon which the *Poictovins*, glad of his Arrival, came in chearfully to him, and promis'd their Assistance; and after he had subdu'd a considerable Part of *Poictou*, he sat down before the strong Castle of *Mont-Auban*, and battering it fifteen Days with his Engines, took it on the first of *August*, which Place *Charles* the Great could not take with a seven Years Siege. Upon this Success the King wrote to his Justices, Bishops and Nobility of *England*, how many great illustrious Prisoners, and what Horse and Arms, and what innumerable Spoils he had taken. But the religious Persons of those Parts mediating between the two Kings, they procur'd a two Years Truce; and so King *John* return'd into *England*, soon losing all the Advantages he had gain'd. And now his Troubles began to fall heavy upon him from the Pope, who by his Artifices endeavour'd to make both the late Elections void; misliking the Abilities of *Reginald*, as well as the Principles of *Gray*. When the King sent some of the Monks of *Canterbury* to *Rome*, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation of *Gray*, at the same Time the Suffragan Bishops of that Province, also sent their Proctors to *Rome*, who highly complain'd to the Pope, *That the Monks had presum'd to chuse an Arch-Bishop without them, when they of common Right and ancient Custom ought to have been present, and have join'd to the Election*; for which they alledg'd divers Decrees and Precedents, produc'd Witnesses and Testimonials, *That the Bishops together with the Monks had chosen three Arch-Bishops*. The Monks on the other side affirm'd, *That by ancient and allow'd Custom, and by special Privilege of divers Popes, they us'd to make Elections without the Bishops*, which they offer'd to prove by sufficient Witnesses: And thus the Process continu'd till the following Year.

A. D.
1206.
Reg. 7.

The Pope the main Cause of them.

M. Paris. In the mean Time King *John* proceeded by his grand Council to raise a new Tax of the thirteenth Part of all Mens Moveables; but while he endeavour'd for these Sinews of War, he more and more lost the Bands of Peace, the Hearts of his People. And hence arose the Beginnings of a miserable Breach between the King and his Subjects, being both out of Proportion, and disjointed in those just Ligaments of Command and Obedience that should hold them together; the reducing of which into due Form and Order, cost many Years Toil, and more noble Blood, than all the foreign Wars since the Conquest. One of the greatest Incendiaries was *Geoffry* Arch-Bishop of *York*, who solemnly execrating

A. D.
1207.
Reg. 8.

all the King's Receivers within his Province, fled secretly out of the Land. In these violent Proceedings the Clergy have been blam'd by some Writers who were even Enemies to King *John*; especially since they patiently permitted *Florentinus* the Pope's Legate, not long before to carry away vast Sums from them to his Master's Coffers at *Rome*. Yet still these Domestick Troubles took away nothing from the King's Care, nor his good Hopes, which were much encreas'd by the Presence of his Nephew the Emperor *Otho*; who in Person arriving in *England* to project for his own and his Uncle's Wars, was with great Joy met by the King, and conducted through *London* by Night, where all the City was seen in her Glory, and the Streets adorn'd with the richest Hangings, beautified with the Lustre of pendant Crowns, and shining Lamps. After some Days Continuance, and magnificent Entertainments, the Emperor departed, not unfurnish'd with Helps to carry on his Wars.

In the mean Time the Troubles and Mischiefs began now to show themselves from the See of *Rome*; where at length there was a solemn Hearing before the Pope concerning the double Election at *Canterbury*. After which, those who stood for *Reginald* the Sub-Prior, presented him to his Holiness, as being first and duly elected. while the other Party offer'd to prove the first Election void, as being made by Night without the King's Consent, and chief Part of the Convent; so that after long Disputes, the Pope proceeded to an unprecedented Action, and publicly judg'd both these Persons Uncanonical; and by the Advice of his Cardinals null'd them both, absolutely forbidding either Party to enter upon the Archiepiscopal Dignity. And to establish his Interest and Power at once, he nominated *Stephen Langton*, an *Englishman* and Cardinal, for their Arch-Bishop, urging the Monks to chuse him: At first they alledg'd, *That they could make no Canonical Election, without the Consent of the King and their Convent*; but the Pope reply'd, *That they had in themselves the full Power of the Church of Canterbury; and that in Elections at the Apostolick See, the Consent of Princes was not expected*; and then he commanded all present, *by vertue of their Obedience, and upon pain of a Curse, to chuse him Arch-Bishop, whom he had appointed for their Father and Pastor*. Upon this positive Command, the Monks, dreading the Pope's unbounded Power, all except one *Elias de Brantfield*, with great Reluctance gave their Consents; and so Cardinal *Langton* was consecrated Arch-Bishop by the Pope himself at *Viterbo*, on the seventeenth Day of *June*, contrary to common Law and Equity.

The Pope nominates a new Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

He endeavours to pacify the King.

The Pope being sensible that King *John* would deeply resent this arbitrary Proceeding, sent over his Nuntio with four extraordinary Rings, set with rich Stones of four different Colours; and also a subtle insinuating Letter, setting forth the wonderful Mysterics contain'd in the Roundness of the Rings, and their various Colours, which signify'd, as he said, the four cardinal Virtues, with several Divine Graces; and concluding with an earnest Exhortation to follow each of those Virtues thus signify'd. Yet the Pope would not rely upon the King's good Pleasure, but also politickly wrot other Letters, in which he exhorted the King *to receive and acknowledge Stephen Langton, a Native of his own Kingdom, and a Cardinal well skill'd in all Sorts of Learning, since his exemplary Life and Conversation would be of great Advantage both to his Body and Soul*. But still to secure all, he also sent his peremptory Command to the Prior and Monks, to receive and obey him as their Arch-Bishop, as well in Temporals as Spirituals. The King receiving his Letters, and hearing of all Proceedings, in a great Rage charg'd the Monks of *Canterbury* with Treason; remonstrating, *That in Prejudice to his Prerogative, they had first chosen their Sub-Prior without a Licence, and then to make some feign'd Amends, elected the Bishop of Norwich; and that tho' their Journey to Rome was at his own Expence, yet, as an Aggravation to their first Offence, they had presum'd to chuse Stephen Langton his declared Enemy, and had caus'd him to be consecrated Arch-Bishop*. For which cause the King, in the Heat of his Fury, sent

who is greatly enraged.

two cruel and ill-natur'd Knights, with some other Officers, to drive the Monks of *Canterbury* out of *England*, as Criminals of the highest Nature: And these, in pursuance of the King's Orders, entering the Monastery with drawn Swords, commanded the Prior and Monks, in the Name of the King, immediately to depart out of the Nation, *or else they would certainly burn them, and their Monastery together*. The Monks being greatly terrify'd, without further Consideration left their Monastery, and all their Goods to be confiscated; and passing into *Flanders*, were kindly receiv'd in the Abby of *St. Bertin*, and in other adjoining Monasteries.

M. Paris.
&c.

King *John*, not thus satisfy'd, sent Messengers to the Pope with expostulatory Letters, setting forth, *the Injury done him in vacating the Election of the Bishop of Norwich, and consecrating Stephen Langton without his Consent; a Person wholly unknown to him, educated in France, and a Correspondent of his open Enemies; all this to the Prejudice and Subversion of the Rights and Prerogatives of his Crown: Declaring he would immutably stand by the Election of the Bishop of Norwich; remembring him, That Rome receiv'd more Profit from England, than from all the Transalpine Regions; and threatning, if he could not have a favourable Hearing at Rome, he would preclude all Persons from passing thither, by shutting up his Ports: For since he had Arch-Bishops, Bishops and Prelates, abounding in Learning, in his own Dominions, if he were forc'd to it, he would neither seek for Justice nor Judgment in foreign Countries*. To which the Pope, after some Respite, return'd a cunning and plausible Answer, in which he first mildly blam'd the King for giving so rough an Answer to his humble and obliging Letters, and next justify'd the Election of Cardinal Langton, as one who had long study'd in the University of Paris, and had merited to be made a Doctor both in the liberal Arts, and Theology: Further assuring him, *That tho' at Elections made at the Apostolick See, the Consent of Princes was not requisite, yet notwithstanding, two Monks had been specially deputed to gain his Assent; but being detain'd at Dover, they were not able to perform what was enjoin'd them*. Then justifying the Election as agreeable to the Canons of the ancient Fathers, he concluded with a threatning Advice, *That since his Father and Brother had abjur'd that evil Custom, he ought to submit to his good Pleasure, which would be much for his Honour, and not to resist God and the Church in this Cause, for which that blessed Martyr and glorious Arch-Bishop Thomas Becket had shed his Blood*.

The King expostulates with the Pope,

who returns him a subtle Answer.

L. Paris.

These last were terrible Words to a King whose Father had been so great a Sufferer; which were succeeded by a new Command from the Pope to the Bishops of *London, Ely* and *Worcester*, to argue the Affair with the King, and if they found him contumacious, to declare that his Kingdom should be interdicted; and if he still persisted, that his Holiness would lay a heavier Hand upon him. Upon which these Bishops immediately repairing to the King, entreated him with Tears to recall the Arch-Bishop and Monks to their Church, and honour and love them with perfect Charity, that he might avoid the Scandal of the Interdict; but while they were proceeding in their Speech, the King, sensible of these numerous Indignities, fell into a violent Passion, and by a solemn Oath declar'd, *That if any should presume to interdict his Territories, he would send all the Prelates and Clergy of England to the Pope, and confiscate their Goods; and if he found any Romans within his Dominions, he would deprive them of their Eyes and Noses, and send them to Rome, that they might be distinguish'd from those of other Nations*: And he further commanded the Bishops immediately to depart his Presence, *as they valu'd their present Safeties*. The King was further provok'd by the Behaviour of *Simon Langton*, who about the same Time, before divers Bishops, advis'd him to receive his Brother *Stephen* as Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; and when the King spoke to him of preserving his Royal Dignity in this Affair, he insolently re-

A. D.
1208.
Reg. 2.

The Pope interdicts the whole Kingdom.

ply'd, *That he could do nothing in his Majesty's Behalf, unless he would wholly throw himself upon his Brother's Mercy.* The above-mention'd Bishops, finding no Signs of Compliance, abandon'd the King, and on the twenty second Day of *March*, they solemnly interdicted the whole Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, in Obedience to the Pope's Commands; upon which there was a Cessation of all Divine Service, except Confession, Baptism of Infants, and Administration of the Eucharist to dying Persons; so that the Bodies of the Dead were carry'd out of the Cities and Towns, and without any Ceremony like Beasts were tumbled into Pits and Ditches.

For which the King proceeds against the Clergy to the utmost Violence.

The King fearing the Consequence of the Interdict, and his Subjects Hatred, proceeded to violent Methods, sent to his Sheriffs and other Ministers, and commanded with dreadful Threats all Prelates and their inferior Clergy forthwith to depart the Kingdom, and repair to the Pope, requiring him to do the King Justice for this Injury. He also put all Bishopricks, Abbies and Priories under the Custody of Lay-Men, commanding all the Church Rents to be confiscated, and their Goods to be seiz'd: The Concubines of the Priests and Clerks throughout *England* were imprison'd by the King's Officers, and forc'd to pay great Compositions for their Liberty: The Monks and Men in Orders, while travelling upon the Road, were thrown off their Horses, and robb'd and abus'd by the King's Soldiers: Also the Relations of the Arch-Bishop and those Bishops who pronounc'd the Interdict, were by the King's Command rifled of their Goods, and cast into Prison. Yet notwithstanding all these Evils, *M. Paris* tells us, 'That the foresaid Bishops remain'd beyond Sea, living in all manner of Delights, not opposing themselves as a Wall of Defence for the Lord's House; but when they saw the Wolf coming, they left their Sheep and fled. After these general Seisures, the King in a short Time restor'd the Lands and Goods of all such Ecclesiasticks as celebrated Divine Service, administer'd the Sacraments, and refus'd to obey the Interdict; but retain'd the Estates of all the rest. And for the Security of such as obey'd him, he issu'd out his Precept, that no Man against his Peace should abuse them either in Word or Deed; which if they did, they should if pursu'd be hang'd upon the next Tree. But these were all immediately condemn'd by the See of *Rome*: And this was the present State of the Clergy of *England*; such as oblig'd the King were suspended by the Pope, and such as obey'd the Pope were depriv'd by the King.

A. D.

1209.

Reg. 10.
11.

Such irregular Proceedings in the King, and such Perplexities in the People could not but occasion great Hatred and Murmurings; therefore to prevent the Effects of such Discontents, the King requir'd of his Nobility new Oaths of Allegiance, and Pledges of such as he most suspected, as also Homage of all Freeholders, even from twelve Years of Age, all whom he dismiss'd with the Ceremony of a Kiss of Peace. Misdoubting also the Pope's further Intent to absolve his Subjects from their due Allegiance, after the Example of his Father *Henry*, he gather'd together a powerful Army for all Exigencies. The Terror of which he first display'd in the North, being disoblig'd at *William* King of *Scotland*, for receiving some Out-laws fled out of *England*, and for marrying his Daughter to the Earl of *Boloigne* without his Consent. But upon his Approach to the Borders of *Scotland*, King *William* desir'd Peace, and by the Mediation of Friends to both Nations, they made up the Breach upon these Terms, 'That the King of the *Scots* should pay King *John* eleven thousand Marks of Silver, and that his two Daughters should be deliver'd as Pledges for the Security of the Peace between them. The Dread of the King's Power pass'd so swiftly out of the North into the West, that upon his Return, the Princes of *Wales*, and others, rich and poor, came to him at *Woodstock* to do him Homage. But all these Ties of Allegiance were in Danger of being dissolv'd by a new Sentence from *Rome* of an Excommunication of the King's Person, with strict Injunction for all Men to abandon his Presence: Which being sent to be pronounc'd by the Bishops and Prelates in *England*, all of them for Fear or Favour of the King,

The King excommunicated by the Pope.

King, neglected the Pope's Commands, and let the Apostolick Process escape without Execution. However the Sentence was so well known, that it became the Subject of all Mens Discourse; particularly of *Geoffry Arch-Deacon of Norwich*, who in the Exchequer declar'd to his Associate, *That it was not safe for benefic'd Men to continue in the Service of an excommunicated King*, and so retir'd without leave. For which the King commanded him to be put in Irons in a close Prison, and a leaden Cope to be put upon him, the Pressure of which much hasten'd his Death: But the greater and wiser Sort, both of the Nobility and others, continu'd their Attendance on the King's Court and Person, without Regard of the Censure.

fn. Hib.
M. Paris.

In the mean Time the King, raising great Sums of Mony, to shew his Power, with a mighty Army pass'd over into *Ireland*, which Country had been too long neglected; and arriving at *Dublin*, he was there met with more than twenty petty Kings and Princes of that Country, who dreading his Arms, paid him Homage and Fealty. All the neighbouring Parts readily submitted; but to the rest, the King march'd with his Forces, took many strong Places from the Enemy, subdu'd the Province of *Connaught*, and took *Cuthol* the King Prisoner. Having reduc'd all Parts, he imprison'd the *English* Fugitives, took Pledges both of the *English* and *Irish* Inhabitants, punish'd Malefactors with Death, turbulent Persons with Ransoms, establish'd all their Laws, Coin and Officers according to the *English* Form, and deputed a wise and upright Governor over them, the Bishop of *Norwich*, Competitor to Cardinal *Langton*. Thus he establish'd on that barbarous Island such an exact and well order'd Face of Government, as was its Stay in those tumultuous Times, and a Pattern for more peaceful Ages to imitate; by which speedy Conquest and Reformation, he justly merited the Title given him of *Lord of Ireland*. As he was successful in these Parts, so was he no less in *Wales*, both in this and the following Year: For after he return'd from *Ireland*, and laid such vast Fines upon the Ecclesiasticks as amounted to a hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, he with a powerful Army march'd into the farthest Parts of *Wales*, as far as *Snow-dun*; so that the petty Princes, and Nobles submitted without any Opposition. Then to secure their future Subjection, he took twenty eight Hostages of them, and so return'd in Triumph, as Conqueror of *Wales*.

A. D.

1210.

Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

The King is
successful in
Ireland.

which Kingdom
he happily re-
duces.

P. A. I.

V. The Nation had now laid under an Interdict near three Years and an half, which prov'd highly dangerous to the King, as well as intolerably grievous to the People. So that at length the King finding the Pope inflexible, and insensible of the Burden of so many Christians, he began to relent and recede from his former Resolutions, hoping to settle his own and Subjects Tranquility, tho' with great Indignity to himself. In his Return from *Wales*, he was met at *Northampton* by two Nuntio's from the Pope, *Pandolf* a Sub-Deacon, and *Durand* a Knight Templar, who were sent purposely into *England* to make Peace between the King and the Ecclesiasticks. Being met together, after a long Debate, the King freely assur'd them, *That the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and the Monks, and all the proscrib'd Bishops might return in Peace and Security to their own Palaces; and that the Holy Church should have all the Franchises it enjoy'd in the Reign of Edward the Confessor*. But because the King would not, or indeed could not, make full Satisfaction for the Goods of the Arch-Bishop and Bishops formerly confiscated, and for the Damages they had sustain'd, the Treaty became wholly ineffectual, and the Nuntio's return'd into *France*. But before they departed, they denounc'd that Execration against the King's Person, which the Bishops had wholly declin'd, and so incens'd the Pope against him, that in the latter end of the Year, he proceeded to greater Contumelies than ever, and absolv'd all his Subjects, High and Low, from their Faith and Obedience to him; strictly enjoining all Persons *under pain of Excommunication, to avoid him in Private and Publick, at his Table, Council,*

A. D.

1211.

Reg. $\frac{12}{13}$.

The Subjects of
England ab-
solv'd from
their Allegiance
by the Pope.

and common Conversation. For, as our Author tells us, the King had at the Time of the Interdict, divers Councillors about him, as well of the Clergy as Laity, whom he names; who striving to please him in all Things, were suppos'd not to advise him according to Law or Reason, but his own Humour.

A. D.

1212.

Reg. 13.

Notwithstanding these strict Prohibitions, in *Lent* following the King had a noble Feast in *Clarkenwell*, where he knighted Prince *Alexander*, only Son and Heir to the King of the *Scots*, who return'd home with the Applause and Congratulations of both Kingdoms. Not long after, the *Welsh* having made several hostile Incurfions and Devastations in *England*, the King highly provok'd, levy'd a great Army, resolving to ravage all *Wales*, and extirpate the Inhabitants; and for a present Revenge he hang'd up all the twenty eight Hostages deliver'd to him the Year before. But in this, as in most other Actions, he met with unexpected Obstructions; for being ready for his Expedition, he receiv'd Letters from the King of the *Scots* and others of a Traiterous Conspiracy form'd against him, which at first he slighted, and march'd forward to *Chester*. But there receiving Letters again to the same Effect, that he should either be slain by his Noblemen, or deliver'd up to his Enemies, and now understanding that the great Men of *England* thought themselves discharg'd from their Obedience to him, he disbanded his Army and return'd to *London*. From whence he dispatch'd Commissioners to all suspected Persons of Quality, obliging them to send Pledges of their Fidelity; upon which many out of Fear sent their Sons, Nephews and nearest Relations, to appease his Indignation; but *Eustace de Vescie*, and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, being accus'd of Treason, fled one into *Scotland*, and the other into *France*. These Defections were much promoted by the pretended Predictions of one *Peter* a Hermite of *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*, who prophesy'd that by the next *Ascention* Day, *John* should no longer be King. As the King took care to secure this Person, so he was not backwards in any severe Methods with others: And here our Author *M. Paris* adds, That being a Prince of insatiable Lust and Cruelty, he had now highly provok'd divers of the Nobility by debauching of their Wives and Daughters, by banishing their Relations, or by reducing them to Poverty by his illegal Exactions; so that he had made himself almost as many Enemies as there were Noblemen in the Kingdom. He further adds, That when they knew themselves to be absolv'd from their Fidelity by the Pope, they rejoic'd exceedingly; and if common Fame might be credited, they had each of them sign'd and seal'd a certain Charter which they had sent to the *French* King, assuring him he might safely come into *England*, obtain the Kingdom, and be crown'd with Honour.

The King marches towards Wales, but in vain.

The Nobility highly disoblig'd by him.

The King depos'd by the Pope.

England given to the French King.

These were proper Times for the Pope to make his utmost Advantage; who being both inflexible and insatiable, now resolv'd to effect his Designs, tho' with the Confusion of Christendom. A fair Opportunity was now offer'd him by the humble Supplications of Arch-Bishop *Langton*, the Bishops of *London* and *Ely*, That he would vouchsafe, out of his pious Compassion, to support the English Church, then at the Point of Ruin. Upon which Pope *Innocent* by the Advice of his Cardinals and others, resolv'd to display his utmost Power, and by a solemn Sentence decreed, That King *John* should be intirely depos'd from his Kingdom, and that his Holiness should provide a more worthy Person to succeed him. Accordingly he wrote to *Philip* King of *France*, requiring him To put this Sentence in Execution; promising him, To grant him Remission of all his Sins, together with the Kingdom of *England* in perpetual Right, when once he had dethron'd the present Possessor. That he might not be wanting in any Thing, he wrote to the Potentates, Knights and Warriors of divers Nations, exciting them To sign themselves with the Cross, to follow the King of *France* as their General in this Expedition against King *John*, and endeavour to vindicate the Injury done to the Catholick Church: Decreeing further, That whoever contributed either Mony, or other Assistance, towards the subduing of this contumacious King, should be secure not only in their Goods and Persons, but also

also as to their Souls, through the Prayers of the Church; and they should enjoy the same Privileges with those who visited the Sepulchre of our Lord. With this ample Commission, the Pope sent *Pandolf* his Nuntio with the *English* Bishops for *England*; first giving them Instructions, that every Thing should be punctually put in Execution, according to his Order. The Legate having ask'd him privately, *What he should do, if King John repented and made Satisfaction to God and the Romish Church*; the Pope thereupon prescribed certain Conditions of Peace, to which if the King would assent, he might yet obtain the Favour of the Apostolick See.

M. Paris.

The French King likewise receiving from the Arch-Bishop and his Associates the Apostolick Sentence, became very fond of that Employment, to which his own ancient Malignity, and the Disloyalty of the *English* Barons had prompted him; both which he was now willing to mask with the specious Pretext of Justice and Devotion. Under which Colours he summon'd all his Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights and Soldiers to appear at *Roven* upon pain of the highest Punishments; so that in a short Time he had a mighty Army at that City, as well as a powerful Navy at the Mouth of the River *Seyne*. A Preparation so formidable could not be long hidden from King *John*, who meeting with an Opposition both domestick and foreign, redoubled his Care, and immediately commanded all his Officers both for Sea and Land, under the severest Penalties, to prepare both a Navy and an Army sufficient to give a check to such a powerful Invasion. By which Means such infinite Multitudes throng'd to *Dover*, and other Harbours, that the Commanders, for want of Provisions, dismissing the rest, encamp'd at *Barham-Downs* only with sixty thousand select and valiant Men; who, as our Author observes, had they been hearty and unanimous, no Prince in the World could have withstood the King of *England*; so well appointed were his Forces by Land, and so well prepared were his Fleets by Sea. But the great Misfortune was, That the Clergy were incens'd against him by reason of the Interdict, and the Power he exercis'd over them; and the Laity no less, for his Taxes, and Arbitrary Proceedings.

A. D.

1213.

Reg. 14.

who prepares to obtain it.

L. Paris. 1213.

While both Shores of the Sea were overspread with the Armies of the two great Kings, the one waiting for the Enemy, and the other for fair Winds and more Forces, *Pandolf* the Pope's Legate, obtaining a safe Conduct from King *John*, arriv'd at *Dover* to put those secret Instructions in execution, which his Master had expressly prescribed. He there represented to the uneasie King the great Mischiefs he was to expect from that vast Fleet and Army the King of France had compleatly furnish'd for the entire Conquest of his Kingdom; in which all the Bishops, Clergy and others, unjustly banish'd the Land, were resolv'd to come over; and which was still more dangerous, the French King had receiv'd Charters and Assurances from most of the great Men of England, that they were ready to become his Subjects: Therefore his only Security remaining was penitently to submit to the Apostolick See, under which Shelter, he might be safe from this impending Storm. These Straits and Difficulties were undoubtedly very dreadful to a dishearten'd Prince, who saw so many mortal Enemies abroad to attack him, and so few faithful Friends at Home to defend him; which drove him into this melancholy Apprehension, that his wavering Nobility would either abandon him in the Field, or betray him to the Sword of his Enemies. Thus thinking it better to yield to the Times, with an Assurance of his Crown and the Pope's Favour, than desperately to hazard the Loss of all, he resolv'd to redeem his Safety on such Conditions as Necessity and the Pope now laid upon him; and at length with a bleeding Heart, and a Flood of Tears, he submitted to the Form of Peace as it was ready drawn up by the Pope, in which he took a solemn Oath, 'To obey the Commands of his Holiness in all Things for which he had been excommunicated, and to make full Restitution, for all Things which had been taken from the Clergy or Laity by reason of the Interdict or depending Contest, for which he was to lay down eight

King John agrees to the Pope's Propositions.

‘ eight thousand Pounds in part; and to pardon and receive into Favour not
 ‘ only the proscribed Bishops, but also the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury*, and
 ‘ all other Clerks or Laicks concern’d in it. That he would confirm these
 ‘ Things by his Letters Patents, and cause as many Bishops and Barons, as
 ‘ should be chosen by the Arch-Bishop and Bishops, to swear, and give their
 ‘ Letters Patents for the Security of the Peace. And that if he, or any other
 ‘ by his Order should violate this Agreement, then those Bishops or Barons, on
 ‘ behalf of the Church, should adhere to the Pope’s Commands against them,
 ‘ and that he would for ever lose the Custody of vacant Churches. Next that
 ‘ he would send all these Letters of Security, for the Performance of all, to the
 ‘ Arch-Bishop and Bishops before their Return into *England*. Finally that he
 ‘ would utterly disclaim his Right to out-law any Clergy-Man, or any Lay-Man,
 ‘ so far as it related to this Matter.

He resigns his
 Dominions to
 the Pope.

As the King swore to obey the Commands of the Pope in all Things relating ^{to} to this Contest, so he soon found with a more afflicting Dejection of Mind what these Commands were; for his Crimes were accounted so great against God and the Church, that there could be no Expiation without a Resignation of his Crown. Accordingly two Days after, which was the Period of the Hermit’s Prophecy, King *John* at *Dover*, by the Commands of the Pope preordain’d at *Rome*, taking off his Crown from his Head, humbly surrender’d it into the Pope’s Hands by his Attorney *Pandolf*; at whose Feet he also laid his Scepter, Robe, Sword, Ring, and all the Royal Ensigns. After which he subscrib’d to another Charter, Whereby he resign’d his Kingdoms to the Pope, professing he did it *neither out of Fear, or Constraint, but of his own free Will, and in the Common Council of his Barons, as having no other Way to make Satisfaction to God and the Church for his Offence; and that thenceforward he would hold his Crown as a Feudatary of the Church of Rome paying an annual Pension of a Thousand Marks for both the Kingdoms of England and Ireland. And if he or any of his Successors deny’d Submission, without Repentance, he should forfeit his Right to the Kingdom.* Whereupon the King in the Presence of all did Homage to the Pope, as his supreme Lord, represented by *Pandolf*, in the most submissive and abject Manner; and delivering some Money as an earnest of his Subjection, the Legate proudly trod it under his Feet, to manifest his Master’s Greatness. That these Things were transacted in the Presence of some Peers, who gave no Consent to them, appears by *Henry* Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, the chief Man in that Assembly, who both inwardly griev’d at it, and openly disclaim’d against it.

The Pope dis-
 suades the
 French King
 from his Expe-
 dition.

V. King *John* had now debas’d himself to a lower Degree than any King ^{u.} before him, which render’d him the Object of the Nation’s Contempt, as well as Hatred: And while he was parting with his Crown to the Pope, King *Philip* was busily preparing his Head to wear it, and his Fleets and Armies to win it. Upon which the Legate, after five Days Possession, re-deliver’d the Crown, but not releas’d the Censures till all Conditions were perform’d, and then hastned into *France*; where he immediately exhorted King *Philip* to disband his Forces and desist from the design’d Expedition against King *John*, *who was now an obedient and reconcil’d Son to the Church.* King *Philip*, who like the Pope regarded *John*’s Kingdom more than his Repentance, was highly incens’d at this Proposal, alleging, *That he had already expended more than sixty thousand Pounds in his Preparations, and had undertaken the Enterprize by the special Commands of his Holiness, and for the Remission of his Sins; therefore no new Censures should deter him from his Designs.* In which Resolution calling a Council of his Nobles and Feudataries, all join’d with him except *Ferrand* Earl of *Flanders*, who freely declar’d *That the Expedition was both unjust and impracticable, and that the King ought rather to think of restoring the transmarine Countries he unjustly detain’d, than of invading a Country to* ^{which}

which he had no Right at all; and therefore he absolutely refus'd his Assistance. This occasion'd the *French* King to direct the Course of his Arms, first against this Earl, to prevent future Inconveniencies from him; and accordingly commanded his grand Fleet to sail towards *Flanders*; whilst he by Land endeavour'd to subdue that Country. King *John* having Intelligence of his Friend's Distress, immediately sent out his Navy under the Conduct of three brave Commanders, his natural Brother the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Holland*, and the Earl of *Bulloign*; who happily surprizing the *French* Fleet at the Port of *Damme*, took three hundred of them loaden with Provisions, Arms and other valuable Things, and burnt and sunk above a hundred more; so that the *French* King was so greatly disappointed, that he shortly after return'd to *Paris*.

*His Fleet is
wrested at Sea
by the English.*

Paris. King *John* swoln with this Success, was now elevated with the Hopes of regaining all his lost Countries, and the more because he had the Promise of Assistance both from the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*; and to this End he gather'd a powerful Army to *Portsmouth*. But in the midst of this hopeful Prospect, he met with his usual Disappointment; for being ready to take Shipping, the great Men and Barons directly deny'd their Attendance, *unless he was first absolv'd from his Excommunication*; which had been deferr'd 'till the Arrival of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. Upon which the King immediately sent over an honourable Embassie, and Letters of safe Conduct to the Arch-Bishop and the rest of the Exiles, to return and receive Satisfaction according to the Articles with the Legate. Accordingly the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Lincoln* and *Hereford*, with the other Clerks and Laicks then in Banishment by reason of the Interdict, arriv'd at *Dover* on the sixteenth Day of *July*, and went to wait on the King at *Winchester*; who hearing of their Coming, went forth to meet them, and throwing himself at the Feet of the Bishops, with a Flood of Tears beseech'd them *to have pity on him and the Kingdom of England*. Upon which, seeing his great Humility, they lifted him from the Ground, and with Tears likewise led him to the Chapter-House at *Winchester*, where before he was absolv'd, he took an Oath, *'That* King *John* ab-
solv'd from his
Excommunica-
tion.
*'he would to the utmost of his Power love, defend and maintain the Holy
'Church; That he would re-establish the good Laws of his Ancestors, especia-
'lly those of King Edward, and destroy such as were wicked; That he would
'judge all his Subjects according to the just Judgment of his Court, and re-
'store to every Man his Right. He also swore, That he would make full Sa-
'tisfaction to all concern'd in the Interdict, for what had been taken from
'them, and that before next Easter; or else his Sentence of Excommunication
was to be renew'd. Moreover he swore Fealty and Obedience 'to Pope Inno-
'cent, and his Catholick Successors, as it was contain'd in his late Charter.* Then the Arch-Bishop, absolving him, carry'd him into the Church, and there celebrated Mass; from whence the Prelate went and din'd at the same Table with the King, to the general Joy and Satisfaction of the People.

The King now began to entertain fresh Hopes of Success abroad, and accordingly repair'd again to *Portsmouth* in order to pass into *France*; but as ill Fortune generally attended him, so he was again disappointed by his great Men, Knights, and such as held by Military Tenure, who complain'd *That they had attended so long for this Expedition, that all their Money was spent; and un-
less he would furnish them out of his own Treasury, they could not go with him.* The King refusing this, took Shipping himself with his private Family, and after three Days arriv'd at *Jersey*, while his Lords and great Men return'd home; so that seeing himself deserted, he sail'd back to *England*, without any further Progress in this Design. But being highly incens'd, at his Return he rais'd a powerful Force to chastize them whom he accounted as Rebels to the Performance of their wonted Duty and Service; but while he was marching to reduce them, the new Arch-Bishop stopp'd him at *Northampton*, declaring
L I
That

*He is disap-
pointed by his
Nobility.*

That to make War against any Person, without the Judgment of his Court, was a Violation of his late Oath. Upon which the King answer'd in a violent Tone *That he would not lay aside the Business of his Kingdom for one Clerk, who had nothing to do with Lay-Matters;* and the next Morning march'd towards *Nottingham.* The Arch-Bishop follow'd him, and threatned, *That unless he immediately desisted, he would anathematize all those, besides himself, that took up Arms against any Man before the Relaxation of the Interdict;* by which means he caus'd the King to give over prosecuting the Barons by Force, and by his Assiduity obtain'd a competent Day for them to answer in his Court.

*The Nobility
stand up for the
Privileges of
the Nation.*

Upon the twenty fifth Day of *August*, a Council or Synod met at *London* to compose all Differences between the King and the Barons; at which Time the Bishops, Abbots, Deans, and several Barons, being assembled in *St. Paul's Church*, Arch-Bishop *Stephen*, after an Indulgence granted to Churches to chant over their publick Prayers with a low Voice, drew some of the chief Men aside, and reminded them, *That when he absolv'd the King, he caus'd him to swear 'That he would abolish all unjust Laws, and establish such as were good 'throughout the Kingdom: And further inform'd them, He had found a Charter of King Henry the First, by which, if they thought fit, they might assert their ancient Liberties so long lost.* Then producing the Charter it self, which we have already mention'd in the first Year of that King's Reign, he caus'd it to be read publicly before them, where it was receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction; and all swore in the Presence of the Arch-Bishop, *That upon a convenient Opportunity, They would contend even to Death it self for those Liberties.* On the other side the Arch-Bishop promis'd them his faithful and utmost Assistance; and so the Confederacy being firmly concluded, the Conference or Parliament was dissolved: This being the first League or Confederacy made by the Barons of *England* of the *Norman* Extract against the King, in Defence of their ancient Rights and Liberties. This was shortly after succeeded by the Death of *Geoffry Fitz-Peter*, Justiciary of *England*, who had been the chief Stay and Support of the Kingdom; yet his Death was so pleasing to his Sovereign, that upon the News of it he swore *That now at length he was King of England*, and with great Joy said to some Lords about him, *When this Man comes to Hell let him salute the Arch-Bishop Hubert, whom certainly he will find there.* And from this Time he took upon him a more absolute Power of contradicting his Oaths and Contracts, and of setting himself free from the Agreement he had lately made.

*The King seeks
for Shelter from
the Pope,*

And now finding his Nobility and others to bear hard upon him, he began to take Shelter under the Power of the See of *Rome*, whose Interest it was at present to vindicate all his Actions. To put an end to his Troubles, he was now visited by a Legate from his Holiness of a higher Form than *Pandolf*, which was *Nicolas* Bishop of *Tusculum*, and a Cardinal, who arriv'd at *London* about *Michaelmas* in a solemn and pompous Manner. The open and profess'd Design of his Coming was to relax the Interdict, in order to which he first endeavour'd to reconcile the King and Prelates upon Covenants of Restitution; towards which, tho' the King offer'd a hundred thousand Marks, yet the Prelates, condemning the Legate of Partiality for approving it, chose rather to suffer the whole Land to groan under the Burden of the Interdict, than to recede from any Part of their covetous Demands. This gave a fair Occasion to the Pope's Agent to discover to the King the more secret and principal Cause of his Embassie, which was for effecting a more valid and unexceptionable Conveyance of his Kingdoms to the *Roman* See; for which he alledg'd, *That the King could never be secure and easie, but under the powerful Protection of the Apostolick Wings.* King *John* finding himself surrounded with Difficulties, and that he had created many Enemies, at length servily comply'd; and having a solemn Assembly in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul's*, he before the great Altar,

tar, in the Sight of the Clergy and Laity, renew'd his infamous Subjection of the Crown and Kingdom of *England*, with the Lordship or Dominion of *Ireland* to the Pope; and the King's Charter, which was formerly seal'd with Wax, and deliver'd to *Pandolf*, was now seal'd with Gold, and deliver'd to the Legate, for the Use of the Pope and the *Roman Church*. At the same Time; we are told That the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* stept forth, and in the Name of the whole Clergy and Kingdom, boldly and solemnly presented at the same Altar his Appeal and Protestation against that Charter, as execrable to the whole World.

and confirms his Resignation to him.

ibid.

As the Arch-Bishop now began to set himself against the Interest of the Pope, formerly his great Benefactor, so the Pope easily found Means to revenge himself, by ordering his Legate to fill up all the Vacancies in the Church, contrary to his Will and Consent. And when he made a formal Appeal to the See of *Rome* against his Legate, for not only disposing of all Spiritual Dignities to such as were Favourites to the King, but also to his own *Italians*, and Kinsmen, tho' absent, unknown, insufficient, unworthy, yea and to some unborn; he could meet with no Redress. For the Legate had before sent *Pandolf* to *Rome*, where he did not a little blast the Credit of the Arch-Bishop with the Pope, and so much extoll'd the King that he affirm'd, *That he never heard of a more humble and modest Prince*, so that he obtain'd great Favour with his Holiness: And tho' *Simon Langton*, Brother to the Arch-Bishop, was purposely sent to oppose *Pandolf*, yet since he now brought over the King's Charters, containing the Subjection and Tribute of his Kingdoms, *Simon* could not be heard in what he offer'd against him. *Pandolf* also affirm'd, *That the Arch-Bishop and Bishops were too rigid and covetous in their exacting Restitution; and that they had beyond all Equity depress'd the King himself, and the Liberties of the Kingdom*. All which Allegations occasion'd the Pope to hasten the Relaxation of the Interdict, contrary to the Desire and Expectations of some Men; and the Conditions were that the King only should pay forty thousand Marks in all, and by several Portions, in lieu of all Restitution whatsoever. Which being agreed and establish'd, the Legate on the twenty ninth Day of *June* publicly releas'd the Sentence of Interdict, after it had continu'd six Years, three Months, and fourteen Days. For this extraordinary Benefit *Te Deum* was solemnly sung by the Clergy; and the whole Nation highly rejoic'd, that they were now restor'd to the free and publick Exercise of religious Duties. But as to Matters of Restitution, none but the rich Bishops and some Abbies receiv'd any Benefit, while the poorer Monasteries, and inferior Clergy, receiv'd no Satisfaction for all their Losses.

A. D.

1214.

Reg. 15.

Great Abuses from the Pope's Legate.

The Interdict, after six Years, is releas'd.

Paris, minus.

In the mean Time King *John*, having pass'd into *France*, was once more trying his Fortunes in that Country; and entering *Poitou*, his Success was so great, that he soon subdu'd the greatest Part of it, which gave great Hopes that his other Provinces would follow. From whence he press'd with the like Victories into *Bretaign*; but being just ready to give Battel to *Lewis* the *Dauphine*, his ever faithless *Poitouvins* suddenly forsook him, and oblig'd him to abandon his Design. But the greatest Blow to his Hopes was the total Defeat of his Confederate *Otho* the Emperor, at the famous Battel of *Bovines*, where *Philip* stricken from his Horse by the Earl of *Boloign*, had there with his Life ended the Contest, had not a faithful Soldier cover'd him with his own Body; who thereupon recover'd his Footing, and gain'd such an effectual Victory, that no Prince was for the future able to withstand him. This melancholy News oblig'd King *John* to desire a five Years Truce of the *French King*, by which all Things and Persons were to remain in the same State as they were in at the Time of the Ratification. This being concluded, King *John* return'd into *England* on the nineteenth Day of *October*, after some Advantages gain'd: And this was the last Expedition that ever he made into Foreign Parts.

King John's last Expedition in Foreign Parts.

VII. King *John*, tho' he had neither retriev'd his Honour, nor recover'd his Territories, now seem'd to have surmounted those Difficulties, as might have made him easie the rest of his Reign; but his former Carriage had laid such a Foundation for Discontents, that instead of Rest, he soon found himself plung'd into greater Troubles and Misfortunes than ever he had felt before. For about the Time of his Return, the Earls and Barons, under a Pretence of a Pilgrimage, met at *St. Edmund's Bury*, where after long and private Consultations, the Charter of King *Henry I.* was produc'd, which they had lately receiv'd from the Arch-Bishop, containing, as our Author says, the Laws and Liberties that King *Edward* had granted to the Holy *English* Church, and the great Men of the Kingdom, with some other Liberties added by King *Henry* himself. Here they took a solemn Oath at the High Altar, *That if the King refus'd to grant them their demanded Liberties, they would withdraw their Obedience, and make War upon him, 'till he should by a seal'd Charter reconfirm them:* And further they agreed to go after *Christmas* and demand his Confirmation of the said Liberties, and in the mean Time to provide themselves with Horse and Arms, that no Compulsion might be wanting, if Occasion so requir'd. Accordingly at the appointed Time they repair'd to the King at *London*, all in very pompous military Accoutrements, where they desir'd, *That the Laws and Liberties of King Edward, with other Privileges granted to the Kingdom and Church of England, might be confirm'd, as they were contain'd in the Charters of Henry the First:* Further alledging, *That at the Time of his Absolution, he promis'd by his Oath to observe those very Laws and Liberties.* The King startled at their Demands, and dreading their Preparations, calmly desir'd Time 'till the Close of *Easter* to return them a positive Answer, and so satisfie them for the present: But the better to secure himself, he immediately caus'd all Persons to renew their Homages, and to swear Allegiance to him against all others; and further took upon him the *Crusado*, that he might be more safe under the Protection of that Badge; but still without Effect. For in *Easter Week*, the great Men met at *Stanford*, consisting of most of the Nobility of *England*, and making up a powerful Army, in which were no less than two thousand Knights, besides other Horse and Foot, arm'd with divers Weapons; and Arch-Bishop *Langton* was their principal, tho' private Adviser. At the same Time the King at *Oxford* expected their coming thither; but hearing of their Numbers and Preparations, he sent some of his chief Courtiers to know of them *What Laws and Liberties they desir'd.* Upon which the Confederate Earls and Barons deliver'd them a Schedule, containing principally the ancient Customs of the Kingdom; declaring, *That if the King would not immediately grant and confirm them under his Seal, they would compel him by seising his Castles and Possessions.* Upon the sight of these, the King falling into a violent Passion, ask'd *Why the Barons did not with these Exactions demand his Kingdom?* Declaring *That they were all foolish and groundless,* and with a solemn Oath protested, *That he would never grant such Liberties as would make himself a Slave.*

The Nobility
combine against
him about the
Charter of Li-
berties.

A. D.
1215.
Reg. 16.

The King re-
jects their Pro-
posals.

The Beginning
of the Barons
Wars.

Thus began an unhappy War, call'd the *Barons War*, occasion'd by the Nobilities positive insisting, and the King's obstinate refusing to confirm the Laws of King *Edward*, and the Liberties and Privileges of other preceding Kings, as the Author of the *Annals of Waverly* judiciously observes. To which he adds, That those Laws had been much corrupted and infring'd, during this King's Father's Reign; but chiefly in his own, who had dispossest several great Men without any Judgment of their Peers, condemn'd others to cruel Deaths, and violated their Wives and Daughters, insomuch that his tyrannical Will stood instead of a Law. The Barons having defy'd the King, and renounc'd their late Homage, chose the Lord *Fitz-Water* for their General, calling him *The Marshal of the Army of God, and of the Holy Church;* and immediately

M. Paris
An. War.

An. W.
M. Paris
Waverly

mediately march'd to *Northampton*, and besieg'd the Castle fifteen Days, but without Success. Upon which they rais'd the Siege, and went to *Bedford* Castle, where they were kindly receiv'd by the Master *William Beauchamp*. Here receiving secret Intelligence that they might now possess themselves of the City of *London*, they immediately march'd to *Ware*, and on the twenty fourth Day of *May*, early in the Morning enter'd the City at *Algate*, by the Favour of some of the rich Citizens. Having obtain'd this great Advantage, they besieg'd the Tower, and by their threatening Letters to all Opposers soon caus'd a very great Defection, in all Parts both among the Commonalty as well as the Gentry. The King for a while kept himself upon the Defensive, but now seeing himself deserted, and fearing they would seize his Castles, he sent the Earl of *Pembroke* and other faithful Messengers to them, to let them know *he would grant them* The King complies. *the Laws and Liberties they desir'd*, allowing them to appoint a Day and a Place to meet and conclude this Affair. This is suppos'd to have been a deceitful Message on the King's Part, yet the Barons were transported with it, and joyfully appointed the King to meet him on the fifteenth Day of *June*, in a Meadow between *Stanes* and *Windsor* call'd *Runnemede*; which signifies the *Mead of Council*, because from ancient Times Treaties for the Peace of the Kingdom had been often held there.

M. Paris. In this Place the King appear'd with the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and other Bishops, with some few Lords; but on the Barons Side the Nobility were not easily to be number'd: So that the King finding himself much over-power'd, without any seeming Difficulty granted them the Laws and Liberties in two Charters, because being so many, they could not be contain'd in one Schedule. The first and chief is call'd *Charta Communium Libertatum*, or *Magna Charta*, Magna Charta, &c. confirmed by the King. the *Charter of Liberty* or the *Great Charter*; and the second *Charta Foresta*, the *Charter of the Liberties of the Forest*. In the great Charter, among other Matters it was decreed, 'That the *Common Pleas* should not follow the Court, 'but should be fix'd in one certain Place: That Itinerant Justices should be sent 'through every County once a Year, to hold Assizes in each County, together 'with the Knights of the respective Divisions; and such Things as they could 'not determine in the proper Counties, should be determin'd in some other 'Place in their Circuit; and if any Difficulty arose, so as they could not determine it, it should be referr'd to the Justices of the King's Bench. That Earls 'and Barons should not be amerc'd but by their Peers: That no Tax should be 'rais'd without the Consent of the Parliament, excepting only for the Redemption of the King's Person, if Necessity requir'd it, or for Knighting his eldest 'Son, or for the Marriage of his eldest Daughter: In either of which three Cases he might levy a moderate Tax by his own Authority. If on other Occasions he wanted a Subsidy, the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and 'greater Barons should be summon'd singly by different Writs; and all others 'in general who held of the King *in Capite*, should be summon'd by the Sheriffs and Bailiffs, to meet at a certain Day and Place; and that the Summons 'should be issu'd out forty Days at least before the Time of Meeting; and in the 'Writ of Summons, the Cause of their being summon'd should be specify'd. And because not only the King, but his great Men usually tax'd their Subjects at Pleasure, it was also provided, that no Person whatsoever should tax 'his free Tenants, except only in the three fore-mention'd Cases. The King not only sign'd this Charter, but swore to it; and by the Charter it self twenty five Barons were appointed to be chosen by the whole Baronage, to take care upon Oath to see it well observ'd. To any four of which all Persons might complain of any Breach of it, and they were to admonish the King of it; and if the Grievance were not redress'd within forty Days after, then those four Barons were to refer the Matter to the whole Body: For whom it was lawful, together with the *Commons* of the Land, to take Possession of the King's Castles and Possessions, and to oppress him all manner of Ways, saving only his own Person,

*Twenty five
Persons appointed for Security.*

Person, and the Persons of his Queen and Children, 'till according to their Will the Grievance was redress'd : And all Persons on such an Occasion were allow'd to take an Oath of Fidelity to the Barons. And to confirm all, the King sent his Letters Patents to all the Sheriffs of *England*, commanding them to oblige Persons of all Conditions within their Interdictions to swear, That they would observe these Laws, and, if Need requires, to compel the King also to observe them.

The King re-lapses,
and retires to the Isle of Wight.
All Things now seem'd to be in a quiet and settled Condition, and all Men rejoic'd, hoping that God had touch'd the King's Heart, and that *England* should now be freed from the Servitude which had so long afflicted it : But all these Affairs in a short Time prov'd contrary to Expectation ; for the King's mercenary Soldiers, desiring War more than Peace, were by their Leaders continually whispering in his Ears, *That he was now no longer a King, but the Scorn of other Princes ; and that it was more eligible to be no King, than such a one as he.* By daily adding fresh Fuel to the Flame, the King at length quite alienated his Affection from his own natural Subjects, and confided wholly in These ; so that in a little Time he became very reserv'd and melancholy, often walking alone, and giving divers Signs of inward Rage and Discontent. Then giving Orders to the Governors of his Castles to fortifie, Man and victual them, he privately retir'd to the Isle of *Wight*, where he began to pull off his Mask, and resolv'd both by the Spiritual as well as Temporal Sword, to free himself from his Obligations. To begin with the former, he sent *Pandolf* with others to the Pope, that he might by his Apostolick Authority make void what the Barons had done, and frustrate all their Designs ; and for the latter, he sent some Bishops and Noblemen to all the neighbouring Nation, to procure foreign Assistance, promising large Possessions and Sums of Money to such as would arm themselves in his Cause ; and if it were needful, they might make Deeds of Gift to such as were willing to come, for the greater Security of their military Stipends. For near three Months the King continu'd privately in the Island, without any Court or Regal Appearance, sometimes plying about the Sea-Coasts, and conversing only with Seamen ; which gave Occasion for strange and various Reports, as that he was turn'd a Fisherman, sometimes a Merchant, and other Times a Pirate ; tho' he only waited for the Return of his Messengers from *Rome*, and the Arrival of his mercenary Forces.

Magna Charta condemn'd by the Pope.
At *Rome* he met with what Success he could desire, where all the Transactions with the Barons were fully represented to the Pope, and the Charter of Liberties shown him in writing : Which when he had carefully perus'd, he with a furious Look cry'd out, *What ! do the Barons of England endeavour to dethrone a King, who has taken upon him the Holy Cross, and is under the Protection of the Apostolick See ; and would they force him to transfer the Dominions of the Roman Church to Others ? By St. Peter, this Injury must not pass unpunish'd.* Then debating the Matter with the Cardinals, he by a definitive Sentence damn'd and callated for ever the Charter of Liberties, and sent the King a Bull containing that Sentence at large. As the King was successful at *Rome*, so he met with fair Prospects from his Foreign Assistance, consisting of very numerous Troops drawn from *Poitou, Gascony, Brabant, Flanders* and other Parts ; all desperate Adventurers, whose miserable Fortunes at home, easily drew them to any Mischiefs abroad. These were to be rewarded with large Possessions in *England*, if they succeeded against the King's Subjects ; and had not *Hugh de Boves*, at his setting forth from *Calice* with forty Thousand Men, Women and Children, been by a sudden Tempest all drown'd in the Sea, King *John* had made an universal Conquest of his own Kingdom, far more miserable than that by the *Normans*.

The King begins a War upon his Subjects.
However with these Forces he began the Siege of *Rocheſter* Castle, which^A held out so long, that when he took it, he would have hang'd all the Men in it, had not *Savery de Malleon* dissuaded him from such a cruel Attempt. After which

which he began to meet with greater Success; for dividing his great Army into two Parts, with the one he march'd Northwards, where he victoriously subdu'd all Places, while the Earl of *Salisbury* with the other Foreigners did the same Southwards. At which Time all Things were in a deplorable State; and in the greatest Confusion; Fathers set against their Sons, Brother against Brother, Kinsmen and Allies against their nearest Friends, attacking, surprizing, pursuing, burning, ravaging, tormenting and murdering; all the Kingdom by the Combustion of so universal a War, becoming like a general Shambles, or Place of infernal Desolation. And now it appear'd strange that those Barons, and their adhering Impugners of the King, whose Pretext formerly was, that they durst not obey the King because of the Papal Curse, being now themselves by vertue of the same commanded to obey and assist him, could without any Scruple condemn both it and him, pretending *it concern'd them not, because not particularly nam'd*. And the Arch-Bishop himself, who had made the World believe, that the Pope's Censure, and his own too, were sufficient to deprive the King of all Sovereign Command, now being in Name, and under the same Penalty, requir'd by the Pope to denounce the same against the King's Opposers, he without any regard to it told the Messengers, *He would not do it for any Cause whatsoever, 'till he had conferr'd with his Holiness in Person*. For which Contempt, *Pandolf* and the Bishop of *Winchester*, solemnly denouncing the Curse themselves against the Barons, did likewise suspend him from all Episcopal Authority. Shortly after the Arch-Bishop was oblig'd to appear at *Rome* in a grand Council, where the Pope excommunicated all, either *French* or *English*, who oppos'd King *John*; and here he was accus'd and convict of Treason against the King, and of Contempt against the Pope and Church's Censures. For which the Pope fully resolving to depose him from his See and Dignity, by the Cardinals earnest Intercession for him, he was intreated to use him somewhat milder; but yet by a publick Sentence he confirm'd his Suspension, and commanded by his Letters all Suffragan Bishops to withdraw their Obedience from him. And for a further Revenge, whereas *Simon Langton*, his Brother, had by his Procurement been elected into the See of *York*, the Pope not only vacated his Election, and made him incapable of any Episcopal Dignity, but also plac'd in that See *Walter Gray*, a true Friend to King *John*, and a profess'd Enemy to the Family of the *Langtons*.

The Pope joins with him.

Paris, Reginald. To secure the *Roman* Power, not long after the Pope proceeded to excommunicate all the disloyal Barons by Name, and interdicted all their Lands, together with the City of *London*, where they had their chief Residence: Which tho' it gave a dangerous Blow to their Faction, yet still standing upon their Guard at *London*, they so little regarded these Censures, that they decreed That neither themselves nor the Citizens should observe them, nor the Prelates denounce them, alledging *That they were obtain'd by false Suggestions, and therefore not valid; That it did not belong to the Pope to direct and govern in Lay-Matters, since St. Peter only receiv'd an Ecclesiastical Power from our Saviour: Why therefore should they be govern'd by the Avarice and Ambition of the Roman Bishops? Who are rather the Successors of Constantine; without resembling St. Peter either in their Piety or Authority*. While they were thus complaining, and daily declining, King *John* rang'd through all Parts with his cruel Mercenaries, who, as *M. Paris* assures us, spar'd neither Age nor Sex, suffering none to escape their Barbarities: And he further relates, That they took Priests from the very Altar, with the consecrated Hosts in their Hands, and then wounded, tortur'd and robb'd them; and that to extort Money from Persons of all Conditions, they hang'd some by the Privities, others by the Legs and Feet, some by their Arms, Hands or Thumbs, injecting Salt and Vinegar into their Eyes; and others they laid upon Trivets and Grid-irons over burning Coals, and then put their parch'd Bodies under Ice to cool them: So that now all Commerce ceas'd, and no Markets were held but in Coemitories and Church-Yards.

A. D.

1216.

Reg. 17.

Great Cruelties by the King's Army of Mercenaries.

The

The Barons send
for the Dau-
phine of France

The Pope oppo-
ses the Design
in vain.

The Barons finding their Estates given to Strangers, their Wives and ^{M.P. &c.} Daughters violated, and their Fortunes ruin'd, began now to curse the Pope, who had formerly most shamefully encourag'd them to withstand their Sovereign; and to recover all, they resolv'd upon a desperate Project, agreeable to their former Actions, which was to deliver the Kingdom of *England* into the Hands of *Lewis* the *Dauphine* of *France*. Accordingly they sent some of their chief Friends to *France* with their Letters of Allegiance, to implore King *Philip's* Favour for sending his Son, and his Son's, for the Acceptance of the Crown; and upon the Delivery of twenty five *English* Hostages, they receiv'd a present Supply of *French* Soldiers, with the Promise of the speedy Arrival of their new Sovereign. The Pope having Intelligence of the Designs of the *French* King, immediately sent his Legate Cardinal *Wallo* with his Apostolick Commands to King *Philip* to prevent his Son from entering *St. Peter's Patrimony*, denouncing the great Curse against all Men combining with the excommunicated Barons. To which *Philip* return'd answer, *That England was no Patrimony of St. Peter's, for John having been convict of Treason against his Brother Richard, was never a lawful King; or if he were such, he now stood condemn'd for the Death of his Nephew Arthur: That no King could dispose of his Kingdom without the Assent of the Barons, who are bound to defend it; and if the Pope would insist upon this Error, it would prove a pernicious Example to all Civil States.* Then all the great Men of *France* unanimously declar'd, *They would maintain this Point even to Death, That no King or Potentate, by his single Authority, had power to give away, or transfer his Kingdom, and thereby enslave his Nobility.* At the same Time *Lewis* begg'd of his Father, *Not to hinder him of that which he had not given him, and for which he was resolv'd to spend his Blood; and would sooner chuse Excommunication, than falsifie his Promise to the English Barons.*

The Dauphine
comes into En-
gland.

His Pretensions.

With this slender Respect and Scorn to his Holiness, the Legate seeing such ^{M.P. &c.} stern Looks, and fearing some Mischief retir'd in haste; and *Lewis* as speedily set forwards for *England*, with his Fleet of six hundred Ships and eighty Boats, with which arriving first at the Isle of *Thanet*, and afterwards at *Sandwich*, the Barons came thither and join'd with him. Whereupon thinking it Wisdom first to arm himself against Spiritual Weapons, he immediately wrot a plausible Letter to *Alexander* Abbot of *Canterbury*, who was to denounce the Pope's Curse against him, 'in which he laid before him his Title to the Crown which *John* had forfeited; First by Treason in King *Richard's* Reign; Secondly because his attaining the Crown was by pure Election: Thirdly because he was 'solemnly condemn'd by the *French* Peers for the Death of Duke *Arthur*: 'Fourthly for violating his Oath in enthralling the Kingdom to the Pope, in 'wronging the Clergy, and oppressing the Laity. That therefore the Right was 'devolv'd to *Lewis* the *Dauphine*; First by Inheritance of his Wife, who was 'Niece to King *John*, and Secondly by the Election of the Nobility. These specious Pretences had no Effect upon *Alexander*, who forthwith denounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication against *Lewis* and his mighty Army, and closely adhered to his Sovereign, notwithstanding all the Threats and Promises us'd by *Lewis* to win him to his Side.

He arrives at
London.

In the mean Time King *John* lay at *Dover* with his Army, which consisting ^{M.P. &c.} of Strangers, he durst not attempt to hinder the Landing of the *French*, lest his Men should desert to *Lewis*; from whence he went to *Guilford*, and so on to *Winchester*; whilst *Lewis* himself, finding no Army to oppose him, in a short Time subdu'd *Rocheſter*, and all the Country, except *Dover* Castle. Then coming up to *London*, he was met by the Barons with all the outward Demonstrations of Joy and Triumph, receiving at the same Time Homages from them and the Citizens; and he likewise swore upon the Holy Evangelists *That he would restore to all of them all good Laws, and their lost Inheritances.* At the same Time he made *Simon Langton* his Chancellor, who being inrag'd at the

the Pope's hindering him of the Archbishoprick of *York*, did now persuade Prince *Lewis* with all the Barons and Citizens to be present at Divine Service, notwithstanding the Interdict, and *Wallo's* excommunicating both *Lewis* and him by Name: So that when once the Clergy and People became unanimous, the Pope's Censures were of little or no Effect. *Lewis's* Homagers daily increasing, he left *London*, and in no long Time made himself Master of most of *Kent*, *Suffex* and *Hampshire*, with almost all the Southern Parts of *England*; but not without Resistance in several Places: Particularly at *Odiham* Castle, where but thirteen *English* Men, not only oppos'd *Lewis* and his whole Army for fifteen Days, but also sallying out took every Man his Prisoner, and at length with great Admiration of the *French*, and honourable Conditions surrender'd the Castle. In the Time of these Hostilities *Alexander* King of the *Scots* came to wait upon *Lewis* at *Dover*, and did him Homage for the Lands he held in *England*; and on the other Side He, as well as the Barons, swore, *That they would never make Peace with King John, without the King of the Scots Consent.* *Dover*, with a few other Castles only now stood out; where while *Lewis* us'd incredible Toil and Expence in a furious but ineffectual Siege, and his Confederates were employ'd in the same manner at *Windsor*; King *John* and his mighty Army, breaking forth with a sudden Violence, like a furious Tempest over-run many Counties, to the Ruin and Destruction of the Barons Castles, Houses, Lands and Possessions in all Parts.

and is very successful.

The Barons were now under great Troubles and Afflictions, to see their native Country by their own Wilfulness thus horribly ravag'd, and their Goods and Estates plunder'd and ruin'd by the King's Forces; and what added to their Grief was to find that their faithful Services, in this their faithless Adherence, not so respected by *Lewis*, as he and their own vain Hopes had promis'd them, whilst he conferr'd upon his own *French* Men only all those Territories and Castles he conquer'd. But their greatest Affliction was what they accidentally learnt from the Viscount *de Melun*, a *French* Nobleman, who being in his last Sickness at *London*, generously sent to those Barons that were there for the Security of the City, and declar'd to them *That he was extreamly griev'd for the impending Ruin that was falling upon them, of which they had no Knowledge; Particularly That Prince Lewis with sixteen Earls and Barons of France had sworn, That when he had conquer'd England, and was crown'd, he would for ever banish all Those who fought for him against King John, as Traitors to the Realm, and destroy their Posterity; and that they might not doubt the Truth of it, he affirm'd it upon the Word of a dying Man, and as he hop'd for Salvation, that he was one of these who had taken that Oath; yet he desir'd them to be secret, and provide for their Safety as well as they could;* presently after which he expired. This being whisper'd among the Nobility, prov'd a terrible Alarm to them, both as to their Security and their Consciences; especially when they found themselves thus stigmatiz'd with the odious Character of *Traitors* by a foreign Prince, and under the Sentence of Excommunication from the Apostolick Authority. Some of these reflecting upon their miserable Condition, thought of returning to their old Obedience; but others were afraid they had so highly provok'd the King, that he would never accept of their Return; yet no less than forty of the Barons took a Resolution to quit Prince *Lewis*, and sent their humble Submission of Obedience to him a little before his Death.

Several of the Barons relent.

In the mean Time the unfortunate King kept himself in perpetual Motion and Action, sometimes in the West, and other Times in the East and North; whilst *Lyn* in *Norfolk* serv'd as a Place of Retreat or Defence for all the King's Friends in those Parts, and there he also secur'd his Treasure, Crown, and all his portable *Regalia*. After many Motions and Traverses, especially in *Lincolnshire*, in *October* he arriv'd at *Lyn*, where he was receiv'd with great Joy and many Presents; in return of which he granted the Town large Immunities, and a

*The King loses
his Baggage in
the Sea.*

*He dies with
Grief.*

His Character.

Mayor, and gave his own Sword to be carry'd before him, with a Silver Cup gilt, which are still to be seen. Shortly after the King passing from thence to *Lincolnshire*, and marching over the great *Marsh* between *Norfolk* and that County, he and his whole Army were in Danger of being lost by the Quick-sands and Flowing in of the Tide; but all his Wagons, Carts, Sumpter Horses, with their Lading, and all his Treasure, precious Vessels, sacred Relicks, and his *Regalia* were swallow'd up in the Mouth of the River *Welland*; which *M. Paris* Hyperbolically describes by the Earth opening in the midst of the Floods, and plunging them into the Abyss. The King got safe that Night to *Swines-head* Abby, and there lodg'd; but through excessive Grief for the Loss of his Carriages and Treasure, he fell into a Fever, which he heighten'd by eating Peaches, and drinking new Ale or Bracket. The next Morning he remov'd from thence, but not being able to ride, he was carry'd in a Litter to *Sleaford* Castle; from whence he proceeded in the like Manner as far as *Newark*, where finding his Fever increasing, and a Flux beginning, he by his Testament appointed *Henry* his eldest Son, then a Child, to succeed him, devoutly confess'd his Sins, forgave his Enemies, and receiv'd the Eucharist; and after three Days Continuance in that Place, he dy'd on the eighteenth of *October*, and fifty first Year of his Age, after a troublesome and unfortunate Reign of seventeen Years, seven Months and thirteen Days. His Body, according to his Order, was bury'd in the Cathedral Church at *Worcester*, but with little Funeral Pomp; and his Tomb, with his Image upon it, is still to be seen in the Choir of that Church.

This is the most authentick Account of the Death of this unfortunate Prince; but as to the vulgar Story of his being poison'd by a Monk in *Swines-head* Abby, that is no where mention'd by the ancient Writers, and so differently by those more modern, and with such improbable Circumstances, that we cannot think it worthy to trouble the Reader with it. His chief Misfortunes were the natural Punishments of his Crimes, particularly his Ingratitude and Treason against his Father, and his treacherous as well as traiterous Practices against his Brother, which pursu'd him so close, that he was not only chastis'd by disloyal Subjects, and an ambitious Pope, but also lost more Territories in a few Years than all his Successors ever did in thrice that Space of Time. He indeed met with extraordinary Hardships, both from abroad and at home; and these often put him upon exorbitant and illegal Practices, which still added to his own and the Nation's Misfortunes. Yet if he had met with a less usurping Pope, a less potent King, and a less turbulent Nobility to have manag'd, and also less envenom'd Writers to have transmitted his Story, he might have made a Figure of no small Renown in the World. His Nature and Fortune did never well agree; for he naturally lov'd Ease, yet his Fortune was ever to be in Action: He was faithless, cruel and violent; neither fit for Prosperity nor Adversity, for the one made him insolent and the other dejected; so that a middle Fortune would have best suited with his Temper. He was extremely greedy of Money, which tho' it was got with great Noise, was usually spent in Silence; and was very intemperate in his Pleasures, in his Lusts exceeding his Father, and not sparing the Wives of the greatest Noblemen. He was extremely variable, sometimes very religious, as appears by his founding several Monasteries, and other Acts of Devotion; and at other Times scarce a Christian, as appears from so many profane Sayings related of him. And indeed the Monks have blacken'd his Memory with several strange Stories; as that he counterfeited the Bishop's Seals, and writ abroad That all *Englishmen* were become Infidels and Apostates, and therefore such should come to subdue them, and take their Possessions; and at another Time That he offer'd his Kingdom to a *Moorish* King, and promis'd to embrace the *Mahometan* Religion: Of which these and several others are justly suspected by all judicious Writers.

This King by his great and arbitrary Taxes was a severe Oppressor, yet in several Respects he was no bad Governor: For he was the first or chiefest who appointed those excellent Forms of Civil Government in *London*, and most Cities and Incorporate Towns in *England*, and endow'd them with the greatest Immunities; the First who caus'd Sterling Mony to be here coin'd; the First who ordain'd the honourable Ceremonies in the Creation of Earls; the First who settled the Rates and Measures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and such like Necessaries; the First who gave to the Cinque Ports the Privileges and Customs they now enjoy; and the First who planted *English* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*, enlarging the Royal Stile with *Lord* of that Country, making by this some Amends for his Losses in *France*. In this Reign we find the Prices of several Commodities; particularly that Wheat at the highest was once six Shillings the Quarter, and eighteen Pence at the lowest Rate. The Price of Wines was once fix'd thus; *Rockell* Wine at twenty Shillings the Tun, the Wine of *Anjou* at twenty four Shillings the Tun; and no other *French* Wines at above twenty five Shillings the Tun, unless it was some of extraordinary Goodness, which might be sold at twenty six Shillings and eight Pence the Tun.

*His Govern-
ment.*

S E C T. IV.

The Reign of King HENRY the Third.

Containing 56 Years, 1 Month, and 4 Days.

M. Paris.
xx. I. **T**HE unexpected Decease of King *John* prov'd of singular Advantage to young Prince *Henry* his Son, to whom the Affections of most of the Nobility, Clergy and People were inclin'd, both upon the Account of the dying Words of the Viscount *Melun*, and also the present Influence of the *French*. Therefore as soon as the Earls, Bishops and Barons, who remain'd firm to the late King, could conveniently meet, they all at the Summons of the Earl-Marshal assembled at *Glocester*, whither the Earl brought Prince *Henry*, then not ten Years of Age; and having plac'd him in the midst, he made a Speech to the Assembly, beginning with *Behold our King!* and after a short Pause thus proceeded, *Altho' we have persecuted the Father of this Child, and that perhaps justly, for his male Administration, yet since his Son is innocent of his Father's Crimes, and since, according to the Scriptures, 'the Son ought not to bear the Iniquity of the Father, we must have pity upon the tender Years of this innocent Prince. And forasmuch as he is the King's eldest Son, and ought to be our Lord and Successor in the Kingdom, let us unanimously appoint him our King and Governor; and expel Lewis and his Followers, and so take away the Reproach of our Nation by breaking the Yoke of that unjust Servitude.* This Proposal was at first oppos'd by the Earl of *Glocester*, but in a short Time all agreed as if they had been divinely inspir'd, crying, *Let him, let him be made King!* and immediately appointed the Feast of St. *Simon* and *Jude* for his Coronation. At which Time, being eight Days after King *John's* Death, *Wallo* the Pope's Legate, several Earls, Bishops, Barons, Abbots and Priors, with a great Multitude of others, assembled at *Glocester* to advance Prince *Henry* to the Crown of *England*; tho' he was not the nearest Heir, for *Eleanor*, Sister to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, was still alive, but kept close Prisoner in the Castle of *Bristol*. All Things being ready for the Solemnity, *Wallo* with the rest brought him in Procession into the Cathedral Church, and placing him before the high Altar, laying his Hands upon the

A. D.
1216.
Reg. 1.

The Earl-Marshal summons the Nobility.

Young Henry crown'd at Glocester.

Holy

Holy Gospels and Relicks of Saints, he swore this solemn Oath, ‘*That he would honour God, and yield Peace and Reverence to the Holy Church, and all its Clerks, all the Days of his Life; That he would administer true Justice to the People; That he would abolish all bad Laws and ill Customs, if any were in the Kingdom, and would observe, and cause to be observ’d all such as were good.*’ Then being over-aw’d he did Homage to the Church of Rome, and to Pope *Innocent*, for the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and faithfully engag’d to pay the thousand Marks yearly to the See of Rome, which his Father King *John* had granted to it. After which the two Bishops of *Winchester* and *Bath*, anointed and crown’d him King, with the usual Solemnities; only for want of a Crown, which King *John* had lost in the Sea, he was crown’d with a plain Circle, or Chaplet of Gold.

The Earl-Marshal made Governor to the King.

The Speediness of this Royal Ceremony was not greater than the Necessities of the State requir’d; for his Enemy Prince *Lewis* had still *London* at his Devotion, and many potent Earls, Barons, and valiant Male-contents, subject to his Command, who had taken a solemn Oath *Never to acknowledge any of the Sons of the late King John*. The young King on the other Side was surrounded with many Difficulties, as want of Years, want of Money, and many others; to prevent which the great Earl-Marshal of *Pembroke* was by the unanimous Consent of Prelates and Peers made Guardian of the King’s Person, and Vice-Governor of the Kingdom. Upon which, Letters were issu’d out in the King’s Name to all such as had Command in the Republick, with many Promises of Reward and Favour, which in most Places were obey’d; the Prejudices against the late King being in a great Measure bury’d with him in the Grave: And they were much encourag’d when they saw that Prince *Lewis* and all his Party were every *Sunday* and Holy-Day declar’d Excommunicated by the Pope’s Legate. Prince *Lewis*, who had besieg’d the valiant *Hubert de Burgo* in *Dover* Castle, perceiving that King *John*’s Death was no ways advantagious to him, rais’d the Siege, and enter’d *London*, where he might best provide for his declining Condition. Having the Tower deliver’d into his Hands, he remov’d and invested *Hertford* Castle, which after the Slaughter of many of the *French*, surrender’d upon honourable Terms. *Robert Fitz-Water* claim’d the Custody of this Place, as belonging to him by ancient Right; upon which the *Frenchmen* declar’d, *That those English were never to be trusted, who had been Traitors to their own Master*; yet Prince *Lewis* gave him a dilatory Promise, *That when he had totally subdu’d the Kingdom, every Man should have his Rights restor’d.* The Castle of *Berkhamsted*, under *Waleran* a German Commander, despairing of Relief, was likewise surrender’d, which like other Places was fill’d with a *French* Garrison; which rais’d great Jealousies, and much weaken’d the Affections of those who had invited him into the Nation. His next March was to *St. Albans*, where he requir’d the Abbot to do him Homage, which he absolutely refus’d, *Unless he was first releas’d from the Homage to King Henry*; which Answer irraging the Prince, the Abbot was constrain’d to compound for eighty Marks of Silver, to spare the noble Monastery and Town, till *Candlemass* next.

The Dauphine’s Endeavours.

A. D.
1217.
Reg. 1.

A short Cessation of Arms.

But these intestine Causes, for which the Barons had call’d in *Lewis*, failing by the Death of King *John*, and the Insolence and Vanity of the *French* occasioning new Reasons of Aversion, were all strong Motives to dispose the Minds of the *English* to return to due Obedience; yet finding themselves bound in Honour, not to leave him to the Mercy of King *Henry*, when upon their Oaths and Hostages he had thrown himself upon them, they now desir’d his Absence, but not his Destruction. The better to effect their Designs, a Cessation from Hostilities was propounded and concluded between the King and Prince *Lewis*; to which the latter readily inclin’d, because he had Intelligence from *Rome* that the Curse which *Wallo* had denounc’d against him, would shortly be confirm’d by the Pope, unless he speedily left *England*. As this Truce gave

Lewis

Lewis liberty to sail back to *France* for new Supplies from his Father, who much desir'd to confer with him; so his Absence gave Opportunity to the *English* to consult more freely concerning their Safety; that from that Time, *Lewis* was never so deep in their Affections, and immediately lost many Lords and others, who again shew'd themselves true *Englishmen*.

^{M. Paris.}
^{1. Chron.} Prince *Lewis* upon his speedy Return out of *France*, resolving to make as speedy a Dispatch, sent out of *London* his Army of more than twenty thousand Men, designing not only to relieve *Mont-Sorrel* in *Leicestershire*, besieg'd by the King's Forces, but also to subdue the adjacent Country. The March of his Army, which after the Relief of *Mont-Sorrel* went as far as *Lincoln*, was very odious and grievous to the Country, consisting of the Scum and vilest of the *French*, who wanting Cloaths for themselves, caus'd many to go naked to supply their Wants, and put others to cruel Tortures to force them to excessive Ransoms. The Earl of *Pembroke*, Governor of the King, by the Advice of *Wallo* and the Bishop of *Winchester*, resolving to put the Cause upon God and the Fortune of the Field, repair'd with his Charge to *Newark*, where the general Assembly for that Service was appointed. The whole Army rested there for some Days, which they spent in Devotions and receiving the Eucharist, humbling themselves before the offended Majesty of Heav'n; and all being prepar'd, now resolv'd either to return victorious, or to die in Defence of their Country, their Sovereign's Rights, and their own Liberties, all which seem'd to lye at stake. To give them the greater Spirit and Vigor, *Wallo* with extraordinary Solemnity execrated *Lewis* and all his Coadjutors; and thus the Army march'd towards *Lincoln*, where *Lewis's* Forces had besieg'd the Castle; but the King himself was left eight Miles from the City, at *Stow*, with *Wallo* and a strong Guard, there without peril of his Person to attend God's Pleasure in the Event of this Action.

*The Dauphine's
Army does
much Damage.*

^{M. Paris.} Upon their Approach, if the Advice of some had been follow'd, the *French* Army had issu'd out of the City, and given them Battel in the open Field; but the *French* General, the Earl of *Perch*, thinking the King's Army to be greater than it was, by reason the Ensigns were doubled, and so much added to the Appearance, oppos'd that Design, shut up the City Gates, and us'd his utmost Endeavours to gain the Castle. Upon which the Governor of the Castle let in *Faukes de Brent*, with a considerable Force through a Postern Gate; while the Earl of *Pembroke* with the rest of the Army storm'd the City in another Place, where courageously entring, those in the Castle sally'd out upon the Flank of the Enemy, and together with the other with great Slaughter dispers'd and defeated the *French* Party. The Earl of *Perch* being surrounded with the Royalists, and refusing to take Quarter of any *English* Traitor, as he call'd them, was slain, with many other of his Countrymen. In this Conflict the Force of natural Propension was very apparent; for notwithstanding the fierce Resolutions of the King's Soldiers, when they saw the Faces of their Kinsmen, Friends and Countrymen on the other Side, they began to relent, and most of their Revenge fell upon the Horses, and not the Riders, whom they only endeavour'd to take Prisoners. The Pursuit was but coldly follow'd upon the flying Barons, otherwise scarce a Man could have escap'd; in which notwithstanding the chiefest Barons were taken Prisoners, with about four hundred Knights, besides Esquires and ordinary Soldiers, and a vast Number of the Townsmen. Such as escap'd the Fight were not past Danger; for the Country People set upon them as they fled, and kill'd great Numbers, so that almost all the Footmen were destroy'd before they could reach to *London*. The whole Riches of the vanquish'd Army, and of the whole City of *Lincoln* became the Booty and Spoil of the King's Soldiers, so that this Victory was afterwards call'd by the Name of *Lewis-Fair*; and because the Clergy were excommunicated, the Pope's Legate order'd them not to spare the Churches, nor the Cathedral it self; the vast Riches belonging to which may be conceiv'd by that of the Precentor, who complain'd that he had lost eleven thousand Marks for his share. The

*It is wholly
defeated at
Lincoln.*

*which is plun-
der'd by the
King's Party.*

The Marshal of *France*, the Castellan of *Arras*, and about two hundred ^{and} Knights got safe into *London*, but were but coldly receiv'd by Prince *Lewis*, who charg'd upon their Cowardice the Loss of all the rest. The Fear of being taken Prisoner justly encreasing, he us'd all Means to fortifie *London*, and dispatch'd Messengers into *France* for more Succours and Supplies; while the vigilant Earl of *Pembroke* endeavour'd to straiten him as much as possible. In the mean Time, by the Diligence of the Lady *Blanch*, Wife to Prince *Lewis*, *Eustace*, who from a traiterous Monk became a Demoniack, was now got to Sea with a large Supply both of Men and Ammunition bound for *London*; but Heav'n was no better pleas'd with these, than with the other Mercenaries at *Lincoln*. For the *English* Navy gaining the Wind of the *French*, sunk several of their Ships by running forceably against them with the Iron Brows or Beaks of their Gallies; using at the same Time unslak'd Lime in Dust or Powder, which being thrown on their Enemies Faces, perfectly blinded 'em. Thus were *Lewis's* Hopes for any present Succours absolutely defeated; nor durst the *French* from that Time engage with the *English* in a Sea-Fight. *Eustace* himself, after a long Search, was found and drawn out from the Bottom of a Pump, and at *Dover* had his Head cut off; tho' some say he was slain by *Richard* a natural Son to King *John*. The News of which Success being brought to the King, did not more elevate him, than it wounded *Lewis*; for the Loss was not only great as to Men, but also in all sorts of Riches and Provisions.

The French deserted at Sea.

The Dauphine declines.

He treats with King Henry.

and leaves the Nation in Peace.

To give no Rest to the Prince's declining Fortunes, the Earl of *Pembroke* ^{with} with a powerful Army besieg'd him in the City of *London*, as well by Water as Land; endeavouring to force him by Famine to surrender the Place. At length Matters came to a Capitulation; and in an Islet in the River *Thames*, not far from *Stanes*, King *Henry*, *Wallo* the Legate, *William Marshall*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* met with *Lewis* and the Barons, to finish the Treaty: For *Lewis* had promis'd to yield to the Legate and the Earl in any Thing that was not dishonourable. The Articles which the Prince swore to were these: 'First he and the Barons, and his other Associates, should stand to the Judgment of the Church, and for the future be obedient to the Pope and the *Roman* See; That he should forthwith depart the Kingdom, and never return with a Purpose of doing Harm. Secondly, That he would endeavour what he could to induce his Father to restore to King *Henry* all his Rights beyond the Seas. Thirdly, If his Father refus'd to do it, he himself would perform it, if ever he came to the Crown; and that at present, he would immediately deliver to the King all those Castles and Territories he had possess'd in *England* during this War. On the other Side the King, the Legate and the Earl swore, 'First, That the King should restore to the Barons, and others, all their Rights and Inheritances, with all the Liberties formerly demanded of his Father King *John*. Secondly, That none should suffer Damage or Reproach for taking part on either Side. Thirdly, All Prisoners should be releas'd on both Sides without Ransom. Whereupon Prince *Lewis* with his Adherents was formally absolv'd from the Sentence of Excommunication by *Wallo*, and so all Parties ran into mutual Embraces, and parted with the Kiss of Peace. The *Welsh*, who had join'd with the Barons, were excluded this Treaty, and so were left to the King's Mercy. Thus *Lewis*, having been first forc'd to borrow five thousand Pounds of the *Londoners* to discharge his Debts, was in a manner driven out of *England*, above two Years after his first Arrival, having for the most part been a receiv'd King; and was more likely to have made a Conquest of this Kingdom by the Arms of others, than the *Norman* that made Way with his own, had not the supream Disposer otherwise diverted it. Such Effects proceeded from the Violence of an unruly King, and the Despair of an oppress'd People; who now, notwithstanding the Mismanagement of the Father, willingly embrac'd the Son, being naturally inclin'd to love and obey their Princes.

M. Paris.
Wendov.

II. The Kingdom of *England* was now purg'd from all Foreign Incumbrances, but was not immediately freed from those Troubles and Inconveniencies that naturally succeed all intestine Convulsions. For divers Persons of Note, presuming upon their former Services to the State, or fearing that if full Justice took place they must lose much of what they gain'd, began to show themselves very violent and audacious in their Behaviour. The chief of these were *William* Earl of *Albermarle*, *Faukes de Brent* with his Soldiers, *Robert de Vipont*, with several others, who having had the Castles and Possessions of certain Bishops and great Men, either to keep in Trust, or by the Iniquity of the Times converted to their Uses, did still detain them, both against the Claims of the Legal Owners, and the King's express Prohibition. Among others, *Robert de Gaugy* defended the Castle of *Newark*, then belonging to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, against the King's Army, commanded by the great Marshal Earl of *Pembroke*, and continu'd obstinate for eight Days, and would not surrender, till by the Mediation of Friends, the Bishop paid down an hundred Pounds. After a considerable Time, Peace being thoroughly restor'd and establish'd in the Nation, Itinerant Justices were sent through all Counties to revive the ancient Laws, and to cause the late Charter of King *John* to be strictly observ'd; and then the valiant *Hubert de Burgo* was made Justiciary of *England*. In all the best Regulations and Establishments, the noble Earl of *Pembroke* was principally concern'd, who daily made it his Business to settle all Things with the greatest Quietness and Security. The greater was his Loss both to the King and State by his Death, which happen'd about the Middle of *May*; and his Body was bury'd in the Temple Church at *London*, where his Portraiture in a Coat of Mail is still to be seen in the middle of the Round. He was a great Commander in War, and no less prudent Counsellor in Peace, leaving behind him five Sons and five Daughters; his Sons were successively Earls of *Pembroke*, and dy'd without Issue; his Daughters were all advanc'd to great and noble Matches. Upon his Death, *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* was made Protector, and Governor of the King's Person, who for some Time rul'd with the same Moderation.

A. D.

1218.

Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.Disturbances in
the Nation.

A. D.

1219.

Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.The Earl of
Pembroke dies.The Bishop of
Winchester
made Governor
of the King's
Person.

A. D.

1220.

Reg. $\frac{4}{5}$.The King crown-
ed a second
Time.Thomas Beck-
et inshrined.M. Paris.
Wendov.

The King, now in a settled and calm Condition, resolv'd to be crown'd a second Time; which was perform'd by *Stephen* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* at *Westminster*, with the Confluence of all the Prelates, Peers and People: This Ceremony was renew'd, because the former Coronation at *Glocester* was not so solemnly perform'd, by reason of the Turbulency of the Times, and the Want of a Crown of Gold. About the same Time the new Building of the Abby-Church of *Westminster*, then call'd the Chappel of *St. Mary*, was begun; of which the King himself laid the first Stone, as if he design'd to consecrate his future Actions to the Glory of God. Also the Body of *Thomas Becket*, once Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, was translated out of its Stone Coffin, in the Vault where it was first interr'd, into a rich Shrine made of Gold, and beset with Jewels, at the Charge of the then Arch-Bishop. The King and Pope's Legate were present, with almost all the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons and Clergy of the Kingdom, as likewise an infinite Multitude of common People, from *France* and other foreign Parts. The splendid Entertainment which the Arch-Bishop gave the whole Company, is related in the Manuscript Chronicle of *Dunstable* in very high and hyperbolical Terms, as equalling, or even exceeding all ever known in the World before.

M. Paris.
Wendov.

This Calm which was just begun grew soon disturb'd by sudden Storms; for while the King kept his *Christmass* with great Magnificence at *Oxford*, *William* Earl of *Albermarle*, incited by *Faukes de Brent*, and other turbulent Gentlemen, upon some Discontent, left the Court without leave, and fortify'd the Castle of *Bitham* in *Lincolnshire*, furnish'd it with the Corn of the Canons of *Bridlington*, pillag'd the Town of *Deeping*, and under shew of repairing to the Parlia-

A. D.

1221.

Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.Disturbances in
the Nation.

Parliament, seiz'd on the Castle of *Fotheringay*, and committed many other outrageous Acts, in Contempt of the King, and to the Breach of the publick Peace. Many others in several Places follow'd his pernicious Example; yet at length the Earl coming in under the Conduct of *Walter* Arch-Bishop of *York*, was at the Intercession of the Legate *Pandolf* pardon'd; and the like dangerous Clemency was extended towards his Accomplices and Followers, whom the King, in respect of former Services, set free without Punishment or Ransom. What Occasion there was for severer Proceedings, may easily be discern'd from the Number of Castles and large Possessions that *Faukes de Brent*, *Philip de Marc*, and others detain'd, without any other Right than what the Iniquity of the late Tumults had given them. It was no small Addition to the Troubles of these Times, that *Lewellyn*, King of the *Welsh*, desiring to free their Marches from the *English* Power, rose up in Arms, and laid Siege to the Castle of *Buelt*, which invited King *Henry* to march thither with a sufficient Army; but the Work was made easie, and soon concluded by the voluntary Departure of all the Enemy's Forces. These Appearances of succeeding Disturbances mov'd the King to think of strengthening himself with faithful Alliances; and not long after, *Alexander* King of the *Scots* came to *York*, where he had met the King in the preceding Year, and there marry'd the Lady *Joan*, King *Henry*'s Sister; and at the same Time *Hugo de Borgo*, in the Presence of both the Kings, and by the Advice of each Kingdom, marry'd the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to the King of the *Scots*.

The King marries his Sister to the King of the Scots.

A. D.

1222.

Reg. 6.

In these unsettled Times, the Condition both of the Church and State seem to have much Resemblance, every Man daring to attempt in either, what his own Audaciousness would suggest, or others Connivency permit: But Arch-Bishop *Stephen* now became very diligent in his Councils and Synods, in which by his own Authority he summon'd both Clergy and Laity, and by which he regulated many Inconveniencies as to both. At a Synod he held at *Oxford*, an execrable Impostor was conven'd before him, who had made upon his Body certain Marks or Wounds like those of *Jesus Christ*, whom he blasphemously pretended to be. Being brought before Him and the Bishops, he was by them condemn'd to be immured 'till Death between four Walls; as was also an infamous Woman, who call'd her self *Mary* the Mother of our Lord. As to the publick State, many insolent Actions were committed against the King's Authority and Peace of the Nation, especially by *Constantine Fitz-Arnulf*, a seditious Citizen of *London*, who by means of a Wrestling-Match between the Inhabitants of *London* and *Westminster*, raised a popular Tumult, and attempted to set up Prince *Lewis*; in the Heat of which he cry'd out, *Mount Joy, Mount Joy, God for us, and our Lord Lewis!* Tho' the Lord Mayor, a discreet Person, earnestly perswaded all to their Duties, yet *Constantine* had render'd the People incapable of good Advice, by the seditious Proclamations he had publish'd. The Noise of the Sedition increasing, *Hubert* the chief Justiciary, with some fresh Troops enter'd the Tower, whither he commanded the principal Men of the City to appear before him, who easily threw off the Blame from themselves upon *Constantine*. But he, as resolute in his Answer, as desperate in the Sedition, publicly declar'd *That they had done no less than they ought, and that they would stand by it*: Upon which the rest being dismiss'd, he and his Nephew with a third Person, were condemn'd to be hang'd the next Morning; and tho' he offer'd fifteen thousand Pounds for his Life, yet he could not escape the Hand of Justice. It is believ'd that he rely'd wholly upon the Articles and Oath between the King and Prince *Lewis*, that the Friends of the latter should not be molested; and upon this Occasion *Lewis* afterwards deny'd Restitution of such Things, as the Articles mention'd, pretending that *Henry* had by this first Act broken his Faith, and by that vacated the whole Contract. This Execution being done without Noise, or the Citizens Privacy, the Justiciary, accompany'd with *Faukes de Brent* and his armed Troops, enter'd

A Sedition in London.

Which is quell'd

ter'd *London*, and apprehended such others as were culpable; and for a Terror to the rest caus'd their Hands or Feet to be cut off, and then set at Liberty. The King depos'd all the Magistrates, but when he found that only the meaner Sort were interest'd in this Disorder, he was soon reconcil'd to the City; tho' the Citizens were not so soon reconcil'd to his Ministers, who had punish'd so many, according to their Deserts, but not according to due Form of Law.

M. Paris.
12.

This Seditious Beginning might have occasion'd far more dangerous Proceedings, had not the King by a moderate Behaviour, and a patient Connivence of some particular Indignities, prevented a general Disquiet. For the Barons, still viewing their long desir'd Liberties, and requiring a Confirmation of them by the King, who had sworn to them at the Conclusion of the Peace with Prince *Lewis*; *William Briwere*, one of the King's Council, gave this Answer, *That the Liberties they desired were violently extorted, therefore ought not to be observ'd.* The Arch-Bishop enrag'd at this Answer, told him, *If he lov'd the King, he would not hinder the Peace of the Kingdom*; upon which the King prudently reply'd, *That he had bound himself by Oath to observe their Liberties, and what he had sworn to should be observ'd.* To confirm which he immediately issu'd out his Letters to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, to make Enquiry by the Oaths of twelve Legal Men in every County What were the Liberties of *England* in the Time of King *Henry* his Grand-father, and to send a Return to *London* fifteen Days after *Easter*; by which Act all Men hop'd to see a Conclusion of those unhappy Contests which had so long disturb'd the Nation. But this only prov'd an usual Shift of Prolongation, so that the Business was deferr'd for that Time, to the greater Vexation of that succeeding; for during this long Reign, this put the King to the greatest Inconveniencies, made him ill belov'd of his People, always oppos'd in his Designs, and far a less King, only by striving to be more than he really was.

A. D.

1223.

Reg. 7.

The Barons were
eased.

M. Paris.
Wend.

In the mean Time the King conceiv'd new Hopes from the News of the Death of *Philip* the *French* King, that formidable Enemy to *England*; and immediately sent Arch-Bishop *Stephen* with three other Bishops to *Lewis*, now crowned King, to demand the Restitution of *Normandy*, with all his other transmarine Dominions, according to his Oath made when he left *England*. To which this new King answer'd, *That he was justly possess'd of Normandy, and those other Dominions, as he was ready to make appear to King Henry, if he would come to his Court and make his Claim*: Adding, *That the King of England had violated his Oath in laying a grievous Ransom upon those he had taken at Lincoln; and likewise those Liberties, for which the War was began, and to which he had solemnly sworn at his Departure, were not observ'd.* Upon this, the Ambassadors perceiving they could obtain no other Answer, return'd into *England*, without any further Advantage. The King now finding himself was unable to recover those Dominions abroad, or to maintain his own Royal State at home, resolv'd to resume those Crown Lands, which the Unsettledness of former Times, had thrown into the Possession of private Hands: Which was principally by the Advice of Arch-Bishop *Stephen*, and the chief Justiciary *Hubert*, now made Earl of *Kent*, who by that means drew upon themselves no small Loads of Envy and Hatred. Tho' such Recoveries as these might be no less necessary than reasonable, yet because the interest'd Persons were so numerous, they wisely made use of all Supports that either Religion or human Policy could afford them. In order to effect it, a Bull was procur'd from the Pope by which the King was declar'd to be of Age, and at liberty to govern by himself, and to chuse his own Council; and all Men were commanded, upon pain of Ecclesiastical Censures, to restore all such Possessions as against the Laws and the King's Will they detain'd from him. This drew the interest'd Party to a Resolution of taking up Arms, first meeting for that purpose at *Leicester*, where the Earl of *Chester* and his Confederates consulted how to remove the chief Justiciary, whose predominant Grandeur was not by

The King of
France refuses
to stand by his
former Oath.

The King re-
sumes the
Crown Lands,

A. D.

1224.

Reg. 8.

which breeds ill
Blood.

them to be endur'd, and how to retain those Castles and Possessions demanded. But upon Notice, that if they did not immediately deliver all they unjustly detain'd, they should be excommunicated by Name, and understanding the King's Forces were superior to theirs, they came to the King at *Northampton*, and surrender'd all that belong'd to the Crown into his Possession; but did not lay down their high Displeasure, because at their Petition the King would not remove his chief Justiciary, the great Object of their Envy.

The King of
France declares
War against
King Henry.

Lewis King of *France* being encourag'd by these Domestick Dissentions, declared War against King *Henry* upon this Pretence, *That whereas Aquitaine was held of the Crown of France by Homage, the King of England, being not hinder'd by Sicknefs, or any other Occasion, had neither appear'd at the Coronation of King Lewis, nor excus'd himself by his Ambassadors.* In prosecution of which Pretence, he besieg'd and took the important City of *Rochelle*, with some other Places, and likewise worsted *Savary de Maleon*, King *Henry's* Lieutenant in *Aquitain*; which occasion'd the Loss of the rest of *Poictou* of which the King was possess'd. With this he lost the Service of the said *Savary*, a valiant Commander, who for some Indignity offer'd him by the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was sent to inspect his Actions, suddenly turn'd to the *French*, among whom he had great Credit and Preferment. King *Henry* concern'd at these Disadvantages, resolv'd to have recourse to the general Aid of his People, to recover all his Losses; but while he held a Parliament for that purpose, the whole Assembly was suddenly disturb'd with the great Complaints of an insufferable Outrage. For *Henry de Braibrock*, an itinerant Judge, who with others held the Assises at *Dunstable*, was forcibly taken and imprison'd in *Bedford* Castle by the Order of *Faukes de Brent*, who was inrag'd at him for giving no less than thirty Verdicts against him upon Trials for Land. The Judge's Wife by her Tears so mov'd the whole Parliament to Pity and Indignation, that all other Business laid aside, the Clergy as well as Laity forthwith attended the King to the Siege of the Castle. *Faukes* himself flying into *Wales*, there to increase his Power, left his Brother Lieutenant in the Castle, with a desperate Body of Men, with Provisions and Ammunition sufficient for a whole Year. Yet after two Months Siege, the Castle was taken, the Judge set at Liberty, the Lieutenant and the whole Garrison hang'd, and the noble Pile quite destroy'd, as an Example to others who in due Time would not submit themselves to their Sovereign. *Faukes* now finding his Castle ruin'd and his Estate confiscated, by the Procurement of the Bishop of *Coventry*, came to the King at *Bedford*, and falling at his Feet, implor'd Mercy for his former good Services; but all that he could obtain was only the Favour of Banishment. At the Time appointed for his Departure, he with Tears desir'd the Earl of *Warren*, who was to see him take Shipping, *That he would commend him to the King, and let him know, as an important Secret, That all the Troubles he had rais'd in the Nation were purely by the Instigation of the Barons.*

Faukes de
Brent raises a
Sedition.

He is banish'd.

A. D.

1225.

Reg. 2.

The interrupted Counsels of Parliaments, and Designs of the King for regaining his foreign Territories, were now reassum'd; yet the King could not obtain so much as a *Fifteenth* upon Moveables, without first promising *That he would again confirm the long desir'd Liberties of the Nation.* And being oblig'd by his urgent Necessities, he sign'd and seal'd many Charters, one directed to each County in *England*; and two to every County that had Forests, one concerning the *Common Liberties*, the other concerning the *Liberties of the Forests.* By the Assistance of this new Tax, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* the King's Brother, and *William* Earl of *Salisbury* his Uncle, with sixty Knights and a considerable Force were sent into *Gascony* in the Spring; where they safely arriv'd at *Bordeaux*, and were honourably entertain'd. Their seasonable Arrival had good Effects, for it confirm'd the Well-dispos'd, settled the Irresolute, and reduc'd much which had been taken away by the *French.* *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*, coming by the *French* King's Directions to remove Earl *Richard*

Some Actions
in Gascony.

Richard

chard and the *English* from the Siege of *Riol*, was with all his Fortes intercepted by an Ambuscade, and defeated with no small Loss of Men, Ammunition and Carriages. At length both Sides were contented to pause for a Time without any Treaty, and the *English* held *Aquitain*, notwithstanding all their Force and Practices. But *William Longspee*, the King's Uncle, did not long survive these good Services; but returning into *England* upon the Affairs of State, soon ended his Days at the Castle of *Salisbury*, with the greatest Marks of Humility and Piety. He was bury'd in the newly built Cathedral in that City, where his Monument is still to be seen; he was a virtuous and gallant Man, and the sole surviving Issue of King *Henry* the Second.

A. D.

1226.

Reg. $\frac{10}{11}$.William Long-
spee dies.

M. Paris.

About these Times the Pope sent abroad into the World his Nuntio's and Emissaries, with a Design to settle a Contribution to the See of *Rome*, out of all the Cathedral and Conventual Churches in Christendom: For which he allowed, *That it was to wipe away from that See the ancient Scandal of Avarice and Bribery, which had been occasion'd only by its great Poverty; and this might easily be prevented, if out of every Cathedral Church two Prebendaries, and out of every Monastery two Monks Portions, were set apart for that purpose.* But neither the Messenger nor the Message found any Incouragement in *England*; for the Pope's Agent *Otto*, by the Procurement of Arch-Bishop *Stephen*, receiv'd Letters from *Rome* commanding him immediately to return: *Otto* inrag'd at this unexpected Revocation, threw the Pope's Letters into the Fire, yet durst not disobey the Contents. And whereas the Proposal it self had been debated and examin'd to the utmost, both here and in *France*; and judg'd to contain such an universal Oppression, as might cause a general Defection from the Church of *Rome*; the King in presence of his Prelates and Peers return'd this frugal Answer, *That since what his Holiness requir'd was a Concern of the Universal Church, he was ready to follow the Example of other Kingdoms, and therefore would first see what they did:* With which Answer the Assembly was dismiss'd.

The Pope's De-
signs in En-
gland.M. Paris.
1226.

This Difficulty so avoided, the King was earnestly inclin'd to make a Voyage in Person to the Assistance of his Brother Earl *Richard* who proceeded in the Affair of *Gascony*; which tho' by the Departure of the late Earl of *Salisbury*, it receiv'd some Damage, yet by the Valour and Conduct of other worthy Persons, it still did prosper. His Intention and Desire was somewhat retarded by the Arrival of Letters from *France*, which declar'd his Brother's Health, and the good Success of his Affairs; and others add by the Advice of a famous Astrologer, who foretold that King *Lewis* should not prevail. But what most prevented his Voyage was the express Orders of the Pope, who positively prohibited him from making any Attempts in *France* at that Time, lest he should divert the pious Designs of King *Lewis*, whom he had lately engag'd in a *Crusado* against the Count of *Tbolouse* and his Subjects, as being all infected with the then accounted Heresie of the *Albigenses*. Against these suppos'd Hereticks King *Lewis* spent a Month in the Siege of *Avignon*, where he sustain'd exceeding Losses, by a terrible Plague which destroy'd his Army, by a strange Kind of venomous Flies that dispatch'd great Numbers of his Men, and by a sudden Inundation which laid a great Part of his Camp under Water; and last of all he is thought to have been poison'd by an unchast Rival of his Bed the Earl of *Champaign*. And this was the end of *Lewis*, the great Enemy of the *English* Nation, who was succeeded by his Son *Lewis*, the ninth of that Name, and a Minor, who was afterwards canoniz'd for a Saint.

The Death of
Lewis King of
France.M. Paris.
1227.

III. The Death of the *French* King, with the several Discontents and Factions under his Successor, but twelve Years of Age, gave new Hopes to King *Henry* that now the Time was come, when he might recover those ancient Inheritances which his Fore-Fathers held in *France*. Upon which Account he sent the Arch-Bishop of *York*, with others, to the chief Men of *Normandy*,
Anjou

A. D.

1227.

Reg. $\frac{11}{12}$.

The King declares himself of Age, and cancels the Charters.

Anjou and Poictou, inviting them by large Promises to acknowledge King Henry for their natural Lord; but before their Arrival, the young King, by his Mother's Means, had made Peace, and receiv'd the Homages of these Barons, so that the Design prov'd of no Effect. In the Absence of his Ministers, the King was busily employ'd in raising what Mony he could; and while he was endeavouring to recover what was lost, he much endanger'd what he retain'd. He began with the Citizens of *London*, from whom he extorted five thousand Marks, because they had formerly granted the like Sum to Prince *Lewis*. And to proceed as he had begun, at a Parliament at *Oxford*, he there declar'd himself of full Age, and *That he would take the Management of publick Affairs into his own Hands*: Accordingly, by the Advice of *Hubert* his Justiciary, he remov'd his Guardian the Bishop of *Winchester* from his Court. At the same Time, and by the same Advice, he cancell'd and vacated all the Charters of *Liberties* and *Forests*, which for two Years had been observ'd throughout the Kingdom, declaring, *That what had been then done, was in his Minority, when he had no Power of his own Person or Seal, upon which Account it was all invalid*. These unjustifiable Proceedings occasion'd great Discontents and Murmurings, all accusing the Justiciary, and accounting him the Author of all, because the King was wholly govern'd by him. Shortly after, the Religious Orders, and all others had notice, *That if they would enjoy their Privileges, they must renew their Charters, otherwise they should be of no Advantage to them*; and what they were to pay for such Renewals, was left to the Discretion of the Justiciary. Thus, as it is usual, the whole Nation paid for the King's changing his Ministry.

The Nobility confederate against the King.

Hubert being lately advanc'd to the Earldom of *Kent*, the Envy and Hatred of the Nobility increas'd; especially upon the Return of the King's Brother *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, who had seiz'd upon a certain Manor, then in Possession of one *Waleran* a German, to whom King *John* had formerly granted it, which he alledg'd was Part of his Earldom of *Cornwall*. Upon which the King directed his Letters to his Brother, commanding him forthwith to restore the Manor he had taken from *Waleran*; which occasion'd the Earl to come in Person and plead his Right before the King, offering *to stand to the Judgment of his Court, and of the Peers of the Realm*. At the naming of the *Peers*, the King and Justiciary, suspecting his Intentions, in a great Passion commanded him, *Either to restore the Manor, or for ever leave the Kingdom*; to which the Earl reply'd, *That he would neither part from the one, nor leave the other, without the Judgment of his Peers*, and immediately hasten'd to his own Habitation. And hearing that *Hubert* advis'd the King to secure him, he took Post for *Marleburg*, where meeting with *William Mareschal* the young Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Chester*, he enter'd into a strict Confederacy with them. Then marching to *Stamford*, they were met there by the Earls of *Glocester*, of *Warren*, of *Hereford*, of *Warwick*, and of *Ferrars*, with many Barons, and a great Multitude of armed Men; whose Force was so formidable, that they thought fit to send a bold Message to the King requiring him *To make immediate Satisfaction to his Brother Earl Richard, for the Injury he had done him, which they imputed wholly to the Justiciary; and also to restore those Charters he had cancell'd at Oxford, which if he refus'd, they would compel him by their Arms to make them competent Satisfaction*. The King terrify'd by his Father's Example, appointed them to meet him at *Northampton*, where upon the Lord's resolute Demands, he settled such large Allowances and Possessions upon his Brother, that every one departed well pleas'd, without debating the Affair of the Charters, which at that Time might have occasion'd the greatest Mischiefs to the Kingdom.

A. D.

1228.

Reg. 12.

This Danger was not a little increas'd by the Insurrections of the *Welsh*: The King had given the Castle of *Montgomery* to his Favourite *Hubert*, the Garrison of which Place, by the Assistance of the Country People, endeavour'd

to make a Way through an adjacent Wood more passable and secure for Travellers; but while they were cutting down the Thickets, the *Welsh* suddenly set upon them, kill'd some, and forc'd the rest to retire into the Castle, and immediately invested it. Upon which the King and his Justiciary came speedily, and rais'd the Siege; and then march'd towards the Wood, and there clear'd all by great Labour and Burning, so far as a Receptacle of the *Welsh*, by them call'd *Criddy*, which he commanded to be set on Fire; but the Justiciary finding it to be of an impregnable Situation, advis'd him to erect a Castle in that Place. Yet during the Time of its Building, the Workmen were daily interrupted by the Enemy, and several of them kill'd. At the same Time the King finding so great a Scarcity of Provisions, and so many of his own Men Friends to *Lewellyn*, that he was oblig'd to make a disadvantageous Peace, of which the chief Article was, That this Castle should be demolish'd, and *Lewellyn* should pay three thousand Marks towards his Charges; upon which he return'd home with little Honour, having left *William de Branse*, a noble Baron, behind him Prisoner.

The King goes against the Welsh.

In the same Year dy'd Arch-Bishop *Langton*, a Man of great Spirit and of little Dependence, who had been the main Promoter of the Nation's Liberties. The Convent of *Canterbury* elected *Walter de Hemesham* to succeed him; but both the King and the Suffragan Bishops refus'd him upon several Accounts; so that the Matter was brought to *Rome* to be determin'd by the Pope. After long Delays, the Pope promoted *Richard de Grant*, Chancellor of the Church of *Lincoln*, to the Archbishoprick, by his own sole Authority; and the King and the Bishops, contrary to all Expectation, in a short Time obey'd the Pope's Commands, and submitted to the whole Proceeding. This was a new Incroachment, and the first Arch-Bishop the Pope ever presum'd to nominate, without a previous Election by the Convent, or the Bishops. Having obtain'd this Advantage, the Pope sent one *Stephen* his Chaplain into *England* to collect the Tenth's lately promis'd to the See of *Rome*; which Affair was propos'd in a full Parliament at *Westminster*, where the King by his Silence seem'd to give Consent to the Pope's Demands. But the Earls, Barons, and all the Laity stiffly resolv'd not to oblige their Baronies and Lay-Fees to the Court of *Rome*; and had compounded with the Legate for a certain Sum, had they not been betray'd by *Stephen de Segrave*, who so subtly order'd the Affair, that he obtain'd his Demands. The Prelates and Clergy, after a long Deliberation, and no small Reluctancy, consented, lest they should incur the Sentence of Excommunication. Then *Stephen* shew'd them the Pope's Letter and his Commission to collect the Tenth's out of all Profits whatsoever, without any Deduction either for Debts or Expences; and because the Matter requir'd Speed, he gave notice to the Prelates that they should immediately pay down the Mony, and afterwards levy it upon every Person by Way of Tax; which Exaction prov'd so burdenson, that they were forc'd to sell or pawn their Vestments, Chalice, and other holy Vessels belonging to their Churches. Besides he exacted the Tenth's of the Autumnal Fruits of the Earth, while they were yet growing, none daring to refuse him besides the Earl of *Chester*; and for the more speedy raising of the Mony, he brought along with him certain voracious Usurers, who supply'd the Indigent with Mony, which they were compell'd to borrow, tho' by that Means they were irrecoverably ruin'd.

A. D.
1229.
Reg. $\frac{13}{14}$.

The Pope oppresses the Nation.

Yet in these burthensom Times, on *Michaelmas* Day the King caus'd the whole Nobility of *England* to meet at *Portsmouth* with such a numerous Army of Horse and Foot as none of his Predecessors had ever rais'd, resolving to pass over the Sea to recover those Dominions his Father had lost: But being ready to embark, there was not Shipping sufficient to transport half the Number; which so intrag'd the King, that turning to *Hubert* his Justiciary, he call'd him *Old Traitor*, and openly charg'd him with *Receiving a Bribe of five thousand Marks from the Queen of France to put a stop to this Design*; and

The King prepares against the French.

and proceeded so far as to run at him with his drawn Sword, but the Earl of *Chester* and others interposing, sav'd the King from so foul a Dishonour, who shortly after receiv'd him into Favour again. The whole Army soon broke up upon the Arrival of a great Man out of *Bretaign*, a principal Confederate with the *English*, who by alledging the unseasonable Time of the Year, and other Reasons, occasion'd the Enterprize to be deferr'd 'till the next Spring. Accordingly after *Easter*, the King having visited the Poor and Impotent, and bestow'd bountiful Alms, took shipping at *Portsmouth*, and with a powerful Army landed in *Bretaign*. The Success of this Expedition is so variously related, that without great Prejudice to an observant Reader, it might be all omitted. Much certainly was not done: King *Henry's* Design was to have march'd through *Bretaign*, where many acknowledg'd him, into *Poitou*; and, as some write, he did so, and receiv'd Homage in *Gascony*. To hinder this Passage, the King of *France* lay with a strong Army at *Angers*; while *Fulk Pagunell*, a Norman Peer, with sixty valiant Knights, persuaded the King of *England*, That it was easie for him to reduce *Normandy* to his Obedience; but *Hubert* had other Thoughts, and diverted the King from that Enterprize. The *Normans* therefore made an unfortunate Journey, for they not only miss'd of their Hopes, but for their Conspiring were dispossest at home by King *Lewis*. But whether it were by Loss in Battel, or otherwise, this is agreed on, that after the wasting of infinite Sums of Mony, and a great Diminution of the Soldiers Numbers, the King of *England* return'd without accomplishing his Designs; leaving for the Defence of *Bretaign* the three great Earls of *Chester*, *Pembroke* and *Albemarle*, with Forces sufficient for the Service.

A. D.
1230.
Reg. 14.
He lands in
Bretaign.

Returns without
Success.

It is not improbable that the dangerous Rebellion of the *Irish* hasten'd his Return; for the King of *Connaught* and his Subjects, seeing the King and the Earl of *Pembroke*, who had large Possessions in those Parts, wholly taken up with the Affairs of *France*, had furiously set upon King *Henry's* Soldiers and People, with Hopes of utterly expelling them out of the Nation. But all their Projects prov'd fatal to themselves, and the *English* Forces marching against them, kill'd no less than twenty thousand, and took their King Prisoner. Not long after the *Welsh*, under their King *Lewellyn*, in revenge of some of their Countrymen, whom *Hubert* had slain in cold Blood, made new Incursions, and committed great Devastations upon the Borders of *England*, sparing neither sacred Persons nor Places. When the Bishops and Prelates heard of it, they solemnly excommunicated that Prince, with all his Adherents and Abettors; and the King having rais'd an Army at *Oxford*, march'd in Person to suppress them, but not without great Loss on his Side. As to the Affairs of *France*, by the Wisdom of Queen *Blanch*, and Mediation of the Arch-Bishop of *Rheims* and the Earl of *Bulloign* on one Part, and the Earls of *Bretaign* and *Chester* on the other, a three Years Truce was ratify'd by Oath, between the *French* and the *English*.

A. D.
1231.
Reg. 15.

A three Years
Truce between
the French and
the English.

About the same Time the Pope had a fresh Opportunity of exercising his Authority in *England* by means of the Death of *Richard* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; to succeed whom the Convent made Choice of *Ralph Nevil* Bishop of *Chichester*, who was willingly acknowledg'd by the King, whose faithful and worthy Chancellor he was. But when the Monks went to *Rome* to obtain his Confirmation, the Pope understanding that he was a great Courtier, gave them this Answer, *That if the Person they chose was promoted to that Dignity, he would concur with the King and Kingdom to throw off that Subjection to the See of Rome, to which King John had long since submitted it*; therefore he absolutely vacated the Election, and commanded the Monks *To chuse one who would be faithful and devoted to the Roman Church*. Whereupon they proceeded to chuse a second, and him the Pope mislik'd for being too old, and soft spirited; then a third was elected, a Man of eminent Learning and a Student in *Oxford*, and the Pope also rejected him; never resting till they had elected

The Pope's
Usurpations.

A. D.
1232.
Reg. 16.

electd *Edmund* of *Abington*, a Man more agreeable to the *Roman* Palate. The King seeing the great Emperor *Frederick*, even at this Time while he was winning the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* from Infidels, in his Absence so inhumanly depos'd from his Empire by the Pope, upon a private Resentment; no wonder, if in this his unripe Years, and distracted Government, he fear'd to draw upon himself so merciless an Enemy. How little these *Roman* Incroachments were lik'd in the Nation, appears from the Actions of several Persons of Quality and others this Year, who took up Arms and forceably enter'd the Barns and Houses of the *Roman* or *Italian* Clergy-Men that were benefic'd in *England*, and carry'd away, and distributed their Corn and Goods among the Poor.

St. Paris. And now the great *Hubert*, Earl of *Kent* and chief Justiciary of *England*, after he had enjoy'd the greatest Favour of two Kings, seem'd to have run the Stage of his best Fortunes. For the King, upon fresh Inroads of the *Welsh*, being advis'd by the Bishop of *Winchester* and other Counsellors, to put an end at once to the Inroads of that Nation, he complain'd, *That according to his Treasurers Accounts, his Revenues would scarcely afford him Provisions and Cloaths, and the usual Alms, much less any Thing for warlike Expeditions.* To which they reply'd, *That he impoverish'd himself by alienating the Honours, Wardships and vacant Dignities which ought to come into the Exchequer, so that he had only the Name without the Revenues of a King; but his Predecessors, who took due Care of their Treasury, abounded both in Wealth and Glory.* The King took this Hint, and immediately call'd his Sheriffs and Bailiffs to an Account, and whoever was convicted of Fraud, was remov'd from his Office, and oblig'd to pay the whole into the Exchequer with Interest. He also remov'd *Ranulph Breton* Treasurer of his Chamber from his Office, and fin'd him a thousand Pounds; and by the Advice of the Bishop of *Winchester*, his Nephew *Peter de Rivaux*, a *Poictouin*, was plac'd in his Room; by which Means the King's Coffers were for a while plentifully supply'd.

St. Paris. These were but Preparatives to a further Scrutiny intended against Earl *Hubert*, who by the Instigation of the same Bishop, was now remov'd from being Justiciary, and was succeeded by *Stephen Segrave*, a common Knight. Shortly after, the King being highly incens'd against the Earl, requir'd him to give a strict Account of such Monies and other Revenues, that had ever pass'd through his Hands, since he was first made Justiciary. To this *Hubert* answer'd, *That he had King John's Charter, by which he was discharg'd of all Accounts, who having so often experienc'd his Fidelity, would receive no Account from him.* The Bishop of *Winchester* reply'd, *That the Charter was not valid, after King John's Death, and no ways hinder'd the present King from exacting an Account from him.* And to this was added, *That he had been guilty of several Treasonable Practices, and had given treacherous Advice to the King, to the Prejudice both of him and his Kingdom;* to all which the King requir'd him to answer, and stand to the Judgment of the Court. *Hubert* finding himself abandon'd by his chief Supporter, desir'd an appointed Day to give in his Answer, which was with great Difficulty obtain'd; and being now deserted by all his Friends, except the Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, his Enemies daily increas'd, and many other false or improbable Crimes were laid to his Charge; as *That he had procur'd the late Earls of Salisbury and Pembroke, Faukes de Brent, and Richard Arch-Bishop of Canterbury to be poison'd; and That he had gain'd the King's Affection by Sorcery and Witchcraft.* Others accus'd him of Injustice, Rapine and Extortion; and the *Londoners* enter'd their Complaint against him for formerly condemning their Fellow-Citizen *Constantine* to be hang'd without Legal Process. All which Crimes were so highly aggravated before the King, that he proceeded to an unusual Method, and caus'd it to be proclaim'd throughout the City of *London*, *That whatsoever Person had any Complaint against Earl Hubert, should come to the King, and he should have Justice done him.*

On

On the fourteenth Day of *September*, the King held a grand Assembly of the Prelates and Peers, where *Hubert* was conven'd to answer to the Articles exhibited against him; but the Earl fearing the King would put him to some ignominious Death, took Sanctuary in the Priory Church of *Merton* in *Surry*, and durst not appear 'till the King should be of a milder Temper. Upon which the King in a great Rage sent to the Mayor of *London*, to force him from thence, and to bring him either dead or alive: The *Londoners*, glad of this Opportunity, upon ringing of a common Bell, gather'd together to the Number of twenty thousand; but some of the most discreet Citizens, dreading such Tumults, repair'd to the Bishop of *Winchester's* House in *Southwark*, and desir'd his Advice, who told them, *That whatever were the Consequence, they must execute the King's Precept.* At the same Time the Earl of *Chester* suggested to the King, *That if these Tumultuous Proceedings were countenanc'd, it would occasion dangerous Seditions at other Times; and that it would be a great Reproach to him in foreign Countries, when they heard he thus treated his former Favourites:* Which so prevail'd upon him, that he immediately dispatch'd Messengers, and revok'd his first Precept. After this, the King being a little mollify'd, the Arch-Bishop of *Dublin* obtain'd the Favour that Earl *Hubert* might have a longer Time allow'd him to give in his Answer. During which Space, *Hubert* thinking himself secure by the King's Letters Patents, design'd a Visit to his Countess, then at *St. Edmund's Bury*; but when the King was inform'd of it, he sent a Knight with three hundred Soldiers to apprehend him, and bring him Prisoner to *London*. Upon which *Hubert* fled into a Chappel at *Brentwood* in *Essex*, and for his Protection took the Cross in one Hand, and the Host from the Altar in the other; both which they wrung out of his Hands, and without Respect to the Place violently dragg'd him forth; and chaining his Feet under his Horse's Belly, they brought him in a most opprobrious Manner to *London*, and immediately committed him to the Tower.

He is apprehended.

Upon this Usage, the Bishop of *London* hastily went to the King, and severely rebuk'd him for this Violation of the Sanctuary, declaring, *That if he did not immediately set Hubert at Liberty, and send him back to the Chappel from whence he was taken, he would excommunicate all that were concern'd in the Fact.* The King being terrify'd, acknowledg'd his Error, and sent him back to the same Chappel; but at the same Time sent to the Sheriffs of *Hertford* and *Essex*, upon pain of Death, to go in Person with the Powers of both Counties, and surround the Chappel, to prevent *Hubert's* Escape, or his being supply'd with Sustenance. Upon this the Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, his only true Friend, supplicated the King with Tears to know his Pleasure concerning him; and the King offer'd him the Choice of three Things, either for ever to abjure the Kingdom, to be condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, or to confess himself a Traitor. But *Hubert* would chuse none of them, being conscious to himself that he did not deserve so severe a Treatment, tho' he was willing to quit the Nation for a Time. Yet rather than be starv'd, he at length yielded himself to the Sheriffs, who brought him in Chains to *London*, and made him a second Time Prisoner in the Tower. The Arch-Bishop of *Dublin* us'd all Methods to mollify the King's Heart, but no Sacrifice could appease his Anger, but that of the Earl's Hoard of Gold and other Treasure, then lodg'd with the Knights Templars, who refus'd to deliver it without *Hubert's* express Order. *Hubert* readily submitted himself and all that he had to the King's Pleasure; so that all his chief Wealth and Riches were deliver'd to the King's Possession. His Enemies hearing of his great Treasure, took a further Advantage, and accus'd him of Fraud and Rapine, urging that he might be put to Death: To whom the King reply'd, *That Hubert had faithfully serv'd his Uncle King Richard, and the King his Father, and if he had done otherwise towards him, he should never be put to Death; for he had rather appear too merciful than too cruel to one who had so often preserv'd his Predecessors and himself in great Dangers.*

He mollifies the King.

gers. And the King being now softened into Compassion, by the Riches he had taken from him, regranted to him all the Lands which King *John* had given him, as also those he had purchas'd. Shortly after, the King's Brother *Richard*, with the Earls of *Warren*, *Pembroke* and *Ferrars*, became Sureties for his future Behaviour; after which he was sent Prisoner to the Castle of *Devizes*, under the Custody of four Knights of theirs, where he appointed *Laurence*, a Clerk of *St. Albans*, to be Steward of the Lands granted him, who had been a faithful Friend, and a great Comfort to him in all his Afflictions.

Yet he is kept Prisoner.

IV. King *Henry* being wholly freed from the Influence of *Hubert* his former Justiciary, now fell into the Hands of *Peter de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester*, and his Kinsman *Peter de Rivaulx*; so that the Management of all publick Affairs was committed to them. The former, that he might govern at his own Pleasure, procur'd the King to remove the *English* from their Places and Offices, and in their Rooms to substitute *Poictovins* and *Bretaignes*; who being invited into *England*, came over to the Number of two thousand Knights and Esquires, and were all plac'd in several Castles in Garrison; and to them the easie King committed the Wardships of the young Nobility, which afterwards were much degenerated by their ignoble Marriages with Foreigners. When the Earl of *Pembroke* found that all Ranks of Men were alike oppress'd, and the Laws manifestly violated, he as a Lover of Justice, with some other great Men went boldly to the King, and openly remonstrated, *That by pernicious Councils he had call'd in Poictovins and other Foreigners, to the great Oppression of his native Subjects, and the Breach of their Laws and Liberties; wherefore they humbly besought him to regulate these Disorders in the Government, otherwise his Nobility would withdraw themselves from his Councils, so long as he made use of Strangers.* To whom the Bishop of *Winchester* sharply reply'd, *That the King might call in whomsoever he pleas'd for the Defence of his Crown, and that in such Numbers as were sufficient to reduce his proud and rebellious Subjects to Obedience.* Upon this severe Answer, the Earl and the rest retired from the Court, and promis'd faithfully to assist and support each other to the last Drop of their Blood.

A. D.

1233.

Reg. 17.

Foreigners called into England.

The Nobility discontented.

The People, naturally inclining to doubt the worst upon such Divisions, had their Fears increas'd by several Prodigies of strange Thunders and Tempests, but especially by the Appearance of four Parhelions, or Mock-Suns, besides the true Sun, which were seen in the Air from Morning 'till Night; which indeed happen'd to be the Forerunners of several Troubles in *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*. The *Poictovins* and other Strangers thus bearing the Sway, so that the King's Person went guarded with whole Troops of them, the Earls and Barons refus'd to come to the King at a Parliament summon'd at *Oxford*. Upon which the King was advis'd to send out a second and third Summons, to try whether they would come to *Westminster* on the eleventh Day of *July*, promising also to reform whatever was amiss. But when the Peers heard the Number of the Foreigners increas'd, and that there were but small Hopes of an Accommodation, they laid aside all Thoughts of meeting the King at the Day appointed, and by select Messengers declar'd to him, *That unless the Bishop of Winchester and the Poictovins were immediately remov'd from his Court, they would by the Common Council of the Kingdom, force both Him and those evil Counsellors out of the Realm, and would consult about creating a new King.* The King, whom his Father's Example had made more timorous, could easily have been perswaded to a Compliance; but the Bishop of *Winchester* and his Friends infus'd more Spirit and Resolution into him. Upon which the most suspected Persons had a Day appointed them by the King, in which they should deliver sufficient Pledges to secure him of their Loyalty. Against that Day the Lords in great Numbers repair'd to *London*, but the Earl of *Pembroke*, being forewarn'd of Danger by his Sister the Countess of *Cornwall*, fled back into *Wales*;

They threaten the King.

The King publishes them.

Wales; and chiefly for want of his Presence nothing was concluded. The King not long after march'd to *Glocester* with an Army, where the Earl and his Adherents refus'd to appear; upon which the King burnt their Towns and Houses, as if they had been Traitors, and without Trial dispos'd of their Estates to the *Poictovins* and Strangers.

The King ill advised.

The Earl of *Pembroke* finding himself oppress'd, and deserted by some whom the Bishop of *Winchester* had bought off, immediately enter'd into a Confederacy with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and other chief Men of that Country; and they all took an Oath not to make any Peace but by a general Consent. And now the King having receiv'd more Foreigners, march'd with them down to *Hereford*, and from thence sent to the Bishop of *St. Davids* to defie the Earl of *Pembroke*, and commanded his Army to march against him, and besiege his Castles. Yet notwithstanding, after some small Attempts and calmer Considerations, the King publicly promis'd, *That by the Advice of his Council, all that was amiss should be rectify'd and amended*: Accordingly on the ninth Day of *October*, the great Men met the King at *Westminster*, and humbly besought him *for the Honour of Almighty God, to take into Favour his natural Subjects, who without any Trial by their Peers, he treated as Rebels*. To which the Bishop of *Winchester* reply'd, *That there were no such Peers in England as in France; therefore it was lawful for the King, by such Justices as he appointed, to banish any Criminals out of the Nation, and by Judgment condemn them*. This Answer was so highly resented by the Bishops, that with one Voice they threaten'd to excommunicate all the King's chief Counsellors by Name; but the Bishop of *Winchester* appeal'd from their Sentence to the See of *Rome*. Then they solemnly execrated all such as had alienated the King's Mind from his Native Subjects, and disturb'd the Peace of the Kingdom.

The Earl of Pembroke works the King in Wales.

In the mean Time the Earl of *Pembroke* had retaken a Castle which he had lately surrender'd to the King; which provok'd the King to march with a powerful Army into *Wales*; but the Earl had before destroy'd all the Forage, so that the King for Want of Necessaries was oblig'd to retire to the Castle of *Grosmont* in *Monmouthshire*. Here the Earl, whose Conduct was equal to his Valour, so manag'd his Forces, that attacking the King's Army by Night, he put the whole into such Disorder, that they immediately fled, and left five hundred Horse, and all their Baggage, for a Prey to the Enemy; upon which, the King leaving two Noblemen with the *Poictovins*, to make good the Marches against the *Welsh*, return'd with Dishonour. The Earl also found them Employment whom the King left behind; and whereas the valiant *Baldwin*, a *Flemish* Knight, with a thousand Horse, thought to have surpris'd him, when with a tenth Part of that Number he came to view the Castle of *Monmouth*; the Earl alone bravely defended himself against twelve of his Enemies, and when his Horse was slain, he threw one of them out of the Saddle, and leap'd into it himself, never giving ground 'till his other Forces came in to his Assistance, and obtain'd a compleat Victory, with the Slaughter and Captivity of many *Poictovins* and others. His other Exploits in and about *Wales*, were not few nor dishonourable, only he had the Misfortune to have his Sovereign on the contrary Side. About the same Time, *Hubert de Burgo*, having Intelligence that the Bishop of *Winchester* design'd his Death, escap'd out of the Castle of *Devizes*, where he was Prisoner, to a neighbouring Church; but was hal'd from thence by the Keepers of the Castle. The Bishop of *Salisbury*, in whose Diocese it happen'd, caus'd him to be safely restor'd to the same Place, from whence by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and a Troop of Soldiers, he was rescu'd, and carry'd into *Wales*. Thus he, who when he was in Power and Grandeur, insisted upon absolute Obedience to the King, now under Pressures and Afflictions, stood as strongly for Self-Defence.

Hubert de Burgo escapes.

A. D.

1234.
Reg. 18.
19.

The Earl of *Pembroke* increasing in Strength and Hatred against such as were the King's Seducers, made great Devastations upon their Lands and Possessions; and

and joining with the Forces of *Lewellyn*, proceeded with Fire and Sword as far as *Shrewsbury*, part of which they laid in Ashes, and plunder'd the rest. The King then at *Glocester*, for want of sufficient Forces, departed thence with no small Concern to *Winchester*, abandoning those other Parts to Waste and Ruin. When the King's Counsellors saw their Houses and Lands destroy'd, their *Poictovin* Friends greatly diminish'd, and themselves without Remedy, they projected how to ruin the Earl by Treachery, whom they could not conquer by Valour. In order to which they compos'd Letters in the King's Name, seal'd with his and eleven of their own Seals, and directed them to *Fitz-Gerald*, the King's Justiciary in *Ireland*, and several others who were the Earl's sworn Feudataries, importing, 'That tho' the Earl had been proclaim'd a Traitor, 'proscrib'd by the King's Court, and divested of his Paternal Estate, yet still he 'pursu'd the King with his usual Malice and Violence; wherefore they were 'requir'd, as faithful Subjects, whenever the Earl should come over thither, 'to take him alive or dead, and present him to the King, which if they perform'd, 'all his great Possessions in *Ireland* should be divided among them; for which 'they gave them the King's Promise and their own Securities for the Performance. The *Irish* Noblemen hearing the Tenor of these Letters, sent private Messengers to these Counsellors, assuring them, 'That if what was promis'd them 'could be secur'd by the King's Charter, they would undertake to effect what 'he desir'd. Upon which these Counsellors surreptitiously got the Seal from the Bishop of *Chichester* now Chancellor, and without his Knowledge seal'd a Charter with it, by which all the Rights and Possessions of the Earl were to be divided among them, and forthwith dispatch'd a Messenger with it to the said Noblemen. Upon the Receiving of which, they immediately resolv'd the Destruction of the Earl; accordingly they rais'd a great Force, with which they enter'd his Lands, took his Castles, and wasted his Possessions, purposely to provoke him to come over into *Ireland*. This Plot soon took effect; for going over to take Revenge of these mercenary Enemies, he was treacherously beset by them, and was kill'd by a Wound given him on the Back, while he with incomparable Bravery defended himself against a Multitude. Thus dy'd this valiant Man, who deserv'd to have liv'd in better Times, and under a Prince who knew how to value Men of Worth; yet when he receiv'd the News of his Death, he much lamented the Loss of so brave a Soldier, and so noble a Subject, declaring, *He had not left his Equal behind him.*

*The Earl of
Pembroke's
Successes.*

*He is destroy'd
by Treachery
in Ireland.*

Before this happen'd, the King came to a Treaty at *Westminster* with the Bishops and Nobility; in which the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and several Bishops represented to him, *The calamitous Condition to which both he and the whole Kingdom was reduc'd, by following the pernicious Counsels of the Bishop of Winchester and his Accomplices, whose Advice had occasion'd all the evil Events, Wars and Miseries that had happen'd in his Reign:* Adding withal, *That if he did not speedily remove these evil Counsellors from his Court and Presence, and receive his Native and Liege-Subjects into their Places, they must of Necessity proceed to Ecclesiastical Censures against all Opposers.* Upon which the King calmly reply'd, *That he could not reform his Council, 'till he had taken their Accounts,* and so desir'd a small Respite, which at present gave Satisfaction to all. At another Meeting, the King was again admonish'd by the Arch-Bishop, of the desolate Condition of his Kingdom, and all the impending Dangers; and being again threaten'd with the Excommunication of himself as well as others, he at length promis'd to be directed by their Counsels. Shortly after he commanded the Bishop of *Winchester* to retire to his Bishoprick, and keep to his Care of Souls, without concerning himself with the Affairs of the Publick; and likewise commanded *Peter de Rivaulx* to give in his Accounts, yield up his Castles, and depart his Court, declaring with an Oath, *That if he had not been a benefic'd Clerk, he would have caus'd his Eyes to be pull'd out.* He also discharg'd the *Poictovins* from his Service, both in his Court and Garri-

*The Prelates
remonstrate to
the King.*

*The King com-
plies.*

sons, commanding them to return into their own Country, and never see his Face more. Thus having purg'd his Court, and freed his Kingdom from Foreigners, he submitted to the Advice of the Arch-Bishop and Bishops, by whom he hop'd to reduce his unsetled Kingdom to a prosperous Condition. By their Directions he came to a Treaty with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and issu'd out his Letters to all his Confederates and proscrib'd Persons to meet at *Glocester* on the twenty ninth Day of *May*, to be reconcil'd to him, and restor'd to their Inheritances, while the Arch-Bishop and Bishops assur'd them of safe Conduct. The first who came to accept of the King's Favour was the late Justiciary *Hubert*, whom the King receiv'd very graciously; after him *Gilbert Basset* and *Richard Sward*, with several others, who were all receiv'd with the Kifs of Peace, reconcil'd to the King, and restor'd to all their Rights and Possessions. At the Intercession of the Arch-Bishop he also restor'd to *Gilbert*, Brother to the late Earl of *Pembroke*, all his Inheritance both in *England* and *Ireland*, and receiv'd his Homage; and on *Whitsunday* following at *Worcester* he knighted him, and gave him the Marshal's Staff.

He is reconcil'd
to many.

Upon this general Reconciliation, the Practices by which the great Earl of *Pembroke* was destroy'd, and his Possessions dismember'd, were all laid open; and the Copies of the Letters sent into *Ireland* were by means of the Arch-Bishop publicly read in the Presence of the King, the Prelates, Earls and Barons. The exhibiting of these drew Tears from most of them; and the King declar'd by an Oath, *That he knew not the Contents of the said Letters, tho' by the Importunity of the Bishop of Winchester, Rivaulx, Segrave and others, he had caus'd his Seal to be put to them.* These being shortly after summon'd to appear in the King's Court at *Westminster*, instead of coming, took Sanctuary in several Places; but at length by the Management of the Arch-Bishop, most of them were brought before the King, who in Person sat upon the Bench with his Justiciaries. *Peter de Rivaulx* was the first that appear'd in a Clerk's Habit, yet with a Dagger at his Girdle, and bow'd to the King, who as soon as he saw him, call'd him *Traitor*, accus'd him for his pernicious Counsels, and requir'd him to give an Account of his Treasuryship, and also the Wardships of the young Nobility, with the Escheats and other Profits of the Crown; and after this sent him to the Tower, and seiz'd all his Lay Possessions, because under his Clerk's Habit he had a Coat of Mail, and a Knight's Weapon at his Girdle. At the same Day also appear'd *Stephen Segrave* before the King, who likewise call'd him *Traitor*, and added, That by his wicked Advice *Hubert* Earl of *Kent* was remov'd from his Office of Justiciary, and imprison'd, and many of the Nobility proscrib'd, requiring him to give an Account of his Justiciaryship. But by the Mediation of the Arch-Bishop, Time was given to him and others; and the King getting Mony out of them, and making *Hugh de Pateshull* chief Justiciary, all Things in a short Time were brought to a reasonable and quiet Condition.

The Bishop of
Winchester
and other Mi-
nisters disgrac'd

A. D. These calmer Times were made more pleasant and joyful by the Marriage of
1235. the Emperor *Frederick* with the Lady *Isabella*, King *Henry's* Sister, now about
Reg. 12. twenty Years of Age, with whom the King gave thirty thousand Marks, as her
20. Portion. The Messengers arriv'd in *March* with the Emperor's Letters, clos'd with a Seal of Gold, and the Arch-Bishop of *Coloign*, and the Duke of *Lovain* were sent to conduct her over. The King brought her to *Sandwich*, with a fair Train of three hundred Horse, and being nobly furnish'd with all Things, she took shipping in *May*, and arriv'd at *Antwerp*, and was magnificently entertain'd; while her Sweetness of Behaviour, and her charming Beauty attracted the Love and Admiration of all People. At the Solemnity of her Marriage were present three Kings, eleven Dukes, thirty Earls, besides a great Number of Prelates. This Imperial Affinity gave a worthy Historian occasion to display the Glory and Grandeur of the *English* Princes; but among them all, none were more highly advanc'd than the Children of King *John*, one of whose

The Emperor
Frederick mar-
ries Isabella the
King's Sister.

Sons

Sons was now a King, the other afterwards chosen to be an Emperor, one of his Daughters now a Queen, this other now an Empress. Here *Roger Wendover* ends his History, to whose Labours we have been often and very much oblig'd.

M. Paris. V. King *Henry*, being arriv'd to the thirtieth Year of his Age, and the twentieth of his Reign, resolv'd to enter into a nuptial State, and accordingly marry'd the Lady *Eleanor*, second Daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, who tho' his Fortunes were in a low Condition, yet he marry'd his four Daughters to as many Kings. Immediately after her Marriage she was crown'd at *Westminster* with extraordinary Splendor and Magnificence; at which Solemnity the City of *London* signally display'd its Grandeur, being richly adorn'd with Silks, Banners, Crowns, Palls, Tapers and Lamps, with all the strange Varieties of Wit and Invention. The Citizens, well mounted, and gloriously attir'd, met the King on Horse-back; and at the Dinner, with the Clangor of Trumpets before them, they enter'd, carrying three hundred and sixty Cups of Gold and Silver, to serve the King and his noble Guests with Wine, according to their Duties in Coronations. Our Author here takes particular Notice, that the Earl of *Chester*, as Lord High-Constable, carry'd the Sword of St. *Edward*, call'd *Curteine*, before the King, in Token, 'That he is Earl of the Palace, and 'has by Right a Power of restraining the King, if he should act any Thing 'amiss. Shortly after the King went from *London* to *Merton-Abby*, where he met with his great Men to treat with them about the Affairs of the Kingdom; and here were made the Laws call'd *the Statutes of Merton*. To this Place came the Emperor's Messengers, desiring the King to send his Brother *Richard* to his Assistance against the *French*; but by the Advice of the Nobility, his Request was refus'd, because he was young, and next Heir to the Crown, if the King dy'd without Issue.

A. D.
1236.
Reg. 20.
21.

The King mar-
ries Eleanor
Daughter to
the Earl of
Provence.

Ibid. And now the jealous Lords began again to relapse into their usual Discontents, heinously resenting it, That the King was so much govern'd by his Wife's Uncle, *William de Valentia*; infomuch that the King withdrawing himself into the Tower of *London*, the Lords refus'd to come to him. Upon better Advice therefore the King return'd to his Palace; where some great Officers, and others, were remov'd from the Privy-Council, and their Places, not without the Admiration of most People. But the Bishop of *Chichester*, chosen Lord Chancellor in the King's Minority, being requir'd by his Sovereign to deliver up his Seal, positively refus'd, declaring, *That as he had receiv'd it by the Authority of the Parliament, he would not resign it without their Consent*. These frequent Oppositions from his Prelates and Peers, induc'd this unsteady King to resume into his Favour some of those Counsellors he had not long since displac'd, as *Peter de Rivaulx*, and *Stephen Segrave*. Then to secure himself from remoter Dangers, he travell'd towards *York*, to establish a Peace between him and *Alexander* King of the *Scots*; who in Confidence of the Amity and Assistance of Prince *Lewellyn*, demanded the County of *Northumberland*. Nevertheless, by the Wisdom of their Friends, and their own Moderation, they parted in Peace; the King of *England*, rather than give up so necessary a Frontier, obliging himself to lay out certain Lands, in lieu of that County, which King *John* had formerly given as a Portion with his Daughter. In this Year *Matth. Paris* tells us of a strange Prodigy seen near the Abby of *Rock* in *Yorkshire*; which was, that for several Days together some Troops of Men on Horseback appear'd to rise out of the Ground, and dividing themselves into Parties, seem'd to fight with each other, and at last to sink into the Earth again. The like Apparitions, as he says, were also seen this Year in *Ireland*, as the Earl of *Glocester* related it to him, and affirm'd the Truth of the Fact.

The Lords gain
discon-
tented.

A strange Pro-
digy.

Matth. Paris. King *Henry*, whose Treasuries were exhausted by the Payment of his Sister's Portion to the Emperor, now call'd a Parliament at *London*, where he could not obtain any Supplies from the States of the Land, but upon Confirmation of

A. D.
1237.
Reg. 21.
22.

*The King
wants Money.*

of the National Privileges of *England* formerly granted, and upon Acceptance of the Earls of *Ferrars*, and *Warren*, and *John Fitz-Geoffry* into his Privy-Council. The King, to satisfy the People, caus'd them to swear *to give no unfaithful Advice, and to abstain from all Corruption, or Sale of Justice*; and finally he promis'd himself *to rely wholly upon his natural Subjects for Advice, and to leave all others*. Upon this a *Thirtieth* of all Profits was granted; but then it was appointed, that the Money should not be paid into the Exchequer, but was to be deposited in some Religious House or Castle in every County, to be expended for the Use of the Publick, as Occasion requir'd; so that if the King fail'd to perform his Part, every Man should receive back what he had deposited. One ordinary Cause of Expence seem'd now to be remov'd, for *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, being distemper'd in Body, and disturb'd by the Rebellions of his Son *Griffin*, voluntarily agreed to hold the whole Principality of the Kings of *England*.

*The Prince of
Wales submits
to England.*

*Usurpations of
the Church of
Rome.*

Here *Matth. Paris* complains of the State of *England* at this Time, which by the King's Flexibility was become the ordinary Prey of sometimes one Sort of Strangers, and sometimes another, as *Poictovins*, *Italians*, *Germans* and *Provencials*. But no Kind of Strangers then so much infested *England* as the *Romans*, of whom there swarm'd three Sorts; Usurers, who were the Pope's Merchants; *Italian* Clerks, vile and illiterate Persons, who being arm'd with the Pope's Bulls and Censures, possess'd themselves of many spiritual Revenues; and Farmers and Proctors for the *Romans*, who subtly scraping together whatever was of Value in the Land, sent it over the Sea to their luxurious Masters. And as these Papal Engines acted here in *England*, so they did with others at *Rome*, the Governors of that Church not seeking to win Mens Souls but their Money, oppressing the Religious by Punishments, Usuries and Simonies, without any Care of Justice and Honesty; which caus'd the *Greek* Church at this Time to fall quite away, and to oppose it self against that of *Rome*. *England* had then no less Cause than *Greece*; but as Pope *Gregory* knew that the only Way to keep *England* firm, was to secure the King, so the King saw no Way to curb his Barons, but by yielding to the Pope, tho' with so many insufferable Mischiefs. And for some such Design Cardinal *Otto* the Pope's Legate was sent into *England*, utterly against the Will of the Peers, and especially of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who publicly reprov'd the King for allowing of it, declaring it dangerous to the Kingdom. Yet some good Offices were at first perform'd by the Legate; particularly in a Treaty of Peace begun between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* at *York*, where *Otto* interpos'd himself, and occasion'd a final Agreement. Notwithstanding this, the Barons were inrag'd to see the King so addicted to the Will of the *Romans*, and the Legate, for which the Earl of *Cornwall* his Brother reprov'd him *as carrying himself more like the Pope's Pensioner than a King*. By which the King began to be so sensible of his Authority, that when the Legate call'd a National Synod at *St. Paul's*, he sent Messengers to forbid him on the Behalf of the King and Kingdom, *Not to attempt any Thing that was against the Crown and Royal Dignity*.

A. D.

1238.

Reg. 22.

*Simon Mont-
fort preferr'd.*

*The Lords di-
ssens'd.*

About this Time *Simon Montfort*, an active and vigorous Man, so wrought himself into Favour, that the King with his own Hands privately gave him his Sister *Eleanor*, Widow to the late Earl of *Pembroke*, notwithstanding she had vow'd her self a Nun. This being known to the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the discontented Lords, it was highly resented, because the King according to his Promise had not first consulted them, as in all Matters of Moment; insomuch that none but Earl *Hubert* adher'd to the forsaken King. The Earl of *Cornwall* was the Head of this Defection, of whom Men generally hop'd, That he would now free the Nation from the great Oppressions of *Romans* and other Strangers. Upon which the Legate undertook to advise him, alledging, *That if the whole Nation rose against the King, yet he being his own Brother, ought to adhere*

to adhere to him. To whom the Earl reply'd, *That it was not strange that he should be so concern'd for the present Condition of the Kingdom, since he was the only Heir apparent to the Crown: And tho' so many Profits accru'd to the King, yet by the great Gifts bestow'd to the Queen's Relations, the Treasury was exhausted, when the Kingdom was environ'd with Enemies and Strangers, who were enrich'd with the Church Revenues and Benefices founded by his pious Ancestors.* The Legate finding that neither Threats nor Promises would prevail upon the Barons of this Party, but that their Inclinations were bent towards the Earl, he advis'd the King to appoint the first *Sunday in Lent* to give his positive Answer. Upon which Day the Nobility met at *London*, guarded with Horse and Arms, to compel the King to the Performance of his Promises; and at length, after many Debates, the King promis'd to submit himself to the Determination of some of the most grave and discreet Men; which Agreement was reduc'd to Writing, and seal'd both by the Legate and the Nobility.

L. Paris. Not long after, the King going to *Woodstock*, a Traitor was seiz'd there who design'd to assassinate his Majesty; for which he was drawn in Pieces by Horses at *Coventry*. About the same Time the Legate was in no less Danger at *Oxford*, where being at first honourably entertain'd by the University in *Ousney* Abby, the Pride of his *Romans* there prov'd so insupportable, that a Company of the younger Students, being provok'd to arm themselves, not only slew the Legate's Kinsman, but would have done the same to the Legate himself, whom they term'd *an Usurer, a Simoniack, a Perverter of the King, and a Subverter of the Kingdom, enriching Strangers with the Spoils of the Natives.* But absconding himself, he at Midnight escap'd over the River, not without Danger of drowning, and fled to the King for Protection. For which Outrage, the King sending a Troop of Soldiers, imprison'd thirty of the Offenders; and the Legate interdicted the whole University; 'till all the Bishops of *England*, who met purposely at a Synod, pleaded for a Relaxation. To whose Importunity the haughty Legate would not condescend, unless all the Bishops would yield to go on Foot with the Students from *St. Paul's Church* to the Legate's House, which was about a Mile distant, who there without Gowns, Caps or Shoes, should humbly crave Absolution; all which was accordingly perform'd.

The Pope's Legate in Danger.

Reg. Not long after the Legate was recall'd to *Rome* by the Pope, upon Notice of the daily Offences given to *England*; but by the earnest Endeavours of the King, who fear'd lest the Nobility should prevail against him, he was detain'd as a necessary Evil to establish Peace. About the same Time he created *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leicester*, but shortly after broke suddenly with him, alledging *That he had first corrupted his Sister, and to cover her Shame he permitted the Marriage.* He likewise receiv'd *Stephen Segrave* again into his Favour and Council; so unconstant was this Prince, that he scarce lov'd or hated, but according to the Influence and Suggestions of those about him. Yet at length he began to discover the indirect Practices of his beloved Legate, whose great Friend, *Peter Saracen*, having been taken Prisoner by the Emperor, and oblig'd to pay ten thousand Pounds for his Ransom, this shameless Man advis'd the King to bind himself and his Crown for the Payment of it. By which the King perceiving what Toyls were laid to insnare him, in a great Rage swore, *That he repented he had ever admitted the Legate into the Land, to devour all its Wealth.* And the Bishops of the Nation, meeting in a Synod at *London* to redress the Oppressions of the *English Church*, told the Legate in plain Terms, *That the Importunity of the Romans had so long exhausted their Church Revenues, that they would no longer endure it.* Shortly after when the Legate was entering *Scotland*, the King of that Country met him, and declar'd to him, *That never any Legate had enter'd there before, and there was no Occasion for any at this Time; for Christianity and the Church was then in a prosperous Condition.* But by the Mediation of some Friends, it was agreed under the

A. D.
1239.
Reg. 21.

The Prelates complain a gangl' brea.

the Hand and Seal of the Legate, That this should not be drawn into a Precedent; whereupon the Legate enter'd *Scotland*, and held a Synod at *Edinburgh*, and having extorted what Mony he could, he return'd privately to *England*. About the same Time the variable King caus'd several Articles of Treason and high Misdemeanors to be exhibited in his Court against his faithful *Hubert*, pretended to be committed while the Management of publick Affairs pass'd through his Hands: To all which he answer'd with such Modesty and Submission, and so fully to the Purpose, that all who heard him were satisfy'd of his Innocence; tho' the King and all his Lawyers did their utmost to prove him guilty. However the King's Anger was no ways abated, 'till he had resign'd four of his best Castles, *Blanch Castle*, *Grosmund* in *Wales*, *Screnefrith* and *Hatfield*. In the same Year, on the sixteenth Day of *June*, Queen *Eleanor* was deliver'd of a Son nam'd *Edward*, afterwards King of *England*.

Edward I.
born.

A. D.

1240.

Reg. 24.

The Emperor
complains of
the King.

About the same Time the Emperor *Frederick* being excommunicated by the Pope, afterwards by his Ambassadors complain'd to King *Henry*, That he seemed to have forgot his Alliance and Marriage with his Sister, when he suffer'd the Pope's Sentence of Excommunication against him to be publish'd in his Kingdom, and had inconsiderately allow'd the Pope's Legate as Coadjutor in these Practices against him; wherefore he desir'd that the Legate might be expell'd *England*, as the Enemy and Pillager of his Subjects. To whom the King most dishonourably answer'd, That he ought to obey the Pope, and his Ecclesiastical Commands, because he was his Tributary and Feudatary. However he advis'd the Legate to leave his Kingdom, to prevent further Mischiefs, and incensing the Emperor; yet he found Pretences to stay 'till the following Year, and in the mean Time to extort unreasonable Sums from the Clergy and others. There were also Commands given to the *Italian* Usurers, by the King, To leave the most pure Earth of his Realm, as he phras'd it; but, as *M. Paris* adds, by giving the King Mony, which is too much us'd to justify the Impious, they for the most Part remain'd still, being unwilling to forsake such rich Pastures. Whether upon Discontent for these burdensom Times, or otherwise, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* took upon him the Cross, began his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, and left his Son *Henry* to the King his Brother's Care; and not long after was follow'd by *William Longspee* Earl of *Salisbury*, and several other *English* Noblemen, that attended him.

The Earl of
Cornwall un-
dertakes the
Holy War.

A. D.

1241.

Reg. 25.

The Pope's Le-
gate departs.

At length, after near four Years Continuance, the Legate being commanded by the Pope to return, took his solemn Leave of the King, and parted with many tender Sighs and Embraces. No Man but the King lamented his Departure; for, setting aside the Holy Vessels and Ornaments of the Churches, he had drawn more Riches from the Clergy than he left behind; besides he had occasion'd three hundred rich Benefices and Prebendaries to be given to the Pope's Creatures, and reserv'd for his own Use. Upon his Departure, *Peter* of *Savoy* the Queen's Uncle arriv'd, whom the King entertain'd with great Magnificence, and gave him the Earldom of *Richmond*. This and the like Bounties to Strangers occasion'd still more Hatred against the King, who in favour of his Queen, procur'd her Uncle *Boniface* to be chosen Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Rents of which were then above four thousand Marks per annum. *Edmund* his Predecessor, being weary of the Pope's Exactions and Oppressions in *England*, had made choice of a voluntary Exile at *Pountney* in *France*, where he dy'd with the Honour and Opinion of a Saint. In the same Year dy'd two great Ladies of the Royal Blood of *England*; first, *Isabella*, the Empress, and the King's eldest Sister, in Childbed, to the great Grief of the Emperor her Husband; next, *Eleanor*, Sister to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign*, who having been kept Prisoner thirty nine Years, deceas'd in the Castle of *Brissol*, without ever being marry'd. This last was a Lady of a noble Spirit, ever insisting upon her Right to the Crown; who upon her Death left a more indisputable Title to King *Henry*, than ever he had before.

Eleanor hei-
ress to the
Crown dies.

VI. Part 11.

VI. The King's Employments had hitherto been almost wholly taken up in Civil Disturbances, or in the too patient Bearing of some foreign Grievances, nourish'd within his own Kingdom; which gave him perhaps little Leisure, Means, or Inclination to pursue any Transmarine Action. But now having with great Opposition furnish'd himself with Mony and Men, he took Shipping immediately after *Easter* towards *Poitou*, where the Earl of *Marche*, now Husband to *Queen Isabel* his Mother, expected his Arrival. He committed the Government of the Land to the Arch-Bishop of *York*; and took with him the Earl of *Cornwall*, lately return'd with much Honour from the *Holy-Land*, and seven other Earls, with about three hundred Knights, besides other Soldiers. To resist the *English*, the King of *France*, who had given *Poitou* to his Brother *Alphonso*, assembled a powerful Army of four thousand Men of Arms, and about twenty thousand Soldiers, with a thousand Carriages. And laying Siege to *Fronteney*, a Castle belonging to the Earl of *Marche*, King *Henry* sent a Messenger of Defiance to him, as a Breaker of the Truce. *Lewis*, a just and valiant Prince, deny'd *That ever he broke the Truce; but that the King of England had been the Aggressor in joining with such as were Rebels against him*. Yet, provided that the *English* would not protect his Enemies the Earls of *Marche*, *Tholouse* and others, he offer'd to give him *Poitou*, and a great Part of *Normandy*, in Satisfaction of his Father's Oath, and further to prolong the last Truce three Years more. These Conditions, so honourable and advantageous to the King of *England*, by the Practices of the *Poitouvins*, who fear'd the *French* King's Anger would prove too heavy for them, if the *English* abandon'd their Cause, were unfortunately refus'd.

A. D.

1242.

Reg. 26.

The King's Designs in France.

The fair Offers of the French King refus'd.

VI. Part 11.

Upon this Refusal, the *French* King express'd much Concern for the Oaths that his Father had made to King *Henry* when he left *England*, of delivering up his Dominions in *France*. But one of his Ministers reply'd, *That the Oath was mutual, and that the King of England had broken it when he caus'd Constantine a Citizen of London to be hang'd for defending his Father's Honour*. This weak Pretence satisfy'd the King's Scruples for the present; and proceeding in his Attacks upon the Castle of *Fronteney*, took it with the Earl of *Marche*'s Son, and above four hundred other Prisoners. When some advis'd him That the Earl's Son and the rest might be execut'd as a Terror to other Rebels, he generously reply'd, *The Son has obey'd his Father, and the rest the Command of their Lord, upon which account neither of them deserve Death*. After this, *Lewis* march'd directly to *Tailleburgh* where King *Henry* was incamp'd, who now perceiv'd that he was utterly disappointed by the Earl of *Marche*, and in great Danger: Therefore expostulating with the Earl *How he had perform'd his Promise of procuring Men, if he supply'd him with Mony?* the Earl reply'd, *He never made such a Promise, and if any Writing was seal'd to that Effect, it was all the Contrivance of his Wife, the King's Mother*. Immediately Earl *Richard* disarm'd himself, and with a Truncheon in his Hand went to the *French* Camp, where he was kindly and honourably receiv'd; and desiring a short Truce of the King, he obtain'd one for a Day and a Night: By which means King *Henry* his Brother had an Opportunity of escaping with his Army, tho' not without great Dishonour and Difficulty. The Earl of *Marche* now repenting of his Attempts, submitted to the *French* King, and made private Articles for himself; so that King *Henry* being abandon'd, was oblig'd to fly into *Gascony*. Upon which the Cities of *Nantes*, *Pont*, and all the rest of *Poitou*, forthwith submitted to King *Lewis*; only *Hertold* Governor of *Mirabel* Castle went to the King of *England*, and implor'd his Protection; to whom the King reply'd, *That he was betray'd by the Earl of Marche, and was scarce able to secure his own Person, therefore he had leave to act according to his Discretion*. Upon this he went to the King of *France*, and submitted himself to his Protection, and that King answer'd, *That he only had*

Poitou gain'd by him.

A Truce between the Kings of England and France.

behav'd himself faithfully to his Sovereign, and therefore receiv'd the Castle and Himself very kindly; and having first taken an Oath of Fealty, generously restor'd it to him again. The further Prosecution of this War was hinder'd by Sickness and Famine, which much afflicted the *French Army*; which at length occasion'd a five Year's Truce between the two Kings. *Lewis* return'd to *Paris*, and *Henry* retir'd to his City of *Bordeaux* in *Gascony*; where, being govern'd by the Counsels of the King of *Arragon* and the Earl of *Tholouse*, he spent the Winter in Softness and Pleasure, as tho' no Dishonour had befallen him. Here his Queen *Eleanor* bore a Daughter call'd *Beatrice*.

A. D.

1243.

Reg. 27.
28.

King Henry returns with Dishonour from France.

In the following Year the five Years Truce between the two Kings was solemnly confirm'd; by which Agreement the King of *France* was not only to retain whatever he had gain'd by the Sword, but also to receive five thousand Pounds every Year from the King of *England*: To such dishonourable Terms was this poor Prince by his own Inconsiderateness reduc'd. His Return was long expected in *England*, yet much delay'd by the *Gascoigns*, by reason of the Money he expended amongst them; so that he could not arrive at his own Kingdom before the twenty fifth Day of *September*. By reason of this expensive Voyage, he soon became very burdensome to his Subjects, as well by the Levy of *Scutage*, as by forc'd Loans, and other Methods. The *Jews* also felt the Severity of his Wants so far, that Christians commiserated their Condition; whose Gold he receiv'd with his own Hands, and their Silver by those of his Officers. These and other importunate Corractions, were not only us'd to fill up such Breaches as the *French Affairs* had produc'd, but also to spend on Shows and Entertainments. For on the first of *November*, *Beatrice* Countess of *Provence*, the Queen's Mother, arriv'd in *England*, being receiv'd at *London* with all imaginable Pomp and Magnificence. She brought her Daughter *Cynthia* with her, who on the twenty third of the same Month was marry'd to the King's Brother Earl *Richard*; and the Nuptials were celebrated with such Splendor and Feasting, that no less than thirty thousand Dishes were provided for the Entertainment.

A. D.

1244.

Reg. 28.
29.

Great Complaints against the King in Parliament.

These new Expences occasion'd a further Want in the King's Coffers, and therefore he call'd a Parliament for a new Supply; to whom he promis'd *To observe the Liberties sworn to at his Coronation, and granted in his Charters*, and further declar'd, *That his Honour and theirs should be inseparable*. Upon which the whole Body besought him To remember 'how often he had receiv'd Money from his faithful Subjects, without performing his Promises; 'That after the taking of *Bedford*, he had *Carrucage*, two Shillings upon every Plough-Land; the Year after, a *Fifteenth* upon all their Moveables: Upon his Passage into *Bretaign* he had no small Sums from the Prelates, Monasteries, Burgeses and *Jews*: After his Return he had *Scutage*, three Marks upon every Knight's Fee; then a *Fortieth* of all Moveables; a while after, a *Thirtieth*; shortly after, for the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor, two Marks upon every Plough-Land; and at his Son's Birth, by Presents he had heap'd up considerable Sums. Again when he went into *Gascony*, he had rais'd vast Quantities of Money from all Sorts of People, and upon his Return, after he had been deluded and dishonour'd, he had in a manner fleec'd his Subjects. Yet still, under the Name of Aid for the Marriage of the King's eldest Daughter, they granted him twenty Shillings upon every Knight's Fee, to be paid at *Easter* and *Michaelmass*. To which they added this severe Expostulation, *How well the King will keep his Promises, in Requital of the past and present Contributions, he only knows to whom nothing is unknown*. But such as endeavour'd to strengthen the Pope's Designs, by raising Money from the *English* Clergy, met with a constant Opposition; not only through the Unwillingness of the Clergy, but also because the Emperor had written to the King, in exprefs Terms, *That if he suffer'd any Contributions for the Pope, he would certainly revenge it upon all the English that fell into his Hands*.

In the mean Time, *Griffin* Brother to *David* Prince of *Wales*, after a long Imprisonment in the *Tower*, endeavouring to escape, lost his Life by the Breaking of the Rope that should have given him his Liberty; which Accident occasion'd his Brother *David* to revolt and take up Arms, notwithstanding the solemn Submission he had made three Years before. And to support his Designs, in Imitation of King *John*, he put himself under the Protection of the Pope, offering him an annual Tribute of five hundred Marks; all which produc'd no great Effect. At the same Time that the King receiv'd the News of the *Welsh* Insurrection, he also heard, That the King of the *Scots* had declar'd, *He would not hold the least Piece of Earth of the King of England.* For the Management of this double War, he first march'd into the North, where at *Newcastle*, by means of the Death of the principal Incendiary, and the Mediation of others, all Contests between the two Kings were adjusted, according to those Articles formerly made between them at the City of *York*. The *Welsh* being now less formidable, the King sent but a small Part of his Army against them, under the Conduct of *Hubert Fitz-Matthew*; but through their own Neglect, and the Vigilance of the *Welsh*, *Hubert* and all his Men were defeated and dispers'd. The News of this Dishonour so affected the King, that he resolv'd to send a powerful Army against the *Welsh*; but when he desir'd a Subsidy of his Parliament for that purpose, he was with one Voice and Mind deny'd; tho' at the same time his Debts to Foreign Merchants for Wines and other Necessaries, were so numerous and so continually remember'd, that he could scarce pass abroad without their Clamours. Yet the News he receiv'd from *Gascony*, That his Lieutenant *De Molis* had defeated the King of *Navarre*, did somewhat mitigate these Misfortunes; and at the same Time *Robert Tasselen* by his severe fining such as had encroach'd upon the King's Forests, in a short Time fill'd his Coffers beyond all Expectation.

The great Benefits the King found from his new Supplies, caus'd him daily to consider how to augment them, and put a Stop to all foreign Hindrances and Out-lets. Upon the Departure of *Otto*, the Pope's Legate, who had vastly enrich'd both himself and his Master, it was hop'd that the Nation should have found some Ease from the *Romish* Extortions; but it prov'd otherwise; for, as *M. Paris* complains, new Agents and Factors still came over, as if *England* had been an unexhaustible Spring, and *Rome* a bottomless Gulf. Upon which Account the King had writ both to this Pope and his Predecessor, desiring them *To desist from thus afflicting England with their Exactions*; yet out of Fear of him whom he had acknowledg'd his Sovereign, and a Desire of more Power, he supported the *Romish* Ministers, against the Pleasure of the whole Nation. Which so encourag'd the present Pope, that he design'd to make a Visit into *England* himself; to which purpose he caus'd his Cardinals to write their perswasory Letters to the King, *as a Thing highly conducing to his Safety, and to his Kingdom's Immortal Glory, to enjoy the Presence of the Lord Pope, who greatly desir'd to see the Delicacies of Westminster, and the Riches of London.* But the King's Council exprelly declar'd to him, *That the Rapines and Simonies of the Romans had sufficiently stain'd the Purity of England, without the Pope's coming personally to pillage the Wealth of the Church and Kingdom.* Tho' the Pope was refus'd Entrance in Person, yet his Rapines were still carry'd on by his Factor and Chaplain *Martin*; insomuch that several of the Peers, commiserating the Condition of the Land, took Order for a strict Watch at all the Ports of *England*, that all Letters from *Rome* should be stopp'd. Shortly after the King order'd a strict Enquiry to be made into each County of the true Value of the Benefices which the *Italian* Clergy-Men then enjoy'd in *England* by the Gift of the Pope; and they were found to amount to sixty thousand Marks *per Annum*, which at that Time exceeded the whole Revenue of the Crown. Upon which Report the King became fully sensible of the insatiable Avarice of the *Romish* Church, but all that he durst

A Breach with
Wales.

and with Scot-
land.

The King's ill
Success.

A. D.

1245.

Reg. 29.
30.

England op-
press'd by the
Pope's Agents.

The King ex-
erts his Autho-
rity against
Rome.

The Pope's
Pride.

The King builds
the Abby
Church at
Westminster.

do was to permit a sharp Epistle to be written in the Name of the general Body of the Nation, in which they set forth *the execrable Extortions and Exactions of the Pope's Legates and Nuntio's*, and sent it to the Pope then sitting in a Council at *Lyons*. Here, the Pope giving dilatory and uncertain Answers, Earl *Bigot* and the rest of the King's Agents, with terrible Threats and Oaths declar'd, *That they would remedy that themselves, which the Pope would not*. And indeed the Nobility at home had already begun to act to that Effect, having commanded *Martin* to depart out of the Land, *or he and all his Company should be cut in pieces*: Who departing in Haste, so inrag'd the Pope with the News of this Usage, that he declar'd thus, *It is full Time that we make Peace with the Emperor, that so we may humble these rebellious petty Princes; for the great Dragon being once pacify'd, the smaller Serpents will easily be trodden under foot*. Then to let King *Henry* see his Power, he sent to all the Bishops of *England*, commanding them that each should set his Seal to that Charter of Tribute which King *John* had unhappily granted; which these timorous Bishops perform'd, greatly to the Nation's Damage, and their own Reproach. The King at first shew'd his Resentments, and declar'd *That he would never comply with such Baseness*; but wanting Constancy and Courage, he in a short Time return'd to his wonted Tameness and Submission.

The *Welsh* Affairs growing very troublesome by reason of the casual Death of *Fitz-Matthew*, the King prepar'd to suppress their Insults in Person: In order to which the King came to *St. Paul's Church*, and there took leave of the Citizens of *London*, after a familiar and popular Manner. And that neither War nor Want should make him forget his Magnificence, he began to pull down the old Abby Church at *Westminster*, and new build it in that stately Manner in which it remains to this Day. But all that he did in *Wales* for near two Months, was to build the Castle of *Ganock*, which he finish'd with great Difficulty, and put a strong Garrison into it; and the Winter approaching, he destroy'd all the Victuals and Forage upon the Borders, and the inward Parts of *Wales*, and then return'd with his Army into *England*. For this Expedition the King pawn'd his Jewels to his Brother *Richard* for three thousand Marks. Here *M. Paris* has a long List of great Persons, who dying about this Time, left neither Name nor Issue to preserve the Memory of their Grandeur; but none so remarkable as the Earls of *Pembroke*, of whom there were five successive Brothers, who dying left the noble Earldom, with a mighty Estate in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, to be divided between five Sisters, all marry'd to the greatest Men of the Nation. Our Author ascribes this sudden Failure of the Heir Males to the Curse of an *Irish* Bishop upon their Father, who for taking away some Lands belonging to his See, and refusing to restore them, pray'd that God would shew some remarkable Judgment upon his Family.

A. D.

1246.

Reg. 30.

Great Com-
plaints against
the Pope's Usur-
pations.

The King finding himself free from foreign Troubles, now apply'd himself to the Reformation of the inward Maladies of his Dominions; and for that End he call'd a full Parliament to *London*, to which he deliver'd in Writing the Sum of the Grievances both in Church and State: As First, 'That the Pope had extorted great Contributions of the Clergy, without the King's Consent, against the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom. Secondly, That Patrons could not bestow their Livings on fit Persons, because the Pope gave them to his *Romans*, who could not speak *English*, but impoverish'd the Nation by carrying away the Coin. Thirdly, That the Pope's Provisions and Pensions were exorbitant and insupportable. Fourthly, That *English* Men were drawn out of their Country to finish their Causes abroad. And Fifthly, That the Pope by his Clause of *Non Obstante* vacated Oaths, Customs, Charters, Grants, Statutes, Rights and Privileges. Upon which the King, Prelates, Earls, Barons, Abbots and Priors, did all write their several Complaints to the Pope, requiring *speedy Redress of those infinite Injuries to the King and all his subjects, who would rather die than thus daily endure such Oppressions*. Notwithstanding,

standing, several Prelates, out of Fear or Ambition, privately promoted the Pope's Designs, when he secretly requir'd an annual Tallage of the Clergy for the Maintenance of his Soldiers; and that the State should have no Notice of it, he caus'd them to swear not to reveal this Contribution to any Man for the Space of half a Year. Yet the King came to the Knowledge of it, and by Proclamation commanded that the Mony should not be carry'd out of the Land, and that none of his Subjects should contribute any Mony to the Pope: But it came to no great Effect, for some Romanizing Bishops and ambitious Clerks of his Council, fearing the Papal Threats, drew him to leave his Purpose weakly, which he had manfully undertaken. The Bishop of *Worcester*, a principal Agent, was said to have Authority from the Pope to Interdict the Land, which was the main Thing the King fear'd, and which, as our Author freely writes, was not worth his Fears; and the Earl of *Cornwall* also with others, labour'd to promote the Pope's Interest, so that the wonted Extortions were as current as ever. And further the Pope granted to *Boniface*, now Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, a Foreigner and Uncle to the Queen, a Bull for levying a Tax of ten thousand Marks in seven Years Time upon the Bishops and Clergy of his Province, to discharge, as it was pretended, the Debts of the Archbishoprick.

But so little Effect.

f. Paris.

If we should so often insist upon the Relation of this Kingdom's Misfortunes, as the Pope's endless Corraisons, and the State's repeated Complaints give us Occasion, we should overburden the Reader with dismal Matter, which Monks themselves have mournfully and copiously set forth, showing the too servile Affections of our Ancestors, who still enter'd upon new Consultations about the Disease, but never brought the Remedy to its right use. For upon fresh Extortions from *Rome*, the King again assembled his Parliament to think of a Redress, the whole State, as well Clergy as Laity, being reduc'd to such a low Condition as was never known before; of which they again made their heavy Complaints, who were to protect the Land from such Wrongs and Mischiefs. Their only Remedy was again to write Letters to the Pope, which slender Force he could easily dissipate; and tho', to put a Stop to present Clamours, he promis'd never to send any Legates into *England*, but at the State's Request, yet he daily sent his exacting Clerks, with the Power, tho' not with the Title and Ensigns of Legates, so to delude the King, and impose upon his Subjects. In the midst of these unhappy Times, the King summon'd all his Peers to meet on the Festival of *St. Edward*, the thirteenth of *October*, partly, as the Writ of Summons sets forth, *To hear the good News of a Benefit conferr'd on England from Heav'n*, partly to celebrate the Translation of that Martyr, and partly for the Solemnity of Knighting *William de Valentia*, the King's Half Brother. The good News they were to hear was, That a Portion of our Saviour's Blood was sent to the King from *Jerusalem*; which with great Reverence and Devotion, the King himself in a mean Habit carry'd on Foot, from *St. Paul's Church* to *Westminster*, where it was carefully reposit.

A. D.

1247.

Reg. 31.
32.

The Oppressions of England from the See of Rome.

id.

As the Pope continually wanted Mony from this Kingdom, so did the King also: For which Reason he summon'd a Parliament at *London*, and requir'd of the Members to grant him a pecuniary Aid. But instead of complying, they reprov'd him, *For asking it without blushing, seeing when they granted the last, he promis'd by his Charter, That he would no more burden his Nobility.* Moreover they blam'd him *For his repeated Kindnesses and Liberalities to Foreigners, and Contempt of his Native Subjects, for not encouraging the Trade of his own Kingdom, and in exacting unreasonable Gifts from Merchants:* And lastly, *For keeping Bishopricks and Monasteries void in his own Hands.* To which they added, *That neither the Justiciary, Chancellor, nor Treasurer, were made by the Common-Council of the Kingdom, as they were in his Predecessor's Reign.* The King inwardly touch'd at this, promis'd, *That what was amiss should be speedily redress'd;* to which the whole Body return'd Answer, *That as they had often, so they would now patiently wait a while; and according*

A. D.

1248.

Reg. 32.
33.

The Parliament insults the King.

He resents the Affront. cording as his Promises were perform'd, so should their Obedience be. Upon which the Matter was deferr'd for three or four Months; and meeting again the King made a Speech to them to this Effect, *That they had not treated their King civilly, but would impose mean and servile Conditions upon him; and what each of them in private thought to be his Right was deny'd him, even that Authority which every Master exercis'd in his Family, who might use what Counsel, and might chuse what Servants he thought fit in his own House, but this they deny'd to their Sovereign: And as Servants ought not to judge or impose any Difficulties upon their Lord, so neither might Vassals upon their Prince; therefore he resolv'd to remove none of his Ministers at their Pleasure. Yet notwithstanding he expected a pecuniary Aid, for the Recovery of his Rights beyond the Seas, which was their Concern as well as his.* They all unanimously reply'd, *That they would no longer impoverish themselves to enrich Foreigners:* So the King was left to furnish himself by the Sale of his Jewels, Plate, and other valuable Goods; and being told that he might find Buyers in London, he reply'd, *That if the Treasury of Augustus were to be sold, the Citizens of London were able to purchase it.*

A. D. 1249. *The King reduc'd to Straits.* The Affairs of Gascony, which had been greatly disturb'd by one *Gualtero de Biard*, were now by the Courage and Conduct of *Simon Montfort* Earl of Leicester, reduc'd to good Order; which render'd his Presence very acceptable in the Court of England. The King intending to promote that Enterprize afresh against the following Spring, left no Methods untry'd, which either by Art or incessant Intreaties he could use to replenish his exhausted Coffers. In which he too much debas'd the Royal Name and Dignity of a King, declaring to several, whose Bounty he crav'd, *That it was more Charity to assist him with Money, than one that went begging from Door to Door.* In the mean Time the King neglected not the Administration of Justice; for, whereas the whole County of Hampshire was infested with Felons, Robbers and Murderers, he so manag'd the Affair, by sitting in Person at Winchester Castle, that the Infamy and Danger of those Places were clear'd by hanging the chief Offenders, many of whom were wealthy, and some the King's own Servants; the latter of whom pleaded, *That the King had for a long Time stopp'd their Wages, so that they were oblig'd either to sell their Horses and Equipage, or live upon Robberies.* The King, now desirous to be Friends with the Citizens of London, to whom of late he had been too hard and extorting, publicly reconcil'd himself to them, whom for that Cause he commanded to appear at Westminster, and there immediately undertook the Crusado, and receiv'd the Badge from Arch-Bishop Boniface; but whatever his Intentions were, he himself never came to Action. In the mean Time, contrary to the Example of his Ancestors, he so much abridg'd the Expences of his House, and his Alms, that he justly sustain'd some dishonourable Imputations. Nevertheless he began wisely to extricate himself out of many Merchants Debts; towards which he forc'd great Aids from the Jews, as being the ordinary Clippers and Defacers of his Coin, and the Forgers of Seals and Charters; from one of whom he had at several Times got thirty thousand Marks of Silver, besides two hundred Marks in Gold. And to get more Money he sent a severe Inquisitor to search into the Transgressions upon Forests; which Charge he executed with that Violence and Extortion upon the Gentry, that tho' he rais'd large Sums, yet it lost him the Affections of his People, when he came afterwards to stand in most need of them.

His Extortions. A. D. 1251. *He debas'd himself.* The King, now wholly intent upon raising of Money, neither gave any rich Presents according to the ancient Custom of England, nor would put on his Royal Robes, but still shorten'd the Allowances of his Household and Entertainments, without any Regard to Majesty or Censure. And to spare his own Charges, he sometimes invited himself to one great Man, and sometimes to another; but was never satisfy'd with his Entertainment, unless considerable Presents were also made to himself, his Queen, and Son Edward, and likewise to his

his chief Favourites, which they rather look'd upon as a Debt than a Courtesie. This was the dishonourable State of the King's Court at this Time : Yet in the greatest Wants, and most rigorous Parsimony, he could not defend himself against the Suits and Preferments of his *Poictovins* and *Provencials* ; so that it became a common Murmur in *England*, *Our Inheritance is converted to Aliens, and our Houses to Strangers* : And what was yet more grievous, their Pride and Violence were insupportable. In these unhappy Times the Clause of *Non Obstante*, first introduc'd by the Pope, was taken up in *England* by the King, in his Grants and Charters, as *Non obstante priore Mandato*, and *Non obstante antiqua Libertate*, and the like ; which our Author calls a detestable Clause : And *Roger de Thurkeby*, one of the King's Justices, at the first Sight of it, with a deep Sigh cry'd out, *Alas, to what Times are we arriv'd ! The Civil Court is corrupted by the Ecclesiastical, and the River is poison'd from that Fountain.*

Ibid.

Many took the Advantage of these Times, among the rest *Henry de Bath*, one of the King's Justiciaries, who by his Briberies and Extortions had rais'd a great Estate upon the Ruin of others ; for which he was accus'd to the King, who oblig'd him to appear before the next Parliament at *London*. At the appointed Time he came with a magnificent Train of his own and his Lady's Relations, hoping by that means to turn the Edge of Justice. Besides other Crimes, he was accus'd of incensing the whole Baronage against the King, which had endanger'd a general Sedition ; and the King was so highly provok'd against him, that he caus'd it to be proclaim'd in his own Court and in *London*, *That if any Person had any Complaint against Henry de Bath, he might come in and be heard.* Upon which one of his Fellow-Justices charg'd him with acquitting a notorious Criminal for a great Bribe ; which further so inrag'd the King, that standing up he rashly cry'd out, *That if any Man would kill Henry de Bath, he would pardon him* ; and he had soon been dispatch'd, had not the Prudence of *John Mansel*, and the Threats of the Bishop of *London* secur'd him from further Violence. But at length having made Earl *Richard* his Friend, by great Presents, through his Mediation, and the Promise of two thousand Marks, he gain'd his Liberty, return'd to Court, and was receiv'd into Favour : For at this Time Justice, and all other Things became saleable. In the same Year, part of *Wales* was wholly subdu'd, and receiv'd the *English* Laws ; and the North-East Parts were committed to the Government of *Alun de Zouch*, who farm'd them at eleven Hundred Marks *per Annum*. About the same Time the Community of *London* swore Allegiance to Prince *Edward*, saving the Fidelity they ow'd to the King his Father, who then also granted them a Confirmation of all Liberties they enjoy'd in the Reign of King *Henry* the First ; for which Charter they paid the King five hundred Marks.

Henry de Bath accus'd.

He is freed.

Ibid.

VII. All Things being now in a quiet, tho' unsetled Posture, *Alexander* III. King of *Scotland*, now about twelve Years of Age, sent Ambassadors to King *Henry*, desiring the last Peace between the two Nations might be ratify'd, as well as the Agreement of a Marriage between himself and the Lady *Margaret* the King's Daughter. Upon which Motion, both the Kings met on *Christmass* at *York*, where King *Henry* first knighted young *Alexander*, and the next Day gave him his Daughter *Margaret* in Marriage. The Nuptials were solemniz'd with a mighty Confluence of Prelates and Noblemen out of *England*, *Scotland* and *France*, besides two Kings, three Queens, a thousand *English*, and six hundred *Scotch* Knights, who all appear'd in the most splendid Apparel and Equipage. The Arch-Bishop of *York*, who was Prince of the Northern Parts, gave sixty fat Oxen towards the Nuptial Dinner, and was at the further Expence of four thousand Marks. Upon the Marriage *Alexander* did Homage to King *Henry* for *Lothian* and the other Lands he held of him ; but being also demanded to do the same Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as his Predecessors

A. D.

1252.

Reg. 36/37.

The King marries his Daughter Margaret to Alexander King of the Scots.

cessors had done, the young King wisely reply'd, *That he came thither at the King of England's Invitation, and by this Marriage to unite himself more firmly to him, but unprepar'd to give an Answer to such Difficulties, without consulting his Nobility.* King Henry hearing this modest Reply, would press him no further, lest the design'd Mirth and Jollity should be disturb'd, but reserv'd it to a more convenient Opportunity.

The King affronted by Earl Montfort.

Not long after the Noblemen of *Gascony* sent over great and many Complaints to the King against their Governor *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leicester*, who upon that Account came twice into *England*; and the last Time he so well vindicated himself before his Majesty's Person, that he silenc'd most of his Adversaries. The King, perceiving that his Brother *Richard*, and many of the chief Nobility join'd with him, could not restrain his Resentments; and when the Earl boldly demanded a Recompence for his Services and Expences, according to the King's Royal Word and Ingagement, the King reply'd, *He would not stand to any Promise he had made to a Traitor.* Upon which the Earl told the King *He Lied; and were he not a King, he would make him eat his Words;* reproachfully demanding, *Whether any Man would believe he was a Christian, or had been at Confession?* The King answering in the Affirmative, the Earl ask'd, *What avail'd Confession, without Repentance and Satisfaction?* The King reply'd, *He had never more Reason to repent, than for his bestowing such Preferments upon one who had so little Gratitude and Manners;* and would have caus'd him to be apprehended for his Insolence, but by the Interposition of Friends, they parted from each other outwardly reconcil'd. Shortly after, he order'd the Earl to return into *Gascony*, telling him, *That if he was such a Lover of War, he might there find sufficient Employment, and a Reward answerable to his Merits:* To which the Earl boldly reply'd, *That he would go over, and not return, 'till he had subdu'd the Enemies, and reduc'd the rebellious Subjects of an ungrateful Prince.* Thus was this weak King insulted by his own Subjects, and not only by Men but also by Women; particularly the young Countess Dowager of *Arundel*, who receiving a Repulse from the King in a Matter alledg'd to be hers in Equity, thus freely accosted him: *My Lord the King, why do you turn your Face from Justice? We can obtain no Right from your Court; You are plac'd between God and us, but you neither govern your self nor us, as you ought; but daily oppress the Church, and afflict the Nobility of your Kingdom.* The King, fir'd at her Discourse, with a furious Look demanded, *Whether the Nobility of England had given her a Commission to be their Advocate?* To which she with no less Warmth reply'd, *The Nobility have not made me any such Charter, tho' you have broke that which you and your Father have granted, and sworn inviolably to observe, and for which you have so often extorted Money from your Subjects. Where are the Liberties of England, so often reduc'd to Writing, so often granted, and so often purchas'd and redeem'd? Therefore I, tho' a Woman, with all your natural Subjects, do appeal from you to the Tribunal of Heaven, where the great and terrible Judge shall revenge our Cause.* The King, confounded at such bold Truths, for a while remain'd silent, and then ask'd her *Whether she desir'd a Favour, because she was his Cousin?* To which she only reply'd, *Since he had deny'd doing Justice, how could she expect any Favour?* and so departed without any other Satisfaction than the Affronting a Monarch without Control.

and by the Countess of Arundel.

In the same Year *Grosthed* Bishop of *Lincoln* employ'd one of his Clerks to take an exact Account of the yearly Revenue that *Italian* and Foreign Clergy-Men possess'd in *England*, which was found to exceed seventy thousand Marks, when the King's bare Revenue was at this Time so low, that it scarce reach'd one third Part of that Sum. At the same Time *John Mansel* Clerk, who was the King's principal Counsellor, enjoy'd such an unreasonable Number of Ecclesiastical Preferments at once, that his Revenues amounted to four thousand

Marks.

Marks *per annum*, an Income then sufficient for the greatest Prelates. The King, who had incurr'd the ill Will and Curfes of the People by many illegal Exactions, still wanted a large Sum of Mony for an Expedition to the *Holy-Land*; for which purpose he call'd a Parliament, and demanded great Supplies of them. To which they consented, upon Condition that he would once for all submit himself to govern wholly by Law, and confirm the Charters and Liberties of the Kingdom. To that end, the Nobility being assembled in *Westminster Hall*, all those that oppos'd, violated, diminish'd or chang'd the Liberties contain'd in the great Charters, were solemnly excommunicated and anathematiz'd with Bell, Book and Candle, by the Arch-Bishop and Bishops, in their Robes and Pontificalia; and this was done in the Presence, and by the Assent of the King, who in the mean Time laying his Hand on his Breast, after all was perform'd, pronounc'd these Words, '*So may God help me, as I inviolably observe all these Things; which I promise, as I am a Man, as I am a Christian, as I am a Knight, and as I am a King crown'd and anointed.*' Then also the original Charters granted by King *John* were produc'd, and read before them all; which the King having regranted and confirm'd, they put out their Candles, and threw them down smoaking upon the Ground, and every one wish'd, *That such as oppos'd that Sentence, might so stink and smoke in Hell.* Never were Human Laws and Liberties confirm'd with greater Solemnity and Majesty; yet the King, being led by pernicious Counsellors, in a short Time made it his Endeavours to break through all Obligations, which meeting with a turbulent Nobility, at length brought himself and the Nation into great Miseries.

A. D.

1253.

Reg. 37.

*The grand Establishment of
Magna Charta.*

In the mean Time the valiant *Montfort* Earl of *Leicester* being remov'd from his Government of *Gascony*, the King's Son *Edward* was put in his Room; upon which Change, *Alphonso* King of *Castile* pretended a Grant of that Country from King *Henry II.* confirm'd by his Sons *Richard* and *John*. Upon this, several of the Nobility of *Gascony* revolted from King *Henry*, and join'd with *Alphonso*; but the Citizens of *Bordeaux* continu'd faithful, and gave Notice to the King of *England*, That without a speedy and powerful Assistance, he would lose the whole Country. The King at this was extremely concern'd for the Removal of *Montfort*; and using what Expedition, and raising what Force he could, in *August* he landed at *Bordeaux*, where such Means were us'd, that by the End of Summer, he recover'd all his Castles in *Gascony*, either by Force or Composition. Yet the King, not daring to rely upon the Fidelity of the *Gascoignes*, and suspecting that they might still revolt to the King of *Castile* or *Spain*, sent Ambassadors to desire his Friendship, and that he would marry his Sister *Eleanor* to his Son and Heir Prince *Edward*, on whom he had lately bestow'd *Gascony*. The Ambassadors so well dispatch'd the Affair, that they not only concluded the Match, but also made a League with the King of *Castile*, and brought back a Charter seal'd with a Golden Seal; by which he releas'd to King *Henry* whatever Right he had, or could have in that Country by the Grant of *Henry II.* King *Richard*, or King *John*. Then, upon the Ambassadors assuring their Master of *Alphonso's* Sincerity, he shortly after sent to his Son Prince *Edward*, to come over to him, in order to send him into *Spain* to consummate the Match. Among other Acts of Love and Sincerity, *Alphonso* sent this good Advice to the King of *England*, *That after the Example of good Princes, he should be a Lamb towards his Subjects and Natives, and a Lion to Aliens and Rebels.* Earl *Montfort*, who had generously refus'd the High-Stewardship of all *France*, with a brave Troop of Soldiers now offer'd his Service to the King, who admiring at his Greatness receiv'd him with all outward Marks of Joy; at whose Reconciliation, the *Gascoignes*, who dreaded the Power of his Arms, were so dishearten'd, that they came gradually in, and became good Subjects.

*The King goes
to Gascony.*

*42 Affair
settled there.*

A. D. 1254. Reg. 38. 59. Prince Edward marry'd to the King of Castile's Sister.

In the following Year the Queen also arriv'd at *Bordeaux* with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*; and shortly after Prince *Edward* was sent in great State to King *Alphonso*, where having marry'd his Sister *Eleanor*, he was honourably sent back to his Father with his princely Bride. Upon his Arrival, King *Henry* settled upon Him and his Princess all *Gascony*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, with the City and Towns of *Bristol*, *Stamford* and *Grantham*: From which Time the King began to prepare for his Return into *England*, and upon stating his Accounts, he found that the Expences of his Expeditions into *France*, besides thirty thousand Marks he bestow'd upon the *Poictovins*, amounted to so vast a Sum as would have more than purchas'd all his Lands in that Country. And what was still worse, our Author tells us it was to little or no Effect; so that when the King was told of this mighty Expence by one about him, he cry'd out, *For God's sake name it no more, lest the very Relation makes Men wonder and stand amaz'd!* Having settled all Affairs, King *Henry* ask'd Leave of the King of *France* to pass through his Kingdom, which was not only granted, but also he himself met the King of *England* at *Chartres*, where he was then attended by a thousand brave Horse with noble Riders, besides Sumpter-Horses and many Carriages. His own Queen was with him, and her Sister the Countess of *Cornwall*; and there the Queen of *France* met them, with her other Sister the Countess of *Anjou*, as also the old Countess of *Provence*, the Mother of all these four Ladies. From thence they were conducted to *Paris*, where for eight Days they remain'd with triumphant Joy and Satisfaction, making mutual and magnificent Entertainments, such as had not been known before. After which the King of *France* brought King *Henry* one Day's Journey towards the Sea, where they took their Leaves with extraordinary Tendernefs and Affection; and King *Lewis* at his Departure, with a deep Sigh said, *Oh that the Peers and Baronage of my Kingdom would give their Consents, and then we might be inseperable Friends!* This he spoke with Respect to *Normandy* and those other Territories, which his Nobility would not permit him to restore to the King of *England*; which was a great Trouble to the Conscience of this pious Prince.

A. D. 1255. Reg. 39. 40. Prince Edmund made King of Sicily.

It was the next Year before the King landed in *England*, and a considerable Time after before the new Princess *Eleanor* arriv'd, who was receiv'd by the *Londoners* with great Pomp, and had her Lodgings furnish'd with Hangings and Foot-Carpets after the *Spanish* Fashion; which seem'd strange and superfluous to the *English*, who were not accusom'd to such Sort of Magnificence; and the great Honours paid to the *Spaniards* prov'd very ungrateful to the Natives. On the other Side, *Edmund* the King's second Son, by a Ring sent from the Pope, was solemnly invested in the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia*. The Ambassador who brought it was a Bishop, who immediately departed; for indeed his Business was glorious in Show, but in Reality delusory and unprofitable; both because the King had unreasonably engag'd himself in the Pope's Contest with the present Emperor, as also because the *Romish* Forces had lately been overthrown, before this airy Honour could be granted to Prince *Edmund*; whom yet his Father treated as a King, highly pleasing himself with the Trouble of a wastful Title, to his own and the whole Kingdom's great Impoverishment. The Calamities of the Kingdom in these expensive Times were the more deplorable, because they were continually countenanc'd by the King, who ought to have redress'd them. But the Pope having no way so easie to be supply'd as by the King, nor the King any but by the People, both Pope and King agreed to grind the People for each others Interest; the King to satisfy the Pope's Avarice, and the Pope to advance the King's Ambition. The Gaining of the Kingdom of *Sicily* was the Colour, for which the King pretended to go in Person; and therefore *Rustand*, the Pope's Agent, who was sent to gather the Tenth of all *England* for the Use of the Pope or King indifferently, had call'd a great Council the former Year, and adjourn'd it 'till this; where he also requir'd all

the Prelates to bind themselves to the Pope's Merchants, as having already received a great Sum of Money from them, which was employ'd to the Use of their Churches. To which deceitful Allegation, the Prelates reply'd, *They would rather die than suffer such Oppressions, and they accounted it a greater Instance of Martyrdom to die in such a Cause, than in that of Thomas Becket.* The rest of the Nobility also absolutely refus'd either to recover *Sicily*, or to bear the Charge of it, as being both impracticable; the one for the Strength of *Manfrede*, and the other for the present Poverty of *England*. And indeed not long after, the Pope and *Manfrede* were reconcil'd, and so King *Henry* and King *Edmund* were deluded, one of his great Expences, and the other of his imaginary Crown. By this the King was partly waken'd out of his Dreams, in which he had continu'd feeding his Thoughts with a Prospect of leaving a Kingdom to each Son; tho' he never rested 'till he had almost plung'd the Crown into the Gulfs of irrecoverable Debts and Usury. For besides many other Burdens, the King, by the Management of the *Romish* Court, now stood engag'd to the Pope for near two hundred thousand Marks.

The Nation oppress'd both by the King and the Pope.

Paris. wel. These continual Wants occasion'd the King to be stricter than formerly, and to go in Person into the Court of the Exchequer among the Barons, where he made severe Orders against all Sheriffs and Bailiffs of incorporate Towns, who did not at the exact Time appear at the Exchequer, to pay in the King's Money that came to their Hands. At the same Time he amerced all the Sheriffs in *England*, because they had not distrain'd every one that had fifteen Pounds a Year in their several Counties, to come up and be knighted; all which added to the Grievances of the Nation. In the same Year two Things added much to the publick Expences; the first was the Arrival of the young King and Queen of *Scotland*, who were entertain'd by King *Henry* at *London* with great Charge and Magnificence. The other was the Insurrection of the *Welsh*, who having been much oppress'd by the continu'd Sale of the Government of their Nation, stood up for the Defence of their Laws and Country, and invading the *English* Borders, destroy'd the Tenants of Prince *Edward*, whom as yet they had not acknowledg'd for their Lord. Whereupon the Prince, having no present Money, borrow'd four thousand Marks of his Brother Earl *Richard*, in order to suppress their Incursions; but the whole Winter was so wet and stormy, and the retiring Places of the *Welsh* so boggy and impassable, that the *English* durst not attempt them, so that the Expedition prov'd ineffectual, and the Prince's Expences in vain. And indeed the *Welsh* perform'd great Actions under Prince *Lewellyn ap Griffith*, by whose Means they valiantly recover'd all the Inland Country of *North-Wales*, with other Places; in one Encounter slew above two thousand *English* Men, and ravag'd the Country to the very Gates of *Chester*. This they had the greater Opportunity to effect, because King *Henry*, while he form'd Kingdoms in the Clouds, and plung'd himself into the Depths of Usury, suffer'd his Relations and Favourites to trample Right and Reason under Foot, and with the Hatred of himself to fill their Purses; while his own Treasure daily consum'd, and Mens Minds were more and more alienated from him, as Persons who despair'd of Redress and Justice. The *Welsh* persisting in their Attempts, forc'd the valiant Prince *Edward* to retire for want of Assistance; and when he complain'd to his Father, his Answer was, *That Wales was his own by Gift, therefore he ought to get Honour in his Youth, for he himself was otherwise employ'd.*

A. D.

1257.

Reg. 41.

The Successes of the Welsh.

Paris. In Order to supply his Wants the King call'd another Parliament to *Westminster*, where he brought his Son *Edmund*, attir'd in an *Apulian* Habit; and having plac'd him in publick View, he said, *Behold, ye faithful Subjects, my Son Edmund, whom Heav'n of its Bounty has call'd to Royal Dignity: How worthy is he of all your Favours; and how inhuman will it be for any to deny him Assistance in this extraordinary Juncture?* Then he declar'd, *That* by the Consent of the Church of *England*, he had oblig'd himself to the Pope, under

The King recommends his Son Edmund to the Parliament.

under pain of losing his Kingdom, for the Payment of one hundred and forty thousand Marks, besides Interest, which had greatly increas'd; for the Discharge of which he demanded the Tenths of the whole Benefic'd Clergy for five Years, without Abatement or Deduction. This Demand made all Men stand amaz'd, especially when they found that this Oppression had taken its Rise from the Pope himself: But at length, when neither Excuses nor Intreaties would prevail, they granted the King an Aid of fifty thousand Marks towards his urgent Necessities; but with this unacceptable Condition, *That he should for the future most inviolably observe that Capital Charter, which had been so often promis'd, and so often purchas'd*: But the King thinking the Sum insufficient, refus'd to accept it; tho' afterward it is believ'd that he took it. Tho' the King was exceeding poor, yet his Brother *Richard* had heap'd up such Riches, that he was able to spend a hundred Marks every Day for ten Years together, without accounting his Revenues he receiv'd from *England* and *Germany*. Upon the Account of his great Wealth, this Year Ambassadors from *Germany* came and declar'd to him, That the Princes of the Sacred Empire had elected him *King of the Romans*, beseeching him to accept of that Dignity. At first he declin'd it but by the Persuasion of his Brother, he consented; and after some Time he pass'd over to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where both he and his Countess were crown'd with great Splendor and Magnificence, and plac'd in the Throne of *Charles the Great* with the usual Solemnity. His Departure was succeeded by a great Famine and a prodigious Scarcity of Coin, the former proceeding from the Wetness of the Season, and the latter chiefly from the Earl's carrying over with him seven hundred thousand Pounds in ready Money: An incredible Sum in those Days, besides what King *Henry* had of late sent to the Pope upon several Accounts; so that it was no Wonder if *England* was exhausted of all its current Money.

Earl Richard
made King of
the Romans.

A. D.

1258.

Reg. 42.
43.

In these Times of Want, when fifty Ships laden with Corn were sent by *Richard* King of the *Romans* to *London*, the King took a laudable Care that the Citizens should not engross that Commodity to the Damage of the Poor; but no Warnings, Intreaties, or Advices were sufficient to make him truly frugal in his own Person, by which he was miserably straiten'd. Nor would the Parliament he summon'd contribute any Thing, but forming some great Attempts in their Minds, in direct Terms concluded, *That they neither would, nor could any longer endure such Exactions*. Moreover they laid open many Grievances, and Earl *Montfort* complain'd of the Dishonour and Injury done by the King's Half-Brother *William de Valence*, calling him *Traitor*; so that against the next Session of Parliament to be held on St. *Barnabas's* Day at *Oxford*, he, with the Earls of *Glocester* and *Norfolk*, alledging their Fear of Strangers and Favourites, resolv'd to come with all their Forces. They also sent Emislaries to the King of *France*, begging so much Assistance at least, as that he would not hinder their good Intentions of establishing the distracted State of *England*; and they also took care to watch the Ports against Foreigners. Thus they prepar'd to abate the Insolency and Haughtiness of the *Portcoveins* and other Strangers, by whom the King was powerfully led; for they despair'd of Redress at his Hands, who, as *M. Paris* says, like another *Proteus* took all Shapes upon him to serve his Ends, and slip out at his Pleasure, no Promises or Ties being strong enough to hold him. And to add to his Misfortunes, the Pope also began to shew his Displeasure, because he observ'd not his reiterated Promises, by which he had bound himself, upon Forfeiture of his Kingdom, to correct his wonted Excesses; and therefore threaten'd both to Excommunicate him and to Interdict his Dominions. Upon which the King in a great Confusion sent him five thousand Marks, to pacifie and bring him to a softer Temper, and to keep off the Sentence for a Time, with which Money, and the King's earnest Petitions, his Holiness seem'd tolerably well satisfy'd.

The Barons
combine against
the King.

Ibid.

At the Time appointed the Parliament met at *Oxford*, where the turbulent Earls and Barons occasion'd the King to allow of twenty four Persons to be chosen, one half by himself and the other by the Peers, to have the whole Administration of the Government and State, and the yearly Appointment of all great Officers, reserving only to the King the highest Place at Meetings, and Salutations of Honour in publick Places. And because they would not miss of their Designs, they came well arm'd and appointed, so that the King and Prince *Edward* were forc'd to swear to their Ordinances, the Lords having threaten'd Death to all Opposers. The chief of their Ordinances were, 'That the King should inviolably observe the Charter of Liberties, so often granted and purchas'd: That such a Justiciary should be chosen, who would do Justice to the Poor as well as Rich: That the twenty four should chuse the Justices, Chancellors, Treasurers, and other Officers from Year to Year: That they, or their Adherents, should have the Custody of the King's Castles: That three Parliaments should meet every Year at set Times. These, with some others, were call'd *The Provisions of Oxford*, which the whole Baronage of *England* was bound by Oath to observe, and *That they would never desist from prosecuting these their just Resolves, either for Loss of their Lives or Estates*; and to confirm them the Arch-Bishops and Bishops solemnly execrated all such as resisted them. Thus through the Easiness of a weak and inconstant Prince, and the growing Power of an insolent and exasperated Nobility, the Head of the State became a Cypher, and the whole Government was put into the Hands of a few, who really design'd their own Interest and Grandeur more than the common Good of the Nation. This Confederacy was so strong, that when *William de Valence*, refus'd to deliver up any Castle given to him, Earl *Montfort* and the rest answer'd, *They would either have his Castles or his Head*: Which violent Proceeding so terrify'd the *Poictovins*, that they suddenly left *Oxford* and fled into *France*, where also the Barons had made them odious. The People also seem'd to join in this Confederacy, which caus'd the Peers to be so peremptory in all their Conferences, that when *Henry* Son to the King of the *Romans*, refus'd to take their Oath without his Father's Consent, they plainly assur'd him, *That if his Father would not join with the Baronage of England, he should not have one Foot of Land in the Nation*. And lest any Thing might be omitted, they commanded the City of *London* to stand upon its Guard, and caus'd the Citizens to bind themselves under their publick Seal, immutably to adhere to the Baronage of *England*. Moreover, because several other petty Tyrants of the Nation, encourag'd by their Example, had oppress'd their Inferiors, they procur'd the King to appoint four Knights Commissioners in every Shire, to enquire into all such Injuries, and certifie the same under their Seals within a limited Time.

Their high Demands at Oxford.

The King complies.

His Prerogative much weaken'd.

Ibid.

The Barons daily proceeded in their Methods of Reformation, in removing of Officers, punishing Offenders, and discouraging of Strangers; against the last they were more severe, because the Earl of *Glocester*, being reduc'd to a dangerous Weakness, had all the Symptoms of Poison, which was charg'd upon the *Poictovins*. This, and some other Accidents of the like nature made them very jealous and suspicious, and the declar'd Resentments of the King to the Earl of *Leicester* gave them no small Uneasiness. This was discover'd by chance; as the King was passing by Water from *Westminster*, he was surpriz'd by a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning, of which being extremely fearful, he commanded the Barge-Men to set him on Shore at the nearest Stairs, which happen'd to be *Durham House*, where the Earl of *Leicester* then lay. The Earl hearing the King was there, immediately ran down to receive him, and finding him under some Consternation, he said, *Your Majesty need not be afraid, the Storm is all over*. No, *Montfort*, answer'd the King with a stern Look and a deep Oath, *I fear not the Thunder so much as I do Thee*. At which Words the Earl a little confounded, reply'd, *Sir, I am sorry you should*
fear

The King uneasy.

fear your true Friend and faithful Servant, more than the Enemies and De-vourers of your Kingdom.

A. D.

1259.

Reg. $\frac{43}{44}$.

The King makes a dishonourable Treaty with France.

Normandy quite lost from England.

In these new modell'd Times, *Richard* King of the *Romans*, desiring to see ^{M. P. mi &c.} King *Henry* his Brother, and designing to bring such a Force as might strengthen him against his Barons, was advertis'd that the Nobility design'd to oppose him both by Sea and Land; which caus'd him to lay aside his Purpose, and to land at *Dover* after a private manner, with his Wife and Son, and but a small Retinue. Here he was met by the King with great Congratulations at the Sea-side, but neither of them were permitted to enter into the Castle, *Because it was the principal Key of the Nation*. And on the next Day, at the Chapter-House in *Canterbury*, before many of the Nobility, the King of the *Romans* was call'd by the bare Title of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, and took this following Oath, *That he would be faithful and diligent, together with the Barons, to reform the Kingdom of England, hitherto too much disorder'd by the Counsel of Evil Men; and would be an effectual Coadjutor to expel all Rebels and Disturbers of the Land; which Oath he would observe upon pain of losing all his Lands in England*. Thus, while the Barons were in a great measure Sovereigns, and the Earl of *Leicester* was gone with others to make a firm League with the *French*, the King himself was led, or betray'd into a very dishonourable Compliance with that Nation. For the King having sail'd into *France*, demanded a Restitution of all those Territories that King *Philip* and King *Lewis* had taken and detain'd both from his Father and himself. The *French* alledg'd many Things against his Demands, but especially, *That the ancient Donation of Normandy was never spontaneous, but had been forcibly extorted by Duke Rollo from the King of France*. Upon this King *Henry*, having neither Courage to undertake, nor Money to maintain a War to recover his lost Rights, came in Person to the King of *France's* Parliament at *Abbeville*, and there made a final Peace and Agreement with that King, upon these following Conditions. 'That the King of *England* should resign his Right to the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and Earldom of *Anjou*, upon Payment of three hundred thousand smaller Pounds of *Tourain* Money: In Consideration of which King *Lewis* further promis'd him the Restitution of certain Territories in *Gascony*, of the yearly Value of twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. So that retaining all the Province of *Gascony*, and its Appendages, and having absolutely resign'd his Right to all the rest of the Dominions in the King of *France's* Possession, King *Henry* from thenceforward shorten'd his Stile in his Patents, Letters and Seal, and no longer call'd himself Duke of *Normandy* and *Anjou*. About this Period, *Matth. Paris* a Monk of *St. Albans*, the most celebrated Historian of this Age, ended his History of *England*, from which we have receiv'd great Assistance; and shortly after ended his Life.

A. D.

1260.

Reg. $\frac{44}{45}$.

The King endeavours to free himself.

VIII. King *Henry*, having for the Advantage of some present Money ^{R. P. mi &c.} made disadvantageous Concessions, and having freed himself from the irksome Troubles of Foreign Contentments, spent some Time in the Pleasures of the *French* Court at *Paris*, where he was splendidly entertain'd and regal'd by King *Lewis*, while all Things were establish'd and confirm'd after the most effectual Manner. And returning into *England* not long after, he began to employ all his Thoughts how to restore the Royal Power, and to throw off that Burden which the Nobility had laid upon him. In order to this he sent privately to the Pope to be absolv'd from his Oath to the *Provisions of Oxford*, which without any great Difficulty was obtain'd both for himself and Prince *Edward*; but Pope *Alexander* deceasing before the Dispensation could be seal'd, the King was oblig'd to stay a longer Time, till it could be confirm'd by Pope *Urban* his Successor. Besides this he wrote into *France* to King *Lewis*, and his Son Prince *Edward*, who was gone over under the Pretence of a Tournament at *Paris*, to provide him what Forces he could. These Matters being adjust'd, the King summon'd a Council

Council or Parliament at *London*, he there plainly and briefly declar'd, *That since by the late Provisions of Oxford, they had likewise oblig'd themselves on their Part to encrease his Revenue, and pay his Debts, of which they had perform'd neither; but instead of that, seeking their own private Interest, had rather diminish'd than increas'd his Revenues; and by putting himself under their Government, he was become more their Slave than their King; therefore they were not to wonder, if confiding no longer in their Councils, he had sought for Redress elsewhere.* And shortly after he put himself into the Tower of *London*, together with the Queen, and then commanding the ancient Treasury to be broke open, he employ'd the Mony in the Fortifications of the Tower. Moreover, he order'd the City of *London* to be strengthen'd, and summon'd all the Youth of the City, from twelve Years of Age and upwards, causing them to swear Fealty to him; and commanded it to be proclaim'd, that Whoever would take up Arms under him, should be maintain'd at his Charge. These were the Grounds and Beginnings of that unhappy Civil War, which for near five Years tormented this Kingdom; which the King was the more ready to undertake, because about this Time he receiv'd from the Pope his Bull of Absolution from his Oath to the Provisions of *Oxford*. Upon which Account it was declar'd, *That the Oath it self was unlawful, being made without his Holiness's Consent, who was his supreme Lord, and whose Vassal the King now acknowledg'd himself to be.* Accordingly the King turn'd out the Barons Chancellor and chief Justiciary, and put in *Walter Merton* and *Philip Basset* in their Rooms; which occasion'd the Nobility to hasten to Arms at *Winchester*, where the King then was, who receiving Intelligence of their Designs by Sir *John Mansel*, hasten'd back to the Tower of *London*.

A. D.

1261.

Reg. 45.

The Beginnings
of the Barons
Wars.

Still the War did not begin; for the King making several Concessions and Compliances, all the Contests between him and the Barons seem'd for a while to be ended; so that the King had Leisure and Opportunity to go over with his Queen into his Dominions in *France*, where he continu'd for a considerable Space. During his Absence the Earl of *Leicester* appear'd at a great Council held at *London* by the Justiciary *Basset*, where he produc'd a Brief or Letter from the Pope, wherein he confirm'd the Provisions of *Oxford*, and recall'd the King's Absolution, declaring *He was deceiv'd in the granting of it*; which shews the variable Temper of the Pope and his Court. But how much soever the Absolution was recall'd, it was shortly after re-confirm'd, and made use of by the King upon his Return into *England*, which was succeeded by several Acts of Hostility between Him and the Barons. The secret Confederacy with *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, gave the Barons no small Incouragement, who about this Time wasted the Dominions of Prince *Edward* in the Marches of *Wales*; so that now Places were won and lost, and Prisoners taken on all Sides. Prince *Edward* took the Castle of *Bristol*, and fin'd the City a thousand Pounds. Earl *Montfort*, the General of the Barons, executed his greatest Revenges upon the Queen's Friends who were Foreigners; and marching forwards, recover'd *Glocester* Castle, enter'd *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth*; and after that surpriz'd the Isle of *Ely*, subduing that Fenny Country to the Barons Use. Sir *John Mansel*, the King's chief Counsellor, apprehending the worst, fled secretly from the Tower, where the King continu'd; and *Henry* Son to the King of the *Romans*, was taken by the Barons. In the mean Time the valiant Prince *Edward* fortify'd *Windso*r Castle, and garrison'd it with Strangers. Mutual Weariness at length begot a Desire of Peace, and the King would have yielded to the Provisions of *Oxford*, but the Queen shew'd her self utterly against it; which being known to the *Londoners*, it put the meaner Sort into such a brutish Rage, that when she was to shoot the Bridge from the Tower towards *Windso*r, they with Dirt, Stones and villanous Words forc'd her to return back. Prince *Edward*, under the Conduct of the Bishop of *Worcester*, came from the Castle of *Bristol*, and contrary to his Promise enter'd into that of *Windso*r; but after-

A. D.

1262.

Reg. 46.

A. D.

1263.

Reg. 47.

Several Acts of
Hostility.

wards going forth to meet Earl *Montfort* at *Kingston*, with a Design for a Treaty, the Earl got Possession of *Windsor* Castle, and would not permit him to depart. At *London* still in a Parliament assembled, Matters were in some Measure made up; and the King's Party daily grew stronger.

A. D. 1264. Reg. 42. At length the King of *France* was made Arbitrator in these great Contests; and the Cause was fully heard at *Amiens*, where he gave Judgment for the King of *England* against the Barons, pronouncing all the Statutes and Acts made at *Oxford* void; but with this Proviso, *That nothing of the Charters granted by King John and the present King should be infring'd.* Of which Clause the Earl of *Leicester* and his Party took Advantage, alledging, *That the Provisions of Oxford, were only in Pursuance and Corroboration of those Charters;* therefore, refusing to stand by the Arbitration, which they said contradicted it self, the War broke out more furiously than ever. The King with his Brother and Son, and a strong Force march'd to *Oxford*, from whence he dismiss'd all the Students, which are said to be above fifteen thousand in Number; among whom being so many young Noblemen, the King doubted of their Affections to the Barons. Upon which most of them went to *Northampton*, where the Barons were then powerful; to which Place the King march'd with his Army, and breaking in at the Town Walls, attack'd the Enemies, among whom the Students of *Oxford* had a Banner by themselves advanc'd directly against the King; and they more annoy'd him in the Battel, than the rest of the Barons. For which the King, after he had gain'd the Day, threaten'd a severe Revenge; but his Counsellors inform'd him, *That they were the Sons of the Nobility and Gentry of his Kingdom; that if he should cause them to be executed, their Fathers and Relations would make a dangerous Retaliation;* upon which he desisted. The King here took *Simon Montfort* the Younger, and fourteen other principal Barons and Knights-Bannerets, forty other Knights, besides Esquires and others. Encourag'd with this Success he advanced his Royal Standard towards *Nottingham*, burning and wasting the Barons Estates wherever he march'd. To divert this Storm, Earl *Montfort* hasten'd to *London*, and then made an Attempt upon *Rocheſter* Castle, which the Earl of *Warren* defended for the King. Upon which, the King turn'd his Arms, and coming to raise the Siege, took the Castle of *Kingston*, which belong'd to the Earl of *Gloceſter*; and then unexpectedly setting upon those who lay before *Rocheſter*, while *Montfort* was absent, he kill'd many and dispers'd the rest. Next he took the Castle of *Tunbridge*, with the Countess of *Gloceſter*, whom he set at Liberty; and then taking the Cinque-Ports into Favour, he settled himself for a while at *Lewes* in *Sussex*.

The King succeeds.

At *Lewes* the Barons sent Letters to the King protesting *all Loyal Obedience to his Person, but all Hostility to their Enemies about him.* To which the King return'd Answer, *That they were the Cause of all the Wars and Miseries in the Nation; that their Intentions were not according to their Professions, nor their Actions agreeable to their Pretences, therefore he defy'd them.* The King of the *Romans*, Prince *Edward*, and the rest of the King's Friends sent the like Letters of Defiance. Upon this, the Barons being weaker in Numbers, sent Mediators for Peace, and offer'd to pay the King thirty thousand Pounds in Consideration of Damages done in the Nation, provided *That the Statutes of Oxford might stand good.* But the King inrag'd at their whole Proceedings, sent a fresh Defiance to *Montfort* and his Accomplices; which provok'd them to do the like, and to renounce the Fealty they ow'd him. Upon this both Parties provided for an Ingagement, and as soon as the two Armies approach'd each other, a fierce Battel insu'd, and the stout Earl of *Leicester*, with the Body under him, and that next to him, set upon the Forces commanded by the King and his Brother; rightly judging, that if they were either defeated or taken Prisoners, the Victory would fall to the Barons. As for the noble Prince *Edward*, he with the Flower of his Army furiously attack'd

A Battel between the King and the Barons.

tack'd the *Londoners*, who tho' very numerous, fled at the Terror of his Arms; and to revenge the Affront they had done his Mother at *London Bridge*, incessantly pursu'd them, and made a most miserable Slaughter of them for near four Miles together. But while his martial Rage transported him too far, the Bodies commanded by the Earls of *Leicester* and *Glocester*, having valiantly assaulted those commanded by King *Henry* and his Brother, in a short Time utterly routed them; so that the two Brothers being almost abandon'd in the Field, were constrain'd, after a long and brave Resistance, to surrender themselves, *Henry* to the Earl of *Leicester*, and *Richard* to the Earl of *Glocester*, who were immediately secur'd in the Priory of *Lewes*. Whereupon all the rest of the Men that had fled into the Town, laid down their Arms and yielded, thinking it no Dishonour to sustain the same Fate with their Masters. Prince *Edward* returning with his Cousin *Henry* from the Pursuit of the *Londoners*, soon found that instead of any Advantage gain'd, for the Conclusion of a Peace, both he and his Cousin must surrender themselves as Hostages.

The King and his Brother taken Prisoners.

Thus was *Montfort* Earl of *Leicester* in possession of two Kings and their eldest Sons; and to compleat all his Designs, he carry'd King *Henry* along with him, as it were on Progress, but rather in Triumph about the Country, that by the Authority of his Presence he might take in all the Places that still held out. And now having the whole Kingdom at his Disposal, he not only freed all his own Party, but also bestow'd all the great Offices of State upon his own Creatures and Relations; by which Means the King, who had now reign'd near fifty Years, signify'd little more than a Cypher; so that he could not go any where without a Keeper, but was at the Disposal of others. As for Prince *Edward* and his Cousin *Henry*, they were not us'd like Hostages, but as ordinary Prisoners, being kept in strict Custody for a Time at *Wallingford*, then in *Dover Castle*, and sometimes in other Places. Nor could all the Threats of the Pope and Court of *Rome* avail, to make him relinquish any Part of that Authority he had assum'd. During this Man's Usurpation, the Cinque Ports presum'd so far as to set out great Numbers of Privateers, who took all Vessels they found, as well *English* as Foreign, seiz'd their Goods, kill'd their Men, and threw their Bodies into the Sea: By which Means *England*, that usually excell'd all other Nations in Plenty of Foreign Commodities, was now become so indigent, that Wines, Salt, Iron, and all other imported Wares, rose to that excessive Rate, that they were sold at four Times their former Price: So that there being no Means either for importing or exporting of Goods, all Merchants were reduc'd to great Extremities.

Earl Montfort's Power.

These pretended Patrons of Liberty, who took up Arms to defend the Kingdom from the Tyranny of an unfortunate King, having once obtain'd his Power, fell themselves into Factions, and became as unjust and tyrannical in the Use of it, as the King they had oppos'd; and the Nation was so far from receiving Advantage by the Change, that instead of one they had now many Tyrants. But this Violence upon the Constitution could not continue long; for *Montfort*, grasping at an unbounded Authority, soon provok'd the Envy of the Earl of *Glocester*, who was to have a proportionable Share, so that it occasion'd a fatal Quarrel, and a Division of Interest; and upon this *Glocester* confederated with *Roger Mortimer* and his Associates, to whom not long after the Earls of *Warren*, *Surry* and *Sussex*, with several others join'd. In the mean Time a Parliament was call'd by the Power of Earl *Montfort*, and in the Name of the King, to meet at *Westminster* on the twenty second Day of *January*; which was the first Parliament, that, according to the Opinions of Doctor *Brady*, had ever two Knights for each Shire, and two Burgesses for each City and Borough, as at this Day: So that from this critical and rebellious Year the Doctor dates the Original of the *House of Commons* in Parliament; but with what Certainty, or Probability, may be learnt from the Works of Mr. *Petit*, Mr. *Tyrell*, Dr. *Hody*, and others. This Parliament was call'd upon two Accounts,

A. D.
1265.
Reg. 42.
50.

He and the Earl of Glocester disagree.

Prince Edward
escapes.

The Affairs
turn to the
King's Advan-
tage.

Earl Montfort
defeated and
slain.

The King set
free.

counts, the One to set Prince *Edward* at Liberty, and to secure Earl *Montfort* and his Party; the Other to obtain the King's Charter of Pardon and Indemnity for all that was past. As to the first, the Prince could obtain no more than to be made a Prisoner at large; but not long after, the Breach growing still wider between *Montfort* and *Glocester*, the Prince by the Help of *John Mortimer*, broke loose from his Keepers at *Hereford*, and arriv'd safely to the Earl of *Glocester*'s Party at *Wigmore*.

The Freedom of this valiant Prince soon turn'd the Face of Affairs; for he confederating with the Counties of *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Shropshire* and *Chester*, by his solemn Oaths and Promises, obtain'd a powerful Assistance from the Earl of *Glocester* and many others; by which Means he soon became Master of the Cities of *Worcester*, *Glocester* and *Hereford*. At the same Time Earl *Montfort*, with *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, ravag'd all their Enemies Lands in *Monmouth* and *Glamorgan* Shires. Prince *Edward*, and the Earl of *Glocester*, on the other Side halten'd to the Castle of *Kenelworth*, kept by *Simon* Earl *Montfort*'s Son; where they intercepted the Earl of *Oxford*, with about thirteen Knights-Bannerets before they could reach the Castle. Here Intelligence was brought, that *Montfort* was return'd with the King out of *South-Wales*, and lay near *Worcester*: To which Place the Prince boldly advanc'd to give him Battel; and the Earl hearing of his Approach, incamp'd at *Evesham* with his whole Power. Upon the third Day of *August* the Heroick Prince set out from *Worcester*, and with great Art and Skill struck in between Earl *Montfort* and his Passage to *Kenelworth*, and then suddenly turn'd back towards *Evesham*; the Earl of *Glocester* with his Force, and the Lord *Mortimer* with his, moving thither by two other Ways; so that the Earl being almost surrounded, was oblig'd either to fight or yield. At first he was in Hopes that one Party belong'd to his Son, but finding it otherwise, he in a despairing Manner cry'd, *Lord have Mercy upon our Souls, for our Bodies are our Enemies*; yet still he resolv'd either to conquer or die. His eldest Son desiring him not to despair, *since the Chance of War was doubtful*, he answer'd, *He only fear'd that his own and his Brother's Pride and Presumption had ruin'd them; yet still he hop'd to die for the Cause of God and Justice*. However he omitted nothing in this Battel, which was very sharp and bloody, that might speak him a noble and valiant Commander, 'till first his Son, and afterwards himself was slain; at the Instant of whose Fall, there happen'd so great a Clap of Thunder, as if Heav'n it self had fought against him, and no less Power could have given him his Death. In the Battel, the King himself was wounded on the Shoulder, and near being slain, had he not cry'd out *I am Henry your King!* at which the Prince ran to him, and begging his Blessing, left him to a strong Guard, 'till he had ended the Battel, and gain'd a compleat Victory. Thus dy'd the celebrated *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leicester*, whose Body was reproachfully dismember'd, and his Head sent to the Wife of *Roger Mortimer*. He was once in a probable Way to establish a new Race of Kings in *England*; but as the just Reward of his Ingratitude, as well as Ambition and Rebellion, he and all his Family perish'd and came to nothing in a few Years.

King *Henry* being thus restor'd to Liberty, immediately call'd a Parliament at *Winchester*, by the Authority of which, he seiz'd on the Charters and Privileges of the City of *London*, and of many other Towns for their Rebellion. All those who were taken in Battel were committed to safe Custody, and such as had join'd with Earl *Montfort* were fully disinherited, and a rateable Distribution made of their Estates to the King's most deserving Friends. *Simon* and *Guy Montfort*, the Earl's two Sons, were the chief of the Attainted; the Countess Dowager their Mother, and Sister to the King, being extreamly mortify'd at the fatal Losses of her Husband and eldest Son, had leave to pass over into *France*, where she ended her Days in a Nunnery. *Simon*, the eldest surviving Son,

Son, sought to preserve himself and the Remains of his Father's Misfortunes in the Isle of *Axholm* in *Lincolnshire*. The King to take all Refuge from him, march'd with a powerful Army to *Northampton*, with a Design to reduce him; being accompany'd by his Brother *Richard*, and *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, lately arriv'd in *England*. *Simon* had several Friends about the King, but the Earl of *Glocester*, envying his Restoration to full Favour, it was at length concluded, upon his Submission, that he should live in Exile, and for his Maintenance receive only five hundred Marks *per Annum*. The Legate about the same Time, to hinder the Growth of any new Rebellion, excommunicated the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Worcester*, *London* and *Chichester*, for having once adher'd to Earl *Montfort*; and also declar'd, That the Clergy were to pay their Tenths for seven Years next ensuing to the King. But still the Castle of *Kenelworth* would not yield, but with a very few Defendants, after an extraordinary manner, held out half a Year's Siege against all the King's Forces; who at length gave the Garrison their Lives and Liberties, as also all the rich Plunder they had taken from the adjacent Country before the Siege.

A. D.
1266.
Reg. 50.
51.

The Barons
decline.

To put an End to all Troubles, the most moderate Men were desirous that the King should pardon all Offences, and restore the Lands of the Disinherited upon certain reasonable Fines: Which Proposition found a great Enemy of *Roger Mortimer*, who had by the King's Donation gain'd much of their Land; which so mov'd the Earl of *Glocester* to Indignation and Distrust, that he withdrew himself from the Court in great Discontent. Not long after, being more and more disoblig'd, he sent his Messenger to the King desiring him *To remove all Strangers from his Presence, to see that the Provisions of Oxford were observ'd through his Kingdom, and to keep such Promises as he had made at Evesham*. In the mean Time the chief Out-laws and disinherited Men, had got Possession of the Isle of *Ely*, from whence they made many Incursions and Devastations. To end these Mischiefs, all, except Earl *Montfort's* Sons and the Earl of *Derby*, were offer'd to be put to Ransom, and for certain Fines to be restor'd to their Lands; but they requir'd to have them all without Redemption, and complain'd to the King and the Legate of many Grievances. When Proposals had no better Effect, the King and Prince *Edward* besieg'd the Isle of *Ely* on all Sides. Which being known to the Earl of *Glocester*, tho' he had promis'd under his Seal not to take up Arms against the King but in his own Defence, he gather'd an Army out of *Wales* in Favour of the Disinherited, march'd up to the City of *London*, and by the Consent of the Citizens took full Possession of it, commanding also the Pope's Legate, who lodg'd in the Tower, to surrender it to him. Yet shortly after a Peace was fully concluded, by the Mediation of the King of the *Romans* and the Lord *Philip Bassett*; and the Earl of *Glocester* bound himself in a Bond of ten thousand Marks, never to raise any Disturbance again. *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, who had greatly supported Earl *Montfort's* Rebellion, for thirty two thousand Pounds was restor'd to four Cantreds, which the King had taken from him in the War, and fully reconcil'd. And the Rebels in the Isle of *Ely* shortly after submitting to the noble Prince *Edward*, the Barons War ended, after it had above five Years afflicted the sinful Nation; in which, while they violently struggled for Superiority, both Sides were great Sufferers, according to the frequent Events of Civil Wars.

A. D.
1267.
Reg. 51.
52.

They are re-
duc'd.

The War ended.

IX. These domestick Disturbances being thus compos'd, King *Henry* spent the four last Years of his Reign in perfect Peace and Tranquility, without any remarkable Contest or memorable Action. To establish which, he caus'd it to be proclaim'd in every County throughout *England*, That whosoever should invade, or unjustly usurp any Man's Goods or Possessions, as had been usual in the late Troubles, should be liable to a Capital Punishment. And to compleat all, he call'd a Parliament to meet at *Marlborough*, to renew and establish the Body of the Laws of *England*, where were made those Laws now extant

A. D.
1268.
Reg. 52.
53.

*The Statutes of
Marlborough.*

*Prince Edward
undertakes the
Crusado.*

A. D.

1269.

Reg. 53.
54.

*The Inshrine-
ment of Ed-
ward the Con-
fessor.*

under the Title of *The Statutes of Marlborough*; in which among many other Things, *Magna Charta* and *Charta Foresta* were again confirm'd. In the midst of this Peace, by the solemn Preaching of *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate, the King's Sons, Prince *Edward* and Earl *Edmund* his Brother, as also *Henry* eldest Son to the King of the *Romans*, with the Earls of *Glocester*, *Warren* and *Pembroke*, and about one hundred and twenty other Knights, being touch'd with the great Losses in the *Holy-Land*, all receiv'd the Crofs at the Hands of the Legate, and devoted themselves to this Employment. In the following Year, the Prince went over into *France* to join with King *Lewis* in the Holy War, who for his Provision in that Expedition lent him thirty thousand Marks; for the Security of which the Prince mortgag'd *Gascony* to him. But before he enter'd upon the Journey, he return'd to *England*, and assisted in the Ceremony of the Translation of the Relicks of *Edward* the Confessor into a richer Shrine: For which the King had summon'd all the Prelates and Nobility of *England*, besides the richest Men in all the Cities and Boroughs of *England*, to render the Solemnity more illustrious. These being all assembled, with an infinite Confluence of People, the King himself and his Brother *Richard* began the Ceremony, by taking up St. *Edward's* Coffin upon their Shoulders; to which also the Princes *Edward* and *Edmund*, with divers Earls and Barons, lent their Hands: And being so carry'd, the Bones or Relicks were plac'd in a noble Shrine of Gold, adorn'd with precious Stones, which was then set in a high and eminent Place with the utmost Reverence, where it continu'd many Years.

A. D.

1270.

Reg. 54.
55.

*Prince Edward
sets forwards
towards the
Holy-Land.*

The Prince did not depart out of *England* till the latter End of the following Year; before which Time, on the thirteenth Day of *May*, several of the Bishops came to St. *Paul's* Church, and there caus'd the Bull of Pope *Honorius* the Third to be publicly read, by which he confirm'd the Charters of *Liber-ties* and *Forests*, which had been granted by this King in the Beginning of his Reign; and at the same Time solemnly excommunicated all Infringers of those Charters, as had been formerly publish'd in *Westminster-Hall*, in the Year 1253. Not long after, the Earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*, and *Alan* Lord *Zouche*, having a great Suit in *Westminster-Hall*, the former set upon the latter in open Court and mortally wounded him; for which he was fin'd five thousand Pounds to the King, and two thousand to the Family of the Lord *Zouche*. About the middle of *August*, the Heroick Prince *Edward*, with his Princess *Eleanor*, left *England*, and winter'd in *Sicily*; where he was so intent upon his Holy Expedition, that when he understood that his chief Support the King of *France* was dead, and afterwards, that the greatest Part of his Fleet was lost by a Storm, and when he was dissuaded from the Attempt by all about him, he swore a solemn Oath, *That tho' all deserted him, he would go, if he were attended only by his Groom*.

A. D.

1271.

Reg. 55.
56.

His Acts.

*He is in Dan-
ger.*

Accordingly in the following Spring he arriv'd in the *Holy-Land*, reliev'd the Town of *Acon*, and after that perform'd many noble Actions and great Enterprizes, to the great Damage of the *Saracens*, and his own lasting Renown. So that in a short Time he became so formidable to his Enemies, that some of their Commanders dishonourably sent a desperate Assassin, who under the Pretence of treating with him, stabb'd him with a poison'd Dagger; of which by Providence he escap'd with great Torment, and extreamest Danger. And here we are told of an admirable Instance of Conjugal Love in his Princess *Eleanor*; who is said to have suck'd out the Venom of the Wound with her own Lips, and by that means sav'd his Life: But of this we have no great Certainty. Not long after she was deliver'd of a Daughter, in the City of *Acon*, who from the Place of her Birth was nam'd *Joan de Acres*, and was afterwards marry'd to *Gilbert* Earl of *Glocester*.

A. D.

1272.

Reg. 56.
57.

*Earl Richard
dies.*

In the mean Time his Father King *Henry* liv'd at Ease and Quietness, during his declining Years, very different from his Father King *John*: Yet in the last of his Reign he was afflicted with the Death of his Brother *Richard* King of the *Romans*, once accounted the richest Prince in *Europe*. And shortly after he

he was extremely disturb'd by a violent Contest between the Citizens and the Monks of *Norwich*, which increas'd to that Degree, that the former set Fire to the Cathedral Church, which together with the adjoining Monastery and Buildings, were all consum'd to the Ground; and they sacrilegiously carry'd away all the Holy Vessels and their Books which escap'd the Flames. The King highly mov'd at this Outrage and Impiety, sent down Justiciary *Trivet* to *Norwich*, who convicted great Numbers of the Offenders, and condemn'd them to be drawn at Horses Tails and hang'd; and soon after came in Person, who when he beheld the Ruins of the Cathedral, he could scarce refrain from Tears. The Bishop of *Rochester* excommunicated all that were concern'd in the Fact, and the King condemn'd the Community of the City to pay three thousand Marks, towards the Rebuilding of the Church, besides ten Pounds in Gold, and the Value of a hundred Pounds in Silver for a Golden Cup. The King in his Return to *London*, reposing himself at the Abby of *St. Edmund's Bury*, was there seiz'd with a languishing Distemper that never left him. Getting with great Difficulty to *London*, he there perform'd all those Religious Offices then thought necessary for a dying Man, and order'd by his Will that his Goods should first discharge his Debts, and the rest be given to the Poor; after which he dy'd on the twentieth Day of *November*, and the sixty sixth Year of his Age, after a very tedious and inglorious Reign of fifty six Years, one Month, and four Days. His Body, array'd in Royal Robes and the Crown on his Head, was two Days after carry'd by the chief Nobility in solemn mournful Pomp, and bury'd in the Church of *Westminster*, before the High Altar, near the Shrine of *Edward* the Confessor, where his Tomb with his Statue in Brass remains to this Day.

A great Disturbance in Norwich.

King Henry dies.

This Reign, which was the longest of any of the Kings of *England*, affords us great Variety and numerous Instances of an infirm and distemper'd State, occasion'd both by the Inequality of the Prince's Management, and the Impatience of a turbulent Nobility. As to the King's Person, he was of middle Stature, of a strong Body, and well proportion'd; but as to his Mind, he was so variable and uncertain, that it is hard to give a just Account of him. We find that he was naturally wilful and passionate, easily provok'd to Anger, and as easily appeas'd; fickle and unconstant both in his Love and Hatred; for he never had so great a Favourite, but he threw him into Disgrace, nor so great an Enemy, but he receiv'd him into Favour. He was by Nature easie and merciful, so that if he acted too rigorously in any Thing, it is to be imputed to his chief Ministers who had a full Ascendent over him; for he was scarce ever *Sui Juris*, being always under the Government of others, and too often of Strangers. And indeed it may justly be said of him, that he was a much better Man than a King and Governor; for tho' he oppress'd his Subjects with unreasonable Taxes, often broke his Coronation Oath, and as often violated his own Charters (for which he never miss'd of Punishment) yet he was nevertheless remarkable for his Devotion towards God, his Charity towards the Poor, and his Chastity as to himself. As to the former, he us'd to prefer Prayers before Sermons, alledging, *That he had rather converse with his Friend, than hear from him.* As to his Charities, *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales* was wont to say, *That he more dreaded the Power of his Alms, than all his Forces and Clergy together*, and his Chastity has been celebrated by several Writers, as being a Virtue too rare in Princes, and unknown to all his Predecessors of the *Norman* Race besides *William I.* But as for personal Valour and Courage, he was not much noted; his greatest Happiness was in his admirable Son, who ended all Civil Troubles, and afterwards by his Prudence and Fortitude rais'd the *English* Monarchy to a great Part of its ancient Glory.

His Character.

In this Reign, Stealing of Cattel, which before was but pecuniary, is said to have been first made Capital; and as to Weights and Measures, some of them were by Law fix'd thus: An *English* Penny call'd a *Sterling*, round and without

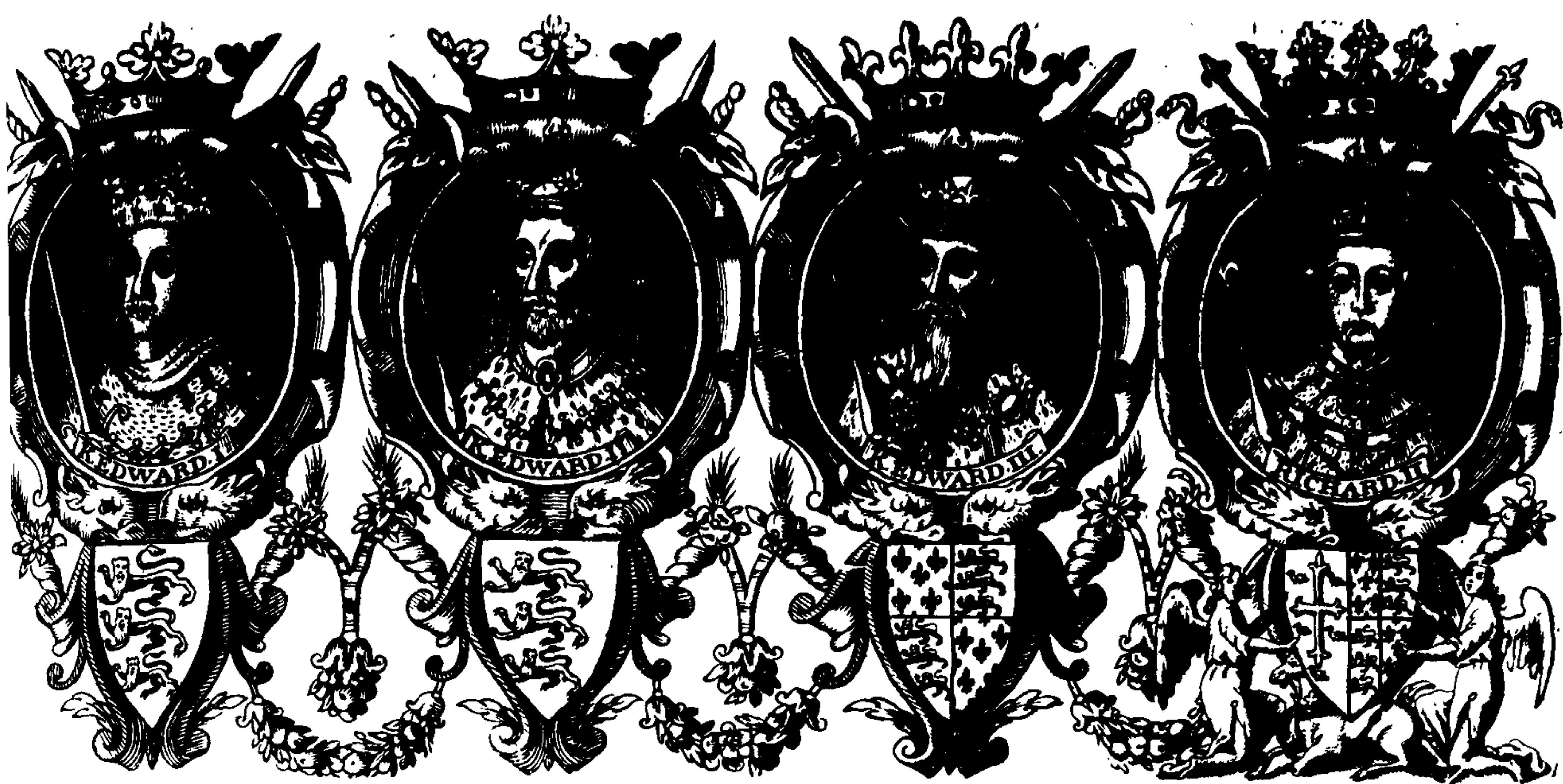
Establishments in his Reign.

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out Clipping was to weigh thirty two Wheat Corns taken out of the midst of the Ear; and twenty Pennies were to make an Ounce, twelve Ounces one Pound, eight Pounds a Gallon of Wine, and eight Gallons a *London* Bushel, the eighth Part of a Quarter. In the forty first Year of this Reign, the King coin'd a Penny of pure Gold of the Weight of two *Sterlings*, and commanded that it should pass for twenty Shillings; which was the first Piece of Gold we find was coin'd in *England*.

Thus we have gone through with eight Kings of the *Norman* Race, of whom the six first were Heroes and valiant Warriors, and the seventh no despicable Soldier. And of these eight, only *Richard* I. had a certain and unquestionable Right to the Crown of *England*, if we reckon according to the strict Rules of Hereditary Succession; for all the rest came to the Throne when there was a nearer Heir living.





C H A P. III.

The Plantagenets Undivided; From the Death of King Henry the Third, to the Deposition of King Richard the Second, and the first Division of the two Families of Lancaster and York.

Containing the Space of about 127 Years.

S E C T. I.

The Reign of King EDWARD the First.

Containing 34 Years, 7 Months, and 21 Days.

^{ninf.}
^{Yuv.} I. IN the two last Reigns the Monarchy of *England* was extreamly debas'd and dishonour'd, as well by intestine Convulsions, as foreign Losses; but now it began again to raise its Head, and to display its Grandeur, by Means of the renowned Prince *Edward*, surnam'd *Longshanks*, from the Tallness of his Stature, and the Celerity of his Motions. The Spirit and Abilities of this Prince appear'd in the Beginning of his Actions under his Father, after the great Defeat he gave the Barons at *Evesham*; the Prosecution of the disinherited Opposers; the exposing of his Person to all Hazards and Labours; his single Combate with *Adam Gurdon* the valiant Outlaw; and his noble Adventures and Attempts in the East: And finally his great Experience in the Affairs of the World, with the Vigour of his Age, which was now the thirty fourth Year, might well presage what an able Master he would prove in the Management of them. Therefore upon the Death of King *Henry*, *John* Earl of *Warren* and *Gilbert* Earl of *Glocester*, with the Clergy and Laity, went to the great Altar in the Church of *Westminster*, and swore Fealty to his First-Born Son *Edward*, then in the *Holy-Land*, not knowing whether he was living. Shortly after the Nobility of the Nation met at the new Temple

A. D.
1272.
Reg. 1.

King Edward the First proclaimed in his Absence.

Temple in *London*, where a new Seal being produc'd, they appointed Ministers and Guardians to keep the King's Treasure, and the Peace of the Kingdom, which were the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Earl of *Glocester*, who by their Appointment enter'd upon the Exercise of the Government, without any possible Privy or Knowledge of the King: Yet all the Writs, Proclamations and Instruments concerning the Government were issu'd out in the King's Name, as appears by several Instances upon Record. Upon the Feast of St. *Hilary*, a Convention of the States was summon'd to settle the Peace of the Kingdom 'till he should return, consisting not only of the Lords, but of four Knights for every Shire, and as many Citizens for every City, as the *Waverly Annals* assure us; in which it was provided, that there should be no Itinerant Judges, except only of the Bench, 'till the King's Return.

A. D.

1273.

Reg. 1.

King Edward
leaves the Holy
Land.

During these Provisions at home, Prince *Edward*, being disappointed of his promis'd Succours, left the *Holy-Land*, and return'd to *Sicily*, where he was honourably receiv'd by *Charles* King of that Island. Here, to the Memory of that filial Duty and Affection rare in Princes, we are assur'd, that the Death of his Son and Heir coming first to his Knowledge, and soon after of the King his Father, he express'd much greater Sorrow at the Latter than the Former; and when the King of *Sicily* admired at his Behaviour, he answer'd, *That the Loss of Children might be retriev'd by the Birth of others, but the Loss of Parents was irreparable.* From *Sicily* he was by the King conducted to the *Roman* Court, where he spent some Time with Pope *Gregory* the Tenth, his Friend and familiar Acquaintance in the *Holy-Land*; and from thence he pass'd into *Burgundy*, where at the Foot of the Mountains, some *English* Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons met him, with all the Marks of Duty and Affection. Here, being challeng'd in a Tournament by the stout and fierce Earl of *Chabloun*, he highly signaliz'd his personal Strength and Valour by the Conquest of his potent Adversary. From thence, passing into *France*, he was receiv'd with great Honour by King *Philip* his Cosen-German, to whom he did Homage for the Hereditary Lands held of him, and receiv'd formal Possession of them. Then taking his Leave of the King and Peers of *France*, he went into *Gascony* to receive the Homage and Service of his Subjects there, in which he found much Opposition from several; but chiefly from *Gaston* Viscount of *Bearn*, who because a Predecessor of his had sworn Fealty to the King of *Arragon*, he utterly deny'd his Homage. Upon which King *Edward* seiz'd upon his Person, and kept him Prisoner among his Retinue, from whence making his Escape, he was driven out of his Country; and upon an Appeal to King *Philip*, as Sovereign Lord of *Gascony*, he in favour of King *Edward*, compell'd *Gaston* to hold his Lands of him.

He comes into
Gascony.

A. D.

1274.

Reg. 2.

He arrives in
England.

His Coronation.

In the second Year of his Reign, having settled his Affairs beyond Sea, he took Shipping at *Boloign*, and landed in *England* on the twenty fifth Day of *July*; where the two Earls of *Glocester* and *Warren* receiv'd him with greater State than any others, conducting him to their Castles of *Tunbridge* and *Rigate*, where they feasted and entertain'd him with great Magnificence for many Days. On the nineteenth Day of *August*, he and his Queen *Eleanor*, his faithful Associate in all his Travels and Hazards, were solemnly crowned at *Westminster* by *Rober Kilwarby* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in the Presence of Queen *Eleanor* the King's Mother, *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, *John* Duke of *Bretaign*, and Multitudes of the Nobility and others: Where for the more royal Celebration of this grand Feast, and Honour of so martial a King, there were five hundred great Horses let loose, for the Benefit of any that could catch them. Towards the Middle of *October*, the King issu'd out Writs of Inquiry by the Oaths of twelve legal Men, to two Commissioners in every County, to inquire what his Royalties, and the Liberties and Prerogatives of his Crown were, who were his Tenants in *Capite*, and Military Service, and how many and what Fees they held of him; Of his Tenants in ancient Demeasns, how

how they behav'd themselves, and in what Condition their Farms were; Of Sheriffs, Coroners, Escheators, Bayliffs and their Clerks, whether they had extorted Mony from any Man, by reason of their Office, had injur'd any Man, or receiv'd Bribes for Negligence or Remisness; with all other Matters relating to the Benefit of the Publick.

During the Establishment of these Affairs in *England*, the final Extinction of the Principality and Government of *Wales* began to draw near; but still like the Movement of all great Transactions, by Length of Time, and gradual Approaches. The Original began at King *Edward's* Coronation, at which Time the King sent for *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales* to attend at the Solemnity, and pay him Homage; but he making some Excuses, was for that Reason admonish'd to repair to the King's Parliament to be held the following Year at *Westminster*. At which Time also he refus'd to appear, fearing the King's former Displeasure in his Father's Reign, and alledging, *He was in Danger as to his Person*; but directing his Excuse to the two Arch-Bishops and their Suffragans, he profess'd his Readiness to acknowledge the King, *If he would send a Commission for taking his Oath and Fealty; or if he would appoint some indifferent Place, or if he would give his Son, the Earl of Gloucester and his Chancellor for Hostages of Security*. The King, dissembling the Arrogancy of the Demand for the present, proceeded in the Business of his Parliament, and made excellent Laws both for Church and State, and for the Ease and Benefit of both; which are call'd *The first Statutes of Westminster*. But after the Parliament was dissolv'd, the King took up a Resolution to seize upon the whole Fee of Prince *Lewellyn*, for his Denial of Homage; and made his Preparations accordingly. In the Beginnings of which, he met with a fair Prospect of Success by a considerable Prize, which four Ships of *Bristol* took about the Isles of *Scilly*, in which the Daughter of the great *Montfort* Earl of *Leicester*, who was just given in Marriage to *Lewellyn*, and her Brother *Aimerick* were surpriz'd; but the found honourable Usage from the King, her near Kinsman. Upon this *Lewellyn* sent Ambassadors to obtain a Peace, and to propose a Ransom for his intended Wife; but the King refus'd both, unless he would restore the Lands which he had seiz'd and invaded in the *Marches* to the just Proprietors, and repair the Castles in *England* which he had destroy'd. The Prince not complying, the King sent Forces to secure the *English* Frontiers from the Devastations of the *Welsh*; but those proving insufficient, in the fifth Year of his Reign, he issu'd out his Writs to all the Nobility and others that held of him by military Service to appear at *Worcester* at a certain Day. And for the better Management of publick Affairs, the Courts of the *Exchequer* and the *King's Bench* were remov'd for a while from *Westminster* to *Shrewsbury*, that they might be near the King's Person. Having got a sufficient Army the valiant King march'd towards *Wales*, and in his Passage cut a large and spacious Way through a vast Wood into *Lewellyn's* Country, where he built the two Castles of *Flint* and *Rothelan*. Then seizing on the *Welshmen's* Lands and Goods, he wasted their Country, and drove them into their usual Place of Retreat, the Mountains of *Snowdon*; and with the Assistance of the Men of the Five Ports, he in a short Time took the Isle of *Anglesey*.

At length Prince *Lewellyn* finding himself unable to resist so potent an Adversary, desired a Peace, which was granted him upon very hard Conditions; the principal of which shows the *Welsh* to have had greater Riches in Possession at this Time, than after Ages would readily believe. For one Article was, That *Lewellyn* should pay fifty thousand Pounds at the King's Pleasure; and another, That he should hold the Isle of *Anglesey* in Fee-Farm of the King, for himself and his Heirs, upon the Payment of five Thousand Marks ready Money, and a thousand Marks annual Rent. The rest of the Articles amounted to as much as a Conquest, or Dissolution of the Principality of *Wales*, after *Lewellyn's* Decease, who was to enjoy it during Life, upon certain Conditions.

A. D.

1275.

Reg. 3.

The Principality of Wales declines.

A. D.

1276.

Reg. 4.

The King prepares against Wales.

A. D.

1277.

Reg. 5.

He removes his Courts to Shrewsbury.

A. D.

1278.

Reg. 6.

Peace granted to the Welsh upon hard Terms.

For the Ratification of all which, *Lewellyn* granted a sufficient Number of Hostages, and also oblig'd himself to make Satisfaction to his three Brothers, *Owen*, *Roderick* and *David*; the two former of whom he had imprison'd, and the last he had forc'd to fly into *England*, where he had receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood, and many Favours from the King. After which, King *Edward* to show his Generosity and Greatness, releas'd the Prince from the greatest Part of the Sums promis'd, and freely restor'd him his design'd Spouse, honouring his Nuptials with his own Presence, and that of the Queen.

A. D. 1279. Reg. 7. As the King enlarg'd his Dominions in *England*, so he gain'd some Territories in *France*, as particularly the Earldom of *Ponthieu* in *Picardy*, which fell to his Queen by the Death of her Mother the Queen of *Castile*, who was also Countess of *Ponthieu*. Upon which Account he went into *France* with his Queen, and at *Amiens* did Homage to King *Philip* for that and other Lands in *Gascony*, of which he deliver'd to him the perpetual Possession; for which King *Edward* resign'd all his Right to the Dukedom of *Normandy*, reserving only thirty Livres of *Paris* to be annually paid out of the Exchequer. At his

The King takes care of the Coin of the Nation.

The first Statute of Mortmain.

Return into *England*, he took great Care of the Coin of the Nation, which had been much debas'd by frequent Clippings and Counterfeits; and to put a Stop to this Mischief, in *November*, all the *Jews* in *England* were taken and imprison'd in one Day, and being legally try'd, no less than two hundred and eighty of both Sexes were hang'd, besides great Numbers that were fin'd. The King also held a Parliament, in which to diminish the exorbitant Power of the Ecclesiasticks, the first Statute of *Mortmain* was enacted. And to regulate the Disorders in the Church, a Council or Synod was held at *Reading* by *John Peckham*, lately made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; in which it was determin'd among other Things That no Clergy-Man should have above one Benefice with the Cure of Souls. As the State-Councils in the late Reign first began to be call'd *Parliaments*, so the Ecclesiastical Councils or Synods seem to have begun about this Time to be call'd *Convocations*. And this present Convocation is the first Time that the Diocesan Clergy appear to have been represented by Proctors of their own chusing; before which they gave Procuratorial Letters to their Arch-

A. D. 1280. Reg. 8. Deacons. About the same Time the King wanting Money, found out a new Project for his purpose; namely, That whereas he was chief Lord of many Manors and Possessions, he well understood that partly by Length of Time, and partly by Casualties during the late Civil Wars, many Mens Deeds and Evidences were lost or destroy'd; therefore under Colour of putting the Statute of *Quo warrant*, enacted this Year at *Glocester*, in Execution, he commanded by Proclamation, That all such as held any Lands or Tenements of him, should come and shew their Titles, which if defective, were to be redeem'd by large Sums of Money. This Proclamation was look'd upon as very insidious, and a great Hardship upon many, yet several were oblig'd to comply to their great Damage; but when the bold Earl of *Warren* was call'd before the King's Justiciaries, and demanded by what Right he held his Lands, he drew out a large rusty Sword and declar'd, *That he held them by that Instrument, and by that would hold them till Death*. This free and open Declaration, together with the Discontents of many interested People, induc'd this wise King in a short Time to desist from his Design.

The King enquires into Mens Titles to their Estates.

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A. D. 1281. Reg. 9. Tho' the noble King *Edward* had endeavour'd to gain the *Welsh* more by his Munificence than his Power, and had treated *Lewellyn* with a Generosity beyond all Expectation; yet the natural Desire of a full Liberty, and the fond Belief of *Mertin's* Prophecy *That this Prince should wear the Diadem of Brute*, had such Effects upon that Nation, that they again betook themselves to Arms. *David*, who had receiv'd many Favours and Honours from King *Edward*, was the principal Agent, for joining with his Brother *Lewellyn*, he suddenly surpriz'd the Lord *Clifford*, the King's Justiciary in *Wales*, kill'd many of his Servants, wounded, bound and sent him Prisoner to the Mountain of *Snowdon*,

The Welsh rebel.

Snowdon, and then committed great Devastations, and destroy'd the *Marches*. The King hearing the News of this Revolt, at first doubted the Truth of it, but upon better Information, he prepar'd his Army to march into *Wales*; but before he join'd with his Men, he made a Visit to his Mother at a Nunnery in *Ambresbury*, who with great Satisfaction entertain'd him with the Presence of a Man who pretended to have had his Sight restor'd at the Tomb of his Father *Henry*. But the King well knowing the Party, to her great Displeasure declar'd, *That he so well knew the Justice of his Father, that he would rather pull out the Eyes of such a wicked Impostor, than restore them to their Sight*. From thence marching into *Wales* with his Army, he built a large Bridge of Vessels over the River *Menay*, opposite to *Bangor*, possess'd himself of the Country about *Snowdon*, and gave many Shares of those Lands to his Barons, and others who had faithfully assisted him. Over this Bridge many of the Nobility of the King's Party pass'd out of *Anglesey* to view and observe the Country; but being terrify'd with the Multitude and Noise of the *Welsh* coming upon them, by too hasty a Return, they were unfortunately drown'd in their Passage. The *Welsh* encourag'd by this Accident, which they look'd upon as a Miracle, excited their Prince with the Notion of *Merlin's* Prophecy, and engag'd him to come down from the Mountains into the Plains, with the greatest Part of his Forces. This Counsel prov'd fatal to him, for being shortly after attack'd by King *Edward's* Forces, his Army was defeated, and he himself was slain, and his Head was sent to King *Edward*, who order'd it to be ignominiously crown'd with Ivy, and to be set upon the Tower of *London*.

A. D.
1282.
Reg. 10.
11.

The King
marches a-
gainst them.

Llewellyn the
last Prince,
slain.

This was the End of *Llewellyn*, the last Sovereign Prince of *Wales*, of the most noble and ancient Family in *Europe*; with whom the Liberty of that Nation did shortly after expire. For the *Welsh* being now dishearten'd and confounded, it was not long before the valiant *Edward* made himself Master of the greatest Part of the Country; reserving to himself the Port Towns and Forts towards the Sea, and distributing the Inland Parts to the Lords his Followers. In which he wisely follow'd the Methods of *Augustus*, who thus under the specious Pretext of a Defence for the Provinces, had the command of all their Forces at his Pleasure. Nevertheless the whole Flame was not yet extinguish'd, for *David* the Prince's Brother, and chief Incendiary in this fatal Contest, was still with some Forces at large. This Man being at length taken and brought to King *Edward* at the Castle of *Rotinlan* could not obtain the Favour of his Speech or Sight, but was immediately sent away Prisoner to *Shrovesbury*; where a Parliament being summon'd, after a legal and judicial Trial, the King caus'd *David* to be put to a terrible Death, by Hanging, Beheading and Quartering; his Head being set up at *London*, and his Quarters at *Bristol*, *Northampton*, *York* and *Winchester*, to be a Terror to all ingrateful and disloyal Persons: A manifold Execution, and the first of that Kind in this Kingdom, in the Person of a Prince's Son, or any Nobleman we find in our History. The *Welsh* Line thus extinct, King *Edward* upon the twenty fifth Day of *April* had a Son born at *Caernarvon* in this Country, who was also call'd *Edward* and reign'd after him, being the first of the Sons of the Kings of *England* that had the Title of *Prince of Wales*. And that the *Welsh* might be inur'd to new Laws, with the Birth of a new Lord, King *Edward*, after the Example of his Grand-father King *John* in *Ireland*, establish'd all the *English* Laws and Offices amongst them. Thus came *Wales*, that small Portion left to the ancient *Britains*, to be subject to the Crown of *England*: And it is wonderful that it should so long subsist against so great a Power; having had but small Assistance from others, no Strength by Sea, no Alliances or Intelligence with Princes out of this Isle; and being so often invaded, so often distress'd, so eagerly pursu'd, by almost every King of *England*, and thought to have been by many of them subdu'd, it must needs show the real Worthiness of the Nation, and their noble Courage in preserving their ancient Liberty.

A. D.
1283.
Reg. 11.
12.

All Wales re-
duc'd,

A. D.
1284.
Reg. 12.
13.

and made sub-
ject to the En-
gish Laws.

A. D.

1285.

Reg. 13.

The King seizes
on the Privi-
leges of Lon-
don.

II. *Wales* being reduc'd, and *England* in a profound Peace, we do not find many Matters of Moment for five or six Years together. After the King had establish'd the *Welsh* Affairs, he kept a solemn *Christmasts* at *Bristol*, which none of the *English* Kings had done before; and from thence went to *London*, from whence he had been almost three Years absent. Not long after he seiz'd upon the Privileges of the City, discharg'd the present Mayor, and put another in his Room; because, as we are told, he had taken Bribes of the Bakers, and suffer'd them to sell Bread that wanted six or seven Ounces Weight in a Penny Loaf. The King also held a Parliament at *Westminster*, in which the Statutes call'd *Additamenta Glocestrie* were enacted, or rather the Statutes of *Westminster* the Second. About which Time all the new Work in the Abby Church of *Westminster* was compleatly finish'd, which had been begun above sixty Years before. In the succeeding Year the *Jews* in one Night were generally apprehended, and kept in strict Custody throughout all Parts of *England*, till they had purchas'd their Liberty from the Crown. It is reported that the Commons of *England* granted to the King the fifth Part of all their Moveables, to procure the Banishment of all the *Jews* from the Land; but this subtle Generation, to defeat all their Designs, presented the King with such large Sums of Mony, as stopp'd the Execution.

A. D.

1286.

Reg. 14.

The Jews dis-
turbid.

The King of *France* having in the last Year desir'd the Mediation of King *Edward* between him and the Kings of *Arragon* and *Castile*, he comply'd with his Request, and this Year with a noble Retinue pass'd over into *France*, where he receiv'd many Honours, and sat in Person with the *French* King at his Parliament in *Paris*. He continu'd above three Years in several Parts of *France*, to make a full and final Establishment of his Dominions in that Country; during which Time, besides his Mediation ratify'd, by demanding the Territories his Grand-father King *John* had lost, he is said to obtain ten thousand Pound Sterling of the *French* King, to be yearly paid at the Tower of *London*, together with some Arrears for *Normandy*.

A. D.

1287.

Reg. 15.

Disturbances in
Wales.

During his Continuance in *France*, a violent Contest arose between the Lord *Pain Tiptoft*, Governor of some Castles in *Wales*, and a *Welsh* Knight call'd *Rees ap Meridoc*; insomuch that several Skirmishes were fought between them, to the great Disturbance of the whole Country. Upon which King *Edward* wrote out of *France* to the said *Rees*, requiring him to keep the Peace till his Return, when he should receive reasonable Satisfaction; but *Rees* having already taken up Arms, resolv'd to revenge his own Cause, and by the Assistance of great Numbers of his Countrymen, burnt and destroy'd many Towns in *Wales*. These Ravages so far increas'd, that the King thought fit to send to the Earl of *Cornwall* his Lieutenant in *England*, requiring him to march with an Army into *Wales*, to suppress the Attempts of those People. Accordingly the Earl, with some other Noblemen, enter'd *Wales* with a sufficient Power, and pursuing the Forces of *Rees*, dispers'd them, and destroy'd several of his Castles; but by Undermining the Walls of the Castle of *Drujan*, the Baron *Stafford*, the Lord *Montchensy*, with many knights and Esquires were bruise'd to Death by the Fall of them. In the next Year *Rees* renew'd his violent Attempts, and gather'd together a numerous Force; upon which the Lord *Tiptoft*, Deputy of *Wales*, with what *English* Troops he could procure in a short Time, march'd directly to oppose him. *Rees* understanding that the *English* were far less in Number, did not doubt of Success, and fell down upon them with great Fury and Precipitation; but at length the Valour and Conduct of the *English* prevail'd, so that *Rees* himself was taken Prisoner, and the greatest Part of his Men, to the Number of four thousand, were cut in Pieces. Thus were the *Welshmen* chastis'd for their rebellious Insurrection; and *Rees* himself was brought to *York*, where in the following Year he suffer'd the new introduc'd Execution of being hang'd, drawn and quarter'd.

A. D.

1288.

Reg. 16.

They are sup-
press'd.

At

At length, after a full Establishment of the Affairs in *France*, and above three Years Continuance in that Country, King *Edward* with his Queen return'd into *England*, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Nation. Shortly after, like a Father of his Country, he undertook to purge the Land from all Corruptions and Oppressions of his Officers, and because several of his Justiciaries had to enrich themselves taken Bribes, and perverted Judgment, he took care to punish them according to the Nature of their Crimes, and not only remov'd them with all the Marks of Dishonour, but also laid severe Fines upon them. We have the Names of twelve that were found guilty, among whom Sir *Thomas Weyland*, the King's chief Justiciary, and *Adam de Stratton*, were principal; the former had all his Goods confiscated, and also suffer'd Banishment, and the latter was oblig'd to pay a Fine of no less than three hundred and twenty thousand Marks. After this the King compell'd all his Justiciaries to take an Oath that from that Time, they would take no Pension, Fee or Present from any Man, but only the Civility of an ordinary Breakfast. Then calling a Parliament, the Statutes of *Westminster* the Third were enacted; at which Time it was decreed that all the *Jews* should quit the Nation, in Consideration of which the Parliament gave the King a Fifteenth upon all Goods. Upon which all the *Jews* were for ever banish'd out of the King's Dominions, and could by no Methods obtain leave to return: All their immoveable Goods were confiscated, with their Bonds and Tallies; but their Moveables, Gold, Silver and Jewels, were allow'd them, and they had Liberty to carry them away with them. In the same Year the King, in a Journey towards *Scotland*, lost his most beloved Confort, the incomparable Queen *Eleanor*, who had been his inseparable Attendant in all his Travels, Dangers and Labours. She dy'd at *Hareby* near *Bullenbroke* in *Lincolnshire*; her Bowels were bury'd in our Lady's Chapel in the Cathedral of *Lincoln*, and her Body in the Abby Church of *Westminster*, at the Feet of King *Henry* the Third. The King with extream Grief and Sorrow attended her Corps from *Lincolnshire* to *Westminster*, erecting stately Crosses at *Lincoln*, *Grantham*, *Stamford*, *Northampton*, *Waltham*, *Cheapside*, *Charing*, and in all other Places, where the Body rested, to the renown'd Memory of this most admirable Wife, and excellent Queen.

A. D.
1289.
Reg. 17.

The King
makes several
Regulations.

A. D.
1290.
Reg. 18.
19.
The Jews banish'd.

Queen Eleanor
dies.

III. In these Times a terrible Storm began to threaten the Realm of *Scotland*, which prov'd much to the Diminution of the Name and Authority of that Kingdom, and no less to the aggrandising the Reign of King *Edward*; and which was introduc'd, as *Boetius* tells us, with formidable Presages, as extraordinary Meteors, Floods, Fires and Pestilence. The Beginning of it was occasion'd by the Death of *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, who in the Year 1285 lost his Life by a Fall off his Horse, and left his Kingdom without any Heir, besides one young Grand-Child nam'd *Margaret*, Daughter to *Eric* King of *Norway*; upon which the Government of the Kingdom was manag'd by particular Guardians for about five Years. But the young Princess *Margaret*, whom King *Edward* had design'd for his Son's Wife, dying this present Year, there arose no less than twelve Pretenders to the Right of the Crown of *Scotland*, besides *Eric* King of *Norway*, which put the Nation into a great Confusion. The Names of the twelve were *John Baliol*, *Robert Brus*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *Partrick Dunbar* Earl of *Marche*, *William Vesey*, *William Ros*, *Robert Pinkny*, *Nicolas Soules*, *Patrick Galighty*, *Roger Mundevil*, *John Comyn*, and *John Hastings*. Upon this Contest and Disturbance, King *Edward*, as Superior and direct Lord of *Scotland*, call'd a Parliament at *Norham* in the Confines of that Kingdom, and went thither in Person to determine the Controversie about the Right of Succession between all the Competitors. The Account of which important Transaction we have from undoubted Records publish'd at large by Mr. *Pryn*, which discover several Mistakes or Defects both in the *Scotch* and *English* Historians.

A great Contest
in Scotland about
the Succession.

In

A. D.

1291.

Reg. 12.
20.

King Edward
claims the Su-
periority over
that Kingdom.

The Arguments
he us'd.

He offers to de-
termine the
Rights of the
Succession.

The Competi-
tors submit to
it.

In the nineteenth Year of this Reign, and the tenth Day of May, by King Edward's Command the Nobility, Prelates and Community of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland met at *Norham*; where *Roger Brabancon*, the King's Justiciary, in the King's Name, publicly declar'd to the whole Assembly the Reason of his Majesty's Coming, and of their Summons to that Place, *That his Majesty taking notice of the Confusions of Scotland since the Death of Alexander their last King and his Progeny, out of the Affection he had for them and all the Inhabitants, whose Safety and Protection was well known to belong to him, for the doing Justice to all that claim'd the Kingdom, and for the Preservation of the Publick Peace, he appear'd there: And likewise, without Usurpation or Diminution of their Liberties, to shew them his Superiority and Direct Dominion out of divers undoubted Chronicles and Monuments, and to demand their Assent, and Recognition of his Authority.* Upon this Declaration, the Nobility and Representatives of Scotland requir'd Time to consult with their absent Members, which the King granted only 'till the next Day; when meeting again, they press'd for a longer Time to answer to his Demand concerning their Recognition of his Superiority and Direct Dominion over the Kingdom of Scotland, which he had declar'd to be his Right. Upon Deliberation, the King appointed the second Day of June, on which Day They were positively to answer his Demand, and if they had any Writings, Evidences or Antiquities that might exclude him from the Right and Exercise of his Superiority and Direct Dominion, or overthrow his Reasons and Arguments for it, they were then to exhibit them openly; protesting, *That he was ready to grant what Law and Justice had establish'd.* And that they might the better understand his Title, and make their Objections against it, the Bishop of *Durham* was appointed to declare to the Assembly, *That the Arguments the King design'd to use were Historical, and taken from the Writings of* *Marianus Scotus*, *William of Malmesbury*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry de Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*, and *Matthew Paris*, *implying, 'That the Scots had been conquer'd by several of the English Saxon Kings; That several of their Kings had submitted, sworn Fealty, done Homage to them, and receiv'd the Crown and Kingdom from them; and that the Scots had also submitted and been govern'd by such Kings, as the other had plac'd over them; and lastly after the Norman Conquest, the very same Thing had been acted, acknowledg'd and submitted to, in all the several Reigns since that Revolution.*

Upon the second Day of June, the Nobility and Community of Scotland, met in a green Plain over-against *Norham* Castle, where King *Edward* resided; together with those Noblemen who claim'd the Kingdom. Upon which the Bishop of *Bath* was sent to demand of them in the King's Name, *What they had done since the last Meeting, and whether they would exhibit or propound any Thing that could or ought to exclude the King of England from the Right and Exercise of the Superiority and Direct Dominion of Scotland; protesting in the Name of his Master, that he would favourably hear them, allow what was just, and report their Answer to him and his Council.* Being often requir'd, and they alledging nothing to the contrary, the Bishop reported the Substance of what had been said and urg'd for the King of *England's* Title, and what had been transacted in these several Meetings, and then declar'd to them, *That the King would make use of his Right of Superiority and Direct Dominion in Scotland, in deciding the Controversie between the several Competitors for that Kingdom.* Then beginning with *Robert Brus*, one of the twelve Claimers, he ask'd him in the Presence of all, *Whether in claiming the said Right, he would demand and receive Justice before the King of England, as Superior and Direct Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland; who publicly, expressly and without Contradiction, answer'd, That he did acknowledge the King of England to be Superior and Direct Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland, and as such he would before him demand and receive Justice.* The same Answer was return'd by all the

rest

rest of the Competitors, who did not only make this publick Recognition, but also set their Hands and Seals to a certain Instrument, still upon Record, in which they declar'd *That to the King of England belong'd the Sovereign Seignury of the Kingdom of Scotland, and the Cognizance of hearing, trying and determining their Right; and that they would keep firm and stable to his Act and Determination.*

^{Ibid.} This done, King *Edward* and his Council treated with the *Scotch* Nobility and Competitors about a Method of Proceedings, and the Reformation of the State of the Nation: And it was unanimously agreed by both Kingdoms, That *John Baliol* and *John Comyn* should chuse forty Persons, and *Robert Brus* as many, whose Names within three Days should be deliver'd to the King, to whom he was to add twenty four, more or less, who should hear and discuss the Rights of all the Pretenders, and to make a faithful Report to him, *That he might give the definitive Sentence.* But because for want of Possession the King had not full Power to put his Sentence in Execution, on the fourth Day of *June*, by a second Instrument the Competitors, with the Consent of the Community of the Nation, gave him actual Possession of the Kingdom and Castles of *Scotland.* In which it was declar'd *That they did it freely and without Compulsion; that as Sovereign Lord they had given King Edward Seisin of all the Land and Strength of Scotland, upon Condition That he should restore all Things as he had found them, within two Months after he had determin'd the Right of Succession; saving to the Crown of England, the Homage of him that shall be King.* On the fifth of *June*, the Names of the Eighty elected to examine and report the Rights of the Competitors, were deliver'd to the King; and on the sixth, they were order'd to appoint the Day and Place for hearing and discussing their Right. *Berwick* upon *Tweed* was appointed for the Place; but not agreeing upon the Day, the King as superior Lord, by the Consent of both Nations, appointed the second of *August*, as a peremptory Day for the Competitors to plead their Rights and Titles. On the eleventh Day of *June*, all the Guardians of the Kingdom, with the Governors of the Castles, deliver'd up their Guardianships and Offices to the King as superior Lord; which when he had receiv'd, he committed the Charge of the Kingdom to the same Persons, to govern it under him, and in his Name. This being finish'd, the next Day, all Persons present, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, who were oblig'd to swear Fealty to their own King, did it in a solemn Manner to King *Edward*, as superior and direct Lord of *Scotland*, in a Green Plain within the Bounds of that Kingdom. From that Time, till the Beginning of *August*, the rest of the People were, to save Labour and Expences, sworn by Commissioners in all Parts of the Kingdom, of which the Names of great Numbers are still upon the Rolls; and in every Place, when they had sworn, the King of *England's* Peace or Pardon was proclaim'd.

The Manner of Proceeding.

King Edward has Possession given him of Scotland.

^{ibid.} While the King was deciding this great Controversie, his Mother Queen *Eleanor* dy'd about Midsummer, upon which he return'd into *England* to see her Funeral solemniz'd with all filial Duty and Honour. After which he came to *Berwick* upon the third Day of *August*, where the twelve Competitors appear'd before him and a Parliament of both Nations, and with them the twenty four *English* Examiners of their Titles chosen by the King, and the eighty chosen by *Robert Brus* and *John Baliol.* The Petitions, with the Reasons of their Claims having been propounded and shewn to the Examiners, they reported them to the King before the whole Assembly, and in the Presence of every one of the Demandants. The King finding it to be an Affair of great Weight and Moment, by their own Consent, appointed them a longer Time till the second Day of *June* in the following Year 1292, for the further Proceeding in this uncommon Controversie.

The King's Mother dies.

^{ibid.} At the appointed Time, the King met again at *Berwick*, where the Communities of both Nations being assembled, and the Competitors present, the Auditors

A. D.

1292.

Reg. 20.

tors appointed to discuss their Rights and Pretensions, after an attentive Hearing related all that had pass'd to the King; who, with the Nobility of both Kingdoms, carefully examin'd them. But because he found there would be many Delays, and much Time expended, to the Inconveniency and Peril of the Kingdom, it was order'd by the express Consent of all the Pretenders, and by the Assent of the whole Assembly, That the Rights and Titles of *Robert Brus* and *John Baliol* should be first examin'd and discuss'd, and that afterwards all others might prosecute their Claims if they thought fit. The King, tho' he had it in his Power to determine the Cause alone, yet that he might proceed with more Prudence and Security, he caus'd the eighty Examiners to take an Oath, That they would advise him how and by what Laws and Customs he was to pass Judgment in this Matter. These eighty alledg'd great Difficulties, and desir'd that the twenty four appointed by the King might be added to them; and these alledg'd greater, and refus'd to undertake the Charge, without the Advice of those *English* Prelates and Nobility that were absent. Wherefore, by the unanimous Consent of all present, the King appointed the fourteenth Day of *October* next, for the further Proceeding in this Affair, in his Parliament to be held in the same Place.

The Nature of
the Scotch Suc-
cession.

The Nobility and Auditors met according to Appointment; and the King demanded *By what Laws and Customs Judgment was to be given in the present Case; if none were found, how it was to be determin'd; and whether otherwise concerning the Kingdom, than concerning Earldoms, Baronies and other Tenures?* They all unanimously answer'd, *That Judgment was to be made by the Laws of the Kingdom, if any were found; if not, the King ought, by the Advice of his Nobility, to make a new One: And as to the Right of Succession in Scotland, Judgment was to be given as in Earldoms, Baronies, and other indivisible Tenures.* Upon this Answer, the King order'd the Auditors favourably to hear *John Baliol* and *Robert Brus* from Day to Day what they had to alledge; and *Robert Brus* began with shewing the Reasons and Arguments for his Claim, and then *John Baliol* set forth his, in a long Plea, and answer'd all that the other had said. Now of the three Daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, undoubted Heir to the Crown of *Scotland*, *John Baliol* was Grand-son to the Eldest, and *Robert Brus* was Son to the Second; wherefore the King before the whole Assembly desir'd their Advice; and the Force of the Arguments on both Sides were drawn into this Question: *Whether the more Remote by one Degree in Succession, coming from the eldest Sister, ought, according to the Laws of both Kingdoms, to exclude the Nearer by one Degree coming from the second Sister; or whether the Nearer by one Degree coming from the second Sister, ought to exclude the more Remote by one Degree coming from the eldest Sister?* To which they unanimously answer'd, *That the more Remote by one Degree lineally descending from the eldest Sister, according to the Laws and Customs of both Kingdoms, was to be preferr'd to the Nearer by one Degree coming from the second Sister, in every Hereditary Succession.*

Several Claims

Upon this Answer, the King caus'd the Matter to be re-examin'd before the Nobility of both Kingdoms, and appointed the sixth Day of *November* for *John Baliol* and *Robert Brus* to hear their Sentence; which was pronounc'd by the King Judicially, by the Advice of the Nobility of both Kingdoms, the Auditors, and others of the Council: Namely, *That Robert Brus should receive nothing by his Petition concerning the Kingdom of Scotland; and the Sentence concerning John Baliol should be suspended, 'till the other Competitors were heard.* Then the King commanded *John Baliol*, with the other Competitors, to proceed in their Petitions; among whom *Robert Brus* protested That he would prosecute his Claim to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, or a Third Part of it, after another Form and Manner than before. Upon this, *John Hastings* one of the Competitors, who was Son to the youngest of Earl *David's* three Daughters

Daughters, claim'd his Third Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland* as of a partible Inheritance, which ought to be divided between *John Baliol*, *Robert Brus* and *John Hastings*, as Heirs to the three Daughters; alledging, *That all the Lands, Tenements, Fees, Liberties, Demeasns and Honours that were holden of the Crown of England in Capite were partible.* The Arguments of *Robert Brus* were to the same effect; and he further claim'd *To hold his Third Part in Capite, of his Lord the King of England by Homage*, and requested of the King, *That he might receive Judgment according to the Common Law of England.* Upon this Plea, the King enquir'd of the Auditors and his Council, *Whether the Kingdom of Scotland was partible or not*; and they all answer'd in the Negative. Whereupon the King appointed the seventeenth of *November* as a peremptory Day, for all the Competitors to hear their Judgments, in his Parliament at *Berwick*; designing in the mean Space to deliberate and examine Things with the wisest Men of both Kingdoms, the Auditors, and others of his Council, that he might be fully inform'd how to do Justice to all.

On the appointed Day, there was a full Assembly of both Nations in the Hall of *Berwick* Castle, together with a great Multitude of the Populace; where nine of the twelve Competitors, for not prosecuting their Petitions, were dismiss'd without further Debate. The Petitions of *Robert Brus* and *John Hastings* were next discuss'd, who had claim'd the Third Part of the Kingdom for their Shares, as of a Partible Inheritance; but because it had been agreed and adjudg'd by the Communities of both Nations, That the Kingdom ought to be possess'd by one single Heir, by reason it was undividable in its nature like other Kingdoms, therefore it was judicially declar'd by the King, *That they should gain nothing by their said Petition.* As to the Petition of *John Baliol*, who claim'd the whole Kingdom, the King caus'd it to be re-examin'd by the Council of both Nations, and after a full Discussion, it was unanimously decreed, *That the Kingdom of Scotland was impartible, and ought to remain in one Heir.* And because the King was Judge of the Rights of his Subjects, by the Laws of the Kingdoms approv'd by the Chief of both Nations; and by the same Laws, in the Case before them, it was judicially declar'd, *That the more Remote by Descent in the first Line, was to be preferr'd to a Nearer in the second, in the Succession of an impartible Inheritance*; and also, That none had deny'd him to be Heir of the first Line, and therefore to be preferr'd before all others as next Heir by Hereditary Succession; Therefore the King of *England*, as Superior and Direct Lord of *Scotland*, adjudg'd, *That the said John Baliol should have Seisin and Possession of that Kingdom, with all its Appurtenances, upon Condition, That he should rightly and justly govern the People subject to him, that none might have Occasion to complain of Injustice, nor the King, as Superior Lord of the Kingdom, to interpose his Authority; always reserving the Right of the King of England and his Heirs in such Cases, when he would make use of it.* Accordingly on the nineteenth Day of *November*, King *Edward* deliver'd him his Writ or Instrument of Possession, reserving the Right of him and his Heirs; and also issu'd out others directed to the several Castellans and Governors of Castles in *Scotland*, to give him full Possession of them. The next Day at *Norham* he swore Fealty to King *Edward*, as his Liege and Superior Lord of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and afterwards at *Newcastle* he did Homage to him in Form for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*; in Testimony of both which he gave to King *Edward* his Letters Patents. About the same Time he was put into Corporal Possession of the Kingdom at the Monastery of *Scone* near *Perth*, and plac'd in his Royal Throne, according to the ancient Custom of *Scotland*.

John Baliol declar'd King of Scotland by King Edward.

Thus did King *Edward* display his Grandeur by his Establishment of *Scotland*, and not long after he met with an Occasion to manifest his Authority over that Kingdom. And this was by means of an Appeal to him, by *Magdolph* Earl of *Fife*, against *John* King of *Scotland*: The Substance of whose Complaint

A. D.
1293.
Reg. 21.

King Edward summons the King of Scotland before him. complaint was, That King *Edward* having at *Berwick* restor'd to him certain Lands and Tenements in the County of *Fife*, King *John* had notwithstanding disseis'd him of the same; and to hinder him from prosecuting his Right, had imprison'd him, and caus'd an unjust Sentence to pass against him, in Contempt of the King of *England* and Superior Lord of *Scotland*. Upon which Complaint, King *Edward* directed his Writ to the King of the *Scots*, summoning him to appear before Him and his Parliament in *England*, to answer to what *Magdolph* had to say against him. After *Michaelmas* he according to Summons appear'd, where he deny'd all Contempt of the Lord his King, but alledg'd, *As he was King of Scotland, he durst not answer to Magdolph's Complaint, or any Thing concerning his Kingdom, without the Advice of his own Subjects.* Upon this *Magdolph* demanded Judgment against him as One who refus'd to answer; and the King expressly told him, *That he was his Liege-Man and Homager for the Kingdom of Scotland, therefore he had summon'd him to answer before him, or to shew Cause to the contrary.* To which he reply'd as before, *That he neither could nor durst answer to any Thing concerning his Kingdom, without consulting his People;* and when he was told, *That he might require another Day,* he answer'd, *He would require none.* At this it was agreed, That King *John* had made no Defence against *Magdolph*; and because he would not require a Day, nor shew Cause why he ought not to answer, in Elusion of the King's Jurisdiction and Superiority, it was judg'd a Contempt and Disobedience to him, and that three of his principal Castles of *Scotland* should be seiz'd into his Hands, 'till he had given a full Satisfaction. But before the Sentence was pronounc'd, he in Parliament made Supplication to the King with his own Mouth, and also deliver'd a Petition in Writing, wherein he acknowledg'd the Superiority of the King of *England*, desiring *That he would first permit him to advise with his own Nation, and he would answer at his first Parliament after Easter next, and would behave himself towards him as he ought to do.* King *Edward* advising upon this, at the Instance of his Nobility, and with the Consent of *Magdolph*, granted his Petition, and gave him Time 'till the Parliament after *Easter*, in the following Year.

- A. D. 1294. Reg. 23. From this Time forwards, the King of the *Scots*, instead of complying, seem'd to have studiy'd nothing so much as showing his Resentments, and to take the first Opportunity to revenge himself of these suppos'd Indignities. In the mean Time there happen'd a violent Contest between the *English* and the *Normans*, occasion'd first by a *Norman* being casually slain by the *English*. Upon which Accident the *Normans* slew several of the *English*, and hung up one upon the Mast of a Ship, whom they had taken at Sea; but not long after, sixty stout Ships of the *English*, meeting with two hundred Sail of *Normans*, loaden with Wines, after a sharp Encounter, in which great Numbers of the *French* were slain, they took their whole Fleet and brought them triumphantly into *England*. The King of *France*, who had privately promoted this Contest, in a great Anger now declar'd himself publicly, demanded Restitution, and cited King *Edward* judicially to appear and answer for some Injuries done in *Gascony*. Upon his Non-Appearance, and finding that he was busily employ'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*, the *French* King with his Forces gain'd Possession of several Places in *Gascony*. To add to these Inconveniencies, the *Scots*, having by Time and several Steps strengthen'd themselves, resolv'd at length to throw off the *English* Yoke: And first King *John*, with an Excuse for his Non-Appearance before the *English* Parliament, according to his Promise, sent over heavy Complaints of many and great Injuries, Oppressions and Grievances sustain'd by his own Subjects from the *English*; for which he demanded Satisfaction of King *Edward*. After this, by the Consent of his Nobility and others, he enter'd into a solemn League of Confederacy with the *French* King against the King of *England*, promising all mutual Aid and Assistance.
- The French King is against King Edward.
- A. D. 1295. Reg. 24. The Scots join with the French

stance to each other. This was seal'd with both the Kings Seals, and Counter-chang'd, consisting of seven main Articles; one of which was, That *Edward*, Son to *John* King of *Scotland*, should marry the Daughter of *Charles* of *Valois* Earl of *Anjou*, and Brother to the King of *France*. And to secure their Consciences, as well as their Cause, the *Scots* sent to *Rome* to have Absolution from their Oaths and Homage; and by means of false Suggestions made to Pope *Celestin*, they were all absolv'd by a particular Bull.

In the following Year, King *John* shew'd himself more openly, return'd the Homage and Fealty for himself, and all others of his Kingdom to King *Edward*, and defy'd him by a particular Instrument or Writing; and the *Scots* declar'd themselves absolv'd from all former Obligations. Upon which Declarations, King *Edward*, rousing himself, advanc'd with a powerful Army to *Newcastle*. But the first Blood that was shed was on the *English* Side, of whom the *Scotch* slew almost a thousand in a private Village, and proceeded to ravage, burn and destroy the County of *Cumberland*, and other Parts: Which was not extreamly displeasing to the undaunted King of *England*, since the first Acts of Hostility proceeded from them whom he had a full Resolution to conquer, *That at length he might be sole Monarch of Albion*. Here began such a mortal Dissention between the two Nations, such Ravages and Bloodsheds, such Jealousies and Pretensions, as could not be intirely reconcil'd in less than three hundred Years. The valiant *Edward*, to chastise the *Scots* for their Breach of Oaths, enter'd their Kingdom with a brave Army, and besieg'd and took the strong Castle of *Berwick* with a great and terrible Slaughter. From thence he sent Part of his Army to reduce the Castle of *Dunbar* lately revolted, which was effected by the Death of great Numbers of the *Scots*, and by the Captivity of ten thousand Men, of whom were seven Barons, a hundred Knights, and thirty one Esquires. The *Scots* with all their Forces coming to relieve this Castle, King *Edward* by his mighty Valour defeated them, and kill'd no less than twenty two thousand upon the Spot. King *Edward* knowing as well how to use, as to gain a Victory, proceeded and took the Castle of *Rocksborough*; and to put an End to the War, he march'd to *Edinburgh* it self, and in eight Days took that strong Castle. From thence he march'd to *Sterlin*, *Perth* and other Places, reaping fresh Laurels where-ever he pass'd; 'till at length King *John* and his Nobility submitted and su'd for Mercy; which was granted, upon Condition, That they all should surrender themselves to him as his Subjects. Shortly after, the King of *Scotland* with a white Rod in his Hand, according to the Custom of Surrenders, presented himself before King *Edward* at *Brechin*, and resign'd to him and his Heirs the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, without any Condition; and confirm'd this Resignation by a Charter under his Hand and Seal, dated the tenth Day of *July*, and the fourth of his Reign.

This being done, King *Edward* immediately held a Parliament for *Scotland*, at *Berwick*, where the Nobility of that Kingdom, and great Numbers of others, did Homage to him as their Sovereign Lord and their Supream Governor, and confirm'd the same under their Hands and Seals; the Names of whom are still upon Record: And for the greater Security, they surrender'd into his Hands all the Castles and Forts of that Kingdom; except those of *William Douglas*, who chose any Punishment rather than yield to the Subjection of *England*. Notwithstanding this Agreement *John* the late King was sent to the Tower of *London*, where he was decently attended, and allow'd the Liberty of ten Miles Riding; and the Noblemen of *Scotland*, which he brought into *England*, were forbidden to pass the River *Trent*, under Forfeiture of their Heads. The Government of *Scotland* was committed to *John Warren* Earl of *Surrey* and *Suffex*; *Hugh de Cressingham* was made Treasurer, and *William Ormesby* chief Justiciary. And the more to show his Resolution of dissolving the distinct Sovereignty of *Scotland*, and like *Wales* to unite it to the *English* Monarchy, he took from *Edinburgh* the Crown and Scepter with all the *Regalia*, and brought them

A. D.

1296.

Reg. 24.

Wars break
out between
England and
Scotland.King Edward
obtains a great
Victory.All Scotland
submitted to
him.The King of
Scotland and
others brought
to London.

them to *London*; and also remov'd the famous Marble Chair out of the Monastery of *Scone*, which in Coronations serv'd for a Throne to the Kings of *Scotland*, and which was believ'd in an extraordinary Manner to be constantly attended with the Power and Fate of that Kingdom. Then to manifest the most compleat Marks of a Conquest, he proceeded, according to *Boetius*, to the Burning of the *Scotch* Records, the Abrogation of the Laws, altering the Forms of Divine Service, and transporting the most learned Men to his University of *Oxford*.

IV. King *Edward* in a great Measure had now been a Conqueror both of *Wales* and *Scotland*; but while he was employ'd about the latter, he met with great Disadvantages from the King of *France*, who had fraudulently got Possession of all or the greatest Part of *Gascony*. To obviate these Mischiefs, the King enter'd into a Confederacy with *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, whose Dominions the *French* King had unjustly invaded; and for a Supply for this and all other Occasions, he call'd a Parliament at *St. Edmund's Bury*; in which the Citizens and Burgeses gave an eighth Part of all their Goods, the rest of the Laity a twelfth, but the Clergy refus'd to give any Thing, by reason of a Constitution made and publish'd this Year by Pope *Boniface*, which prohibited all Ecclesiasticks to pay any Secular Taxes without the Consent of the *Roman* See, and that upon the severest Penalties. The Clergy refusing in two several Meetings, the King proceeded to a higher Strain than any of his Predecessors, seiz'd upon all their Lay Fees, and put the whole Body of them out of his Protection, so that they could receive no Benefit from his Laws, nor Justice from his Courts. This venturous Proceeding so terrify'd the Clergy, that finding themselves expos'd to all Injuries without Means of Redress, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, with the Bishops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Salisbury* and *Lincoln* soon yielded to lay down in their Churches the fifth Part of all their Goods, towards the Maintenance of the King's Wars; by which they appeas'd his Displeasure, and were receiv'd into Favour. But the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, by whose Incitement the rest stood out, had all his Goods seiz'd, and the Monasteries within his Diocese and Part of *Lincoln* were possess'd by publick Officers, who were appointed to administer bare Necessaries to the Monks, converting the rest to the King's Use. At length by much Suit, and by giving a fourth Part of their Goods, they redeem'd themselves, and purchas'd the King's Favour. Thus will valiant and martial Princes have their Ends serv'd in Times of Necessity, notwithstanding the greatest Opposition.

Yet still he met with some Checks from the Laity, upon summoning his Nobility at *Salisbury*, where he requir'd several of them to go into the Wars of *Gascony*. But they all making Excuses, every Man for himself, the King in a great Passion threaten'd, *That they should go, or else he would give their Lands to others that would*. Upon which *Humfrey Bohun*, High-Constable and Earl of *Hereford*, and *Hugh Bigot*, Earl of *Norfolk* and Marshal of *England*, boldly declar'd, *That if the King went in Person, they would attend him, or otherwise not*; and further the Earl-Marshal said, *That he was desirous to go with his Majesty, and march before him in the Vanguard, as by Right of Inheritance he ought*. But the King told him expressly, *That he should go with any other, tho' he himself went not in Person*. The other answer'd, *He was not oblig'd to go, therefore he would not without him*. Upon which the King swore by the Eternal God, *That he should either go or hang*; the other swore the same Oath, *That he would neither go, nor hang*, and so departed without leave, and afterwards, with the other Earl, stood upon his own Guard. Insulting of Kings had been too fashionable in his Father's Reign, therefore this Prince wisely conceal'd and stifled his Resentments, and prepar'd for his Voyage into *Flanders*, there to relieve the Earl of that Country, now distress'd by the *French*. But first he left the Care of the Government to Prince *Edward* his Son

A Parliament
call'd.

A. D.

1279.

Reg. 25.
26.

The Clergy are
put out of the
King's Pro-
tection.

They submit.

The King meets
with Checks
from the Nobility.

Son, the Bishop of *London*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lords *Gray* and *Clifford*; and to recover the Clergy, he reconcil'd himself to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and receiv'd him into Favour. Being ready to take shipping, the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons and the Commons, sent him a Roll of Grievances, alledging several unwarrantable Impositions upon Wool, and other Commodities, and several unjustifiable Practices, and complaining of the negligent Observance of the Great Charters. To all which the King return'd a civil and seasonable Answer, promising to redress all Things at his Return, and requesting the Nobility to raise no Disturbance in his Absence. And shortly after a Parliament was call'd by the Prince, where a new Tax being granted, the great Charters were again confirm'd, and afterwards seal'd in *Flanders* with the King's great Seal. This Statute or Charter is in *Coke's Second Institutes*, and our common Statute Books, going by the Title of *Confirmatio Chartarum*, in the twenty fifth of this Reign. Magna Charta, &c. confirm'd.

Walsing. Baronia. Before the Finishing of these Transactions, the restless *Scots*, by the Instigation of *William Waleys*, whom they chose for their Commander, arm'd themselves and killed all the *English* they could find, and practis'd strange Cruelties besides. Upon Notice of which King *Edward* directed the Earl of *Surrey* with the Militia beyond *Trent*, to march into *Scotland*, and suppress this Insurrection. Insurrections in Scotland. The Earl raising an Army in the North, sent his Nephew *Henry de Percy* with it into *Scotland*, who upon marching towards the *Scots*, found the Heads of them, *William Waleys*, and others, inclinable to a Peace, upon Condition of the Safety of their Lives and Limbs, Lands and Goods, and a general Pardon of all that was past. *Henry de Percy* admitted of the Peace, upon Promise of Hostages, and Articles in Writing, if it satisfy'd the King, who in a short Time consented to it, that his Voyage to *Flanders* might not be retarded. But soon after, the *Scots* taking Advantage from some Discontents in *England*, upon several Pretences delay'd to give Hostages for the Peace; and towards the latter End of *August* took Arms again under the Conduct of *Waleys*, and in a short Time drove almost all the *English* out of *Scotland*. *William Warren*, the Governor of *Scotland*, fled from *Berwick* into *England*, with many *English* that quitted the Town to the *Scots*; yet still the Castle was kept, and well defended by those that were lodg'd in it.

ibid. King *Edward* in *Flanders* hearing of these Troubles and Disturbances, by the Mediation of Pope *Boniface*, made a two Years Truce with the King of *France*, and came over into *England*; and having redress'd several Things according to Promise, he summon'd the Militia of the whole Nation to meet him at *Carlisle* on *Whitsun-Eve*, to march against the *Scots*, whose Power was now formidable, and their Forces numerous. But before that Time, on the tenth Day of *April*, he held a full Parliament at *York*, to treat with him about certain Affairs that concern'd him and the whole Kingdom. Here the Lord High-Constable and Earl-Marshal demanded *That, because the great Charters had been confirm'd beyond Sea, for the greater Security they might be confirm'd again*; which the Bishop of *Durham*, the Earls of *Surrey*, *Warwick* and *Glocester*, promis'd that the King should perform, upon his Return with Victory. After which the King commanded his Army to be ready at *Roxburg* upon *Tweed*, on the twenty fourth Day of *June*; and going aside to visit the Tomb of *St. John of Beverly* in *Yorkshire*, he found his Army at the Time and Place appointed. With this he march'd like a Conqueror into the Bowels of *Scotland*, and upon the twenty first Day of *July* came within Sight of the Enemy, in a large Field near *Falkirk*, where both Armies encamp'd. In the Morning a terrible Shout being heard from the *Scotch* Army, the *English* ran to Arms; but the King's Horse, affrighted at the tumultuous Noise, as he was putting his Foot into the Stirrup, threw him to the Ground, and by his Legs broke two of his Ribs; who notwithstanding proceeded courageously to the Battel. *William Waleys*, who by his bold Enterprises had gain'd a singular Opinion from his Country- A. D. 1298. Reg. 26. 27.

The King marches into Scotland.

Countrymen, having drawn up his numerous Army, instead of a formal Oration, in all Parts us'd this short Speech, *I have brought you to the King, fly if you can.* But notwithstanding the Numbers of the *Scots*, the *English* being led on by a mighty Warrior, attack'd them with so much Conduct and Bravery, that they soon broke their Troops, and defeated them, with a dreadful Slaughter of no less than sixty thousand Men, according to some Authors, tho' others say fewer. *Waleys* and the great Men of *Scotland* fled into the Woods; and the King, after he had taken in several Places, and us'd some Severities, return'd triumphantly into *England*, in the latter End of this Year, after he had in some Measure made a second Conquest of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

and gains a
mighty Victory
over the Scots.

A. D.
1299.
Reg. 25.

Magna Charta
again confirm'd

The two Years Truce made between the *English* and *French*, was now by the Means of Pope *Boniface*, turn'd to a settled Peace; in which Articles, besides the Restoration of *Gascony*, it was agreed, That King *Edward* should marry the *French* King's Sister *Margaret*, and Prince *Edward* his Son the same King's Daughter *Isabel*; Tho', says *Walsingham*, he by this Alliance promoted not the Good of the Realm in any Point. To this Affinity were added the greater Fences of a Domestick Quiet; for the King, whom Wars and Years had made renown'd and experienc'd, graciously and wisely yielded to grant all that had been promis'd before his last Expedition into *Scotland*. And at a Parliament held at *London*, fifteen Days after *Easter*, he confirm'd the Charters, and for the fuller Satisfaction of the Nobility, he left out that Clause *Salvo Jure Coronæ nostræ*; and what was wanting at this Time, he afterwards compleated at a Parliament held at *Stamford*. But that he might seem willing to deny the Pope no reasonable Request, he deliver'd into the Hands of his Nuntio *John Baliol* late King of *Scotland*, who was convey'd to his Inheritance in *France*, where he remain'd with the Brand of a false Seducer, and of a perjur'd Person to King *Edward*'s Judgment, without any Part of his Regal Power over the *Scottish* Nation.

King Edward
marries the
French King's
Sister.

A. D.
1300.
Reg. 26.

He makes a
third Extens-
ion into Scot-
land.

The Peace which King *Edward* made in other Places, prov'd a greater Affliction to the *Scots*; for tho' they had recover'd *Sterlin* by Surrender of the *English*, and began with a noble Assertion of their ancient Liberty to assemble again under *Waleys*, yet the Time was not come for their Deliverance. For King *Edward*, according to Articles, having accomplish'd his Nuptials with the *French* King's Sister at *Canterbury*, and again confirm'd the great Charters, now made it his whole Business to finish his Design of annexing *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*. Accordingly, being accompany'd with his Son, and a formidable Army, he pursu'd the Affair so vigorously, that the *Scots*, tho' very numerous, fled before him, whose Valour had justly render'd him terrible; and that Day, in *Walsingham*'s Opinion, had been irrecoverably fatal to the *Scottish* Name and Nation, if the *English* had been able to have follow'd them in their Arms over their Bogs, Morasses and Mountains; or if the *Welsh* by their own Skill had supply'd the Defect. However King *Edward* held so close a Possession, that he would neither grant the *Scotch* Nobility their *Baliol* to reign over them, according to their Petition, nor permit them to redeem such Lands as he had given to his *English* Adventurers. The *Scots* being driven to Extremities, had recourse to the Court of *Rome*, and procur'd inhibitory Letters from the Pope to King *Edward*; who upon Sight of them swore a terrible Oath, *That he would not desist.* Nevertheless the *Scots* after a few Days requested the King to suffer them to live in Peace, till they had taken Council of the Peers and the King of *France*, threatening him also with the utmost Power of *Rome*. Upon which the King with a disdainful Smile answer'd, *Have you done Honour to me as the Direct Lord of your Kingdom, and believe that I can be terrified with Pretences? as if I, like one who has no Power to compel, would tamely give up my undoubted Right? Let me hear no more of this; for if I do, I swear by all that's Sacred, I will destroy all Scotland from one Sea to the other.* On the other Side the *Scots* bravely reply'd, *That they would spend*

the last Drop of their Blood for the Defence of Justice, and the Liberty of their Country. But because the *Scots* had put themselves under the immediate Protection of the Pope, who now began to claim the Right of that Kingdom, as before he had done of *England*, the King order'd the most learned Men of his Nation to search the Archives of the Universities and Monasteries, and order'd them to make an Historical Deduction of his Right and Title to *Scotland*; which was almost the same, but more full and particular than what he deliver'd to the *Scots*, when in the nineteenth Year of his Reign he claim'd the Superiority and Direct Dominion over their Kingdom. This was sent in a Letter from the King to the Pope, with a Narrative concerning the whole Nation of *Scotland*, 'As their having done Homage and sworn Fealty to him, and acknowledged him to be their King and supreme Lord several Times; and notwithstanding they had against their Oaths, invaded, ravag'd and wasted *England* as they thought fit; therefore he caution'd his Holiness against the false Insinuations and Suggestions of that perfidious People; concluding with a Petition, *That he would have a Paternal Care and Affection to his Royal Rights.*

A. D.

1301.

Reg. 22.

He vindicates
his Right to
Scotland.

Yet by the Intercession of the King of *France*, King *Edward* granted the *Scots* a Truce till *Whit-Sunday* following: About which Time he made his Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales* and Earl of *Chester*, being then about seventeen Years of Age; with which the *Welsh* were highly pleas'd, as being born at *Carnarvon* in their own Country. The Truce being ended, the King not long after went into *Scotland*, where he continu'd all Winter, but lost many of his military Horses for want of Forage. After *Christmas*, at the Instance of the *French* King, he again granted a Truce to the *Scots* till the first Day of *November* ensuing; and towards the Spring, having settled all Things in *Scotland*, he return'd into *England*. Here to prevent Inconveniencies and Tumults, the King by his Proclamations prohibited those Tournaments, Jufts, and other Warlike Exercises, which had been very frequently in use among the young Nobility and Gentry. The Truce with the *Scots* being expir'd, the King sent *John de Seagrave* with an Army into *Scotland*, making him Governor of *Berwick*, and Guardian of the whole Kingdom. This Person marching with a Party of Men towards *Edinburgh*, the *Scotch* Army, which lay in Ambuscade, surpriz'd him, and took him Prisoner with many others: But a fresh Party fortunately arriving, rescu'd him out of their Hands. The *Scotch* Writers say that the *English* lost great Numbers in this Action, and magnifie it as very noble and honourable to their Nation.

He makes his
Son Prince of
Wales.

A. D.

1302.

Reg. 23.

The Scots gain
Advantage.

The King hearing of this Success, and that the *Scots* began to increase in Power, enter'd into their Country with a formidable Army, and by deliberate Marches pass'd near three hundred Miles, as far as *Cathness* the utmost Limits of the Kingdom; while the *Scots* unable to withstand his Arms, for the most part betook themselves to the inaccessible Woods and Mountains. But finding the King vigorous in his Pursuit, and resolute in his Designs, they at length sent Mediators, and humbly begg'd Peace of him, and that they might be permitted to compound for their Estates with those *English* to whom they had been given; to both which the King readily condescended. In his Return from the North, he besieg'd *Sterlin* Castle, which had been strongly fortified against him, and stay'd all the Winter at *Dumferling* not far from that Place. *M. Westminster* says That the great Men of *Scotland*, as well Earls as Barons, being wholly reduc'd and overcome, submitted themselves to the Pleasure of the King of *England*, who admitted them to his Grace and Mercy, imposing pecuniary Mulcts upon them, appointing them Days and Years, and certain Times for Payment: After Winter the King went in Person to the Siege of *Sterlin* Castle, which was vigorously attack'd and ply'd with extraordinary Engines, yet still the Besieg'd made a noble Defence; but being hard press'd by the *English*, who were continually animated by the Presence of their King, the Castle was

A. D.

1303.

Reg. 24.

The Scots gain
Advantage.

A. D.

1304.

Reg. 25.

His great Success. surrender'd upon Discretion, on the twentieth Day of *July*; the Governor of which, *William Olifard*, who had before surpriz'd it, was sent to the Tower of *London*, and others to divers Castles. This put an End to the whole Expedition; and the King having settled all Things according to his Desire, appointed *John de Seagrave* Governor of the Kingdom, and return'd into *England* in great Triumph: And coming to *York*, he remov'd the Courts of the King's Bench and the Exchequer, which had been there seven Years, to their ancient Place at *London*. Thus was *Scotland* in a manner conquer'd a third Time by the valiant King *Edward*; and had not Providence in Favour of that Kingdom, ordain'd some inaccessible Places, and natural Strengths where no Armies could march or be maintain'd, the *Scots* from this Time would have probably lost all their ancient Liberties.

A. D. 1305. Reg. 33. V. And now King *Edward* being possess'd of all his Aims, an universal Lord at home, mighty in Alliance and Power abroad, began to look more severely to the publick Administration: And for a Terror to all Opposers, he caus'd *William Waleys*, who had been betray'd into his Hands by his Companion, to be try'd by the Laws of *England*; and notwithstanding he had never acknowledg'd or submitted to those Laws, he was condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, and his Limbs to be set up at several distant Towns: A hard Fate for one who had so bravely defended his own Country, and whom the *Scotch* have plac'd among the best Examples of Fortitude and Piety; tho' the *English* have accus'd him of the greatest Cruelty and Barbarity. About the same Time the King began to exercise his Power and Authority upon Sir *Nicolas Seagrave*, one of the greatest Knights of the Kingdom, who being formerly reproach'd with treasonable Practices by Sir *John Cromwell*, offer'd to justify himself by a Duel; which the King refus'd to grant, in regard of the War then depending. Upon which *Seagrave*, contrary to the King's Prohibition, left the Camp, and went over Sea to fight with his Adversary; for which the King requir'd that Justice should proceed against him, as a Contemner of his Royal Authority. The Judges consulted three Days upon this Affair, and at length adjudg'd *Seagrave* guilty of Death, and all his Goods to be forfeited to the King; but in regard of his Blood they added, *That he went not out of England in Contempt of the King, but to be reveng'd of his Accuser, therefore it was in the King's Power to shew Mercy*. Upon which the King in a great Passion reply'd, *Have you been all this while consulting for this? I know it is in my Power to shew Mercy to whom I please, but not for your Sakes: Who ever submitted himself to my Favour, and met with a Repulse? However, let this your Judgment be recorded, and for ever held as a Law*. And so this Knight, for an Example to others, was committed to Prison; tho' shortly after by the Labour of many Noblemen, and thirty Peers being bound for his Behaviour, the King restor'd him to his Estate.

The King's Regulations. In the same Year, the King to establish the Peace of the Nation, sent out a new Writ of Inquisition call'd *Trailbaston*; for Intruders on other Mens Lands, who to oppress the right Owner, would make over their Land to great Men; for Batterers hired to beat and hurt others; for Breakers of the Peace; for Ravishers, Incendiaries, Murderers, Fighters, False Assizers, and other such Criminals: Which Inquisition was so severely executed, and such Fines rais'd, as brought in great Treasure to the King. So did likewise another Commission at the same Time sent forth to examine the Behaviour of Officers and Ministers of Justice, wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly in their Purses. As the King was strict and severe upon all Criminals in general, so he would not spare his own Son, Prince *Edward*, who having been corrupted by a vicious insinuating Companion call'd *Piers Gaveston*, riotously broke the Park of *Walter Langton* Bishop of *Chester*; for which the King disgrac'd him so far, as to put him into a publick Prison. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* at the same Time

Time being accus'd of disturbing the Peace in the King's Absence, he sent him over to Pope *Clement* the Fifth, there to be crush'd by a double Power. This Pope was a Native of *Bourdeaux*, and so the more mindful of the King's Desire, and the King more confident of his Favour, sent him a noble Present of several Golden Vessels: Which so affected the Mind of the Pope, that he let loose this Lion, and untied the King from the Covenants made with his Subjects, concerning their Charters and Privileges, wholly absolving him from his Oath: An Act of small Piety in the Pope, and of as little Conscience in the King; who, as if he had no further Occasion for his People, began to assume too much Power, and to take too much Liberty from these unjustifiable Grants.

But on a sudden there happen'd an Occasion which brought him back to his right Orb again, causing him both to see his Error and to reform it; and this was a new Storm from *Scotland*, from whence he expected nothing but Peace and Compliance. For the *Scots*, who had twice or thrice done Homage and sworn Fealty to King *Edward*, and the Bishops also who had done the same, join'd with *Robert Brus*, Son to the former great Competitor, lately escap'd out of *England*, in setting up his Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, and so began a War more mischievous and lasting than any before: And because *John Comyn*, who was of great Power and Interest in the Kingdom, was resolute in keeping his Oath to King *Edward*, *Robert Brus* and his Followers treacherously murder'd him in the very Church of *Dumfries*, on the twenty ninth Day of *January*; and on Lady-Day following, *Robert* was solemnly crown'd King at *Scone*, in the Presence of two Bishops, many Earls, Barons and Knights. King *Edward* being inform'd of the Proceedings of this new King and his Confederates, sent *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, with *Robert Clifford* and *Henry Percy* into *Scotland*, to suppress this threatening Insurrection. The King likewise designing to follow them, summon'd his Army to rendezvous at *Carlisle*, fifteen Days after *Midsummer*; and to make the Expedition more great and glorious, he knighted his Son at *Westminster*, and with him three hundred young Gentlemen, the Sons of Earls, Barons and great Men, who had sufficient to maintain their Honour, and gave them their military Garments out of his own Wardrobe. These with the Prince were to march into *Scotland* against those of that Nation; but before they could arrive there, the Earl of *Pembroke* had attack'd and routed the *Scots*, and put their King to Flight at *Mtisen* near *St. John's Town* or *Perth*; in which Battel great Numbers were kill'd, and many Persons of Note taken Prisoners, most of whom were try'd and hang'd for Perjury and Rebellion. Afterwards King *Edward*, the Prince, and many great Men went into *Scotland*, where some receiv'd them very honourably, and others left their Habitations and fled. The Army ranging from Place to Place after the Fight, pursu'd the Fugitives, kill'd some and took others alive, among whom were the two Bishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Glasgo*, with the Abbot of *Scone*, arm'd with their Surcoats; who were sent into several Prisons in *England*. The Age of King *Edward*, his Rage, and Desire of Revenge made him almost inexorable, and to spare scarce any of what Degree soever: The Earl of *Athol*, tho' of the Royal Blood and ally'd to him, was sent to *London*, and dishonourably preferr'd to a higher Gallows than any of the rest: The Wife of King *Robert*, taken by the Lord *Ross*, was sent Prisoner to *London*, and his Daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*; and the Countess of *Boughan*, who assisted in the Coronation of *Robert*, was put into a wooden Cage, made in the Shape of a Crown, and hung out upon the Walls of *Berwick*, for a dismal Spectacle to be gaz'd on by the People.

After this Summer's Expedition, the King pass'd the Winter at *Carlisle*, resolving old as he was never to desist till he had finish'd his Work. Here on the twentieth Day of *January*, he held his last Parliament, in which, besides the Provisions for the *Scotch* Establishment, several Consultations and Methods were prosecuted for repelling another Kind of Enemy no less troublesome to the State; namely

A. D.

1306.

Reg. 34.

The Pope absolves the King from his Oaths.

New Disturbances in Scotland.

Robert Brus crown'd King.

King Edward's last Expedition into Scotland.

A. D.

1307.

Reg. 35.

The last Parliament.

namely the Pope, and his still continu'd Extortions in this Kingdom, of which great Complaints were made in this Assembly: Infomuch that the Clergy were forc'd to appeal from the Pope's Bulls, and his Cardinal Legate's Exactions; and also the King's Council was oblig'd to enact several Orders and Constitutions for the restraining of their excessive Oppressions. In the Time of this Parliament, Observations being made of the extraordinary Familiarity between Prince *Edward* and *Piers Gaveston*, and what mighty Influence that vicious Person had over him, the King wisely commanded him to depart the Land, and oblig'd him by a solemn Oath not to return without his Licence. At the same Time he oblig'd the Prince to swear That he would not receive, retain or permit the said *Gaveston* to be with him, contrary to his Pleasure; and for his Subsistence beyond Sea, he was allow'd a hundred Marks *per Annum*.

Gaveston banish'd.

A great Change in Scotland.

During these Transactions, the great Deliverance of *Scotland* drew near; for the noble King *Robert*, who for a while had liv'd in the most desolate and abandoned Condition, having gather'd together the scatter'd Remains of his Army, suddenly attack'd the Earl of *Pembroke*, and gave him a great Defeat, and immediately after chas'd the Earl of *Glocester* into the Castle of *Ayr*, which he besieg'd, tho' without Success. Upon which King *Edward* sent into *England*, and under great Penalties commanded all that ought him Service to be ready at *Carlisle*, three Weeks after *Midsummer*; resolving with this Force to march into the Bowels of *Scotland*. But before he could effect this Design, God was pleas'd to visit him with his last Sickness; upon which he sent for the Prince his Son to come before him, to whom, besides many Admonitions to Piety, and the good Government of a Kingdom, he solemnly and upon his Blessing commanded three Things in a more especial Manner; 'That he would carry his 'Bones about with him through *Scotland*, 'till he had subdu'd that Nation, not 'doubting but his Skeleton alone would produce Victory: That he would send 'his Heart to the *Holy-Land*, with a hundred and forty Knights to that War, 'and the thirty two thousand Pounds he had provided for that Purpose: Lastly, That he would never recall *Piers Gaveston* from the Banishment he so 'justly merited. After this he sent him to *London* to consummate the Match with the *French* King's Daughter; and shortly after, moving by small Journeys towards *Scotland* from *Carlisle*, he arriv'd at a small Town call'd *Burgh* upon the Sands, where by his Distemper being put in Mind of his latter End, he piously broke forth into this memorable Ejaculation; *O Lord! if thou thinkest it good for these my People to have me continue longer with them, I am ready to venture my Life for them; but if otherwise, thy Will be done.* Then in a short Time after, being seiz'd with a Dysentery or Bloody-Flux, while his Servants were going to lift him up in his Bed, to give him some Nourishment, he expired in their Arms, upon *Friday* the seventh of *July*, in the sixty eighth Year of his Age, after a most vigorous and triumphant Reign of thirty four Years, seven Months, and twenty one Days. He was infinitely lamented by his Subjects, and his Corps was brought to *Waltham*, where it remain'd sixteen Weeks, and on the twenty eighth Day of *October* it was bury'd in the Abby Church at *Westminster*, at the Head of King *Henry* his Father, on the North Side of St. *Edward's* Shrine.

King Edward dies.

His Character.

This was the End of the mighty King *Edward*, the First of that Name of the *Norman* Line, and the Fourth from King *Egbert*: A Prince of great Renown, in whose valiant Breast, as Mr. *Camden* expresses it, God seem'd to have pitch'd his Tent; and as well by his Courage and Wisdom, as by Gracefulness and Strength of Body, to have rais'd him to the highest Pitch of Majesty; so that he is deservedly rank'd among the greatest Ornaments of *Britain*. He was taller than ordinary Persons by the Head and Shoulders, of a comely Aspect, having black and curl'd Hair, and Eyes often sparkling like Fire; being born and bred up to great and military Actions. Yet his Wit and Understanding was no less than his Valour and Bravery; and he had both an Ability of Judgment within

within himself, and also a Readiness to hear the Judgment of others. He was a wise Observer of Opportunity, wary and provident of his own Business, vigilant and vigorous in all publick Affairs, severe in Points of Justice, and not easily appeas'd when thoroughly provok'd, and in Contineny equal to his Father, whom he far exceeded in all other Respects. He was also an excellent Governor, yet his Vigour and Ambition did sometimes overflow and bear hard upon his Subjects; so that his Valour and Power was more for the Grandeur than for the Quiet of *England*; and never any King before or since him shed so much Christian Blood within the Isle of *Britain* as this Christian Warrior did in his Time, with what he occasion'd afterwards. He advanc'd the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, over the Kingdom of *Scotland*, more than any of his Predecessors; but leaving the Work not fully finish'd, from henceforth the Dominion of the Kings of *England* over that Realm, became less and less, 'till at length it diminish'd to nothing. He had by his first Queen *Eleanor* a numerous Issue of four Sons and nine Daughters; of these Sons only *Edward* surviv'd him; and by his second Queen he had two Sons, *Thomas* made Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*. As this *Edward* was the first Son of a King of *England* that differenc'd his Arms with a *File*, so he was the first King of *England*, that bore his Arms upon the Caparisons of his Horse, as may be seen by his Royal Seal.

From the twenty second Year of this Reign we have an uninterrupted Series of Parliaments down to our own Times, in *Sumonitiones ad Parl.* by Sir *William Dugdale*; and in his Time the present Constitution of our Parliaments was so far establish'd, that by a Law solemnly publish'd as an Addition to *Magna Charta*, with Excommunications, it was enacted, That no Tax should be levy'd without the Consent of the Knights and Burgeses in Parliament. In the twenty seventh Year of this Reign an Order was made concerning the Price of Victuals; a fat Cock to be sold at three-half-Pence, a fat Capon for two Pence half-Penny, two Pullets for three-half-Pence, a Goose for four Pence, a Mallard for three-half-Pence, a Partridge for three-half-Pence, a Pheasant for four Pence, a Heron for six Pence, a Plover for a Penny, a Swan for three Shillings, a Crane for twelve Pence, two Wood-Cocks for three-half-Pence, a fat Lamb from *Christmasts* to *Shrove-Tide* for sixteen Pence, and all the Year after for four Pence. Wheat was once sold for twenty Pence a Quarter, and in some Places for sixteen Pence.

S E C T. II.

The Reign of King EDWARD the Second.

Containing 12 Years, 6 Months, and 15 Days.

I. **U**PON the Death of the great King *Edward* the First, his Eldest Son, *Edward* of *Caernarvon*, now twenty three Years of Age, succeeded him with a general Applause, tho' he was far his Inferior in all Respects. Never any Prince came to the Crown with greater Love of the Nation, or lost it in so short a Time. For before his Father's Funeral Solemnities were finish'd, he contrary to all Advice shew'd a fatal Disregard to all his dying Precepts; and the first publick Act he did was the recalling his loose and beloved Associate *Piers Gaveston* from Exile, whom he immediately rais'd from the Son of an ordinary *Gasconian* Knight to be Earl of *Cornwall*, Lord of *Man*, Guardian and Lieutenant of *England*, and Disposer of

A. D.

1307.

Reg. 1.

Edward the
Second begins
his Reign ill.

innumerable Preferments. And because *Walter Langton*, Bishop of *Chester*, and Treasurer of *England*, had like a just Servant in his Father's Reign reprov'd him for some lewd Extravagancies, and complain'd of *Gaveston*, as the Promoter of Vices so unbecoming a Prince; he remember'd to punish a Man so full of troublesom Virtues, and arrested him by Sir *John Felton*, Constable of the Tower of *London*, imprison'd him in *Wallingford* Castle, and seiz'd upon all his Goods and Temporalties: And his Prejudice was so great against him, that no Man durst speak in his Favour; 'till afterwards, by means of the Papal Authority, he was restor'd, and in some sort reconcil'd.

A. D.
1308.
Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$
He marries
the King of
France's
Daughter.

His Coronation.

That which best suited with this King's youthful Affections, the Marriage with the Princess *Isabel*, Daughter to *Philip* King of *France*, he perform'd with extraordinary Magnificence at *Boloign*; at which Solemnity were present the King of *France*, the King of *Navarre*, the King of *Almain*, and the King of *Sicily*, with three Queens besides the Bride, and a glorious Concourse of other Princes, Noblemen and Ladies: Among whom Earl *Gaveston* by his graceful Mien and rich Attire, so far exceeded the rest in Splendor and Magnificence, that it rais'd the Envy and Indignation of the whole Assembly. This foreign Favourite, who had a beautiful Body, a quick Wit, and a daring Courage, had so far exasperated the *English* Nobility, that they threaten'd to hinder the King's Coronation, which had been appointed shortly after, if he was not remov'd from the Court and Kingdom. Upon which the King, to avoid so great a Dishonour, promis'd upon his Faith to yield to what they desir'd in the next Parliament. But upon the Solemnity, *Gaveston* with the utmost Pomp was appointed to carry St. *Edward's* Crown before the King, which belong'd only to those of the Royal Blood, which more encreas'd the Hatred of the Prelates and Nobility against him. And now having got Possession of the Heart of this weak Prince, he by his riotous Practices soon fill'd his Court with Buffoons, Parasites, and the like pernicious Instruments, drawing *Edward* from the Thoughts of all noble Enterprizes, in Accomplishment of his Father's Will, or Discharge of his particular Duty, inclining him to all Sorts of dishonourable Vanities and soft criminal Pleasures: While he himself revel'd in outward Felicity, wasting the Riches of the Nation, or converting them to his private Uses. He had so great an Ascendent, that the King's Favours were his continual Advantages; and he wore the very Jewels of the Crown, which the King imprudently declar'd, *should have descended to him, were his Power equal to his Affection.*

Gaveston sent
to Ireland.

A. D.
1309.
Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$
The Nobility
oblig'd by
him.

Ordinances
made by the
Nobility.

By reason of the King's extravagant Favours, and especially for his marrying him to his Niece *Margaret*, Sister to the Earl of *Glocester*, the Nobility were much exasperated, who vehemently press'd the King, That he would oblige him to avoid the Realm. Upon which Importunities, the King with great Reluctancy sent him into *Ireland*; not as an Exile, but as his Lieutenant there, to direct and act all Things in his Name, as if he had been present himself. But he continu'd not long in that Country; for in the second Year of this Reign, to the King's great Satisfaction, he procur'd a Tournament to be proclaim'd at *Wallingford*, where he appear'd with so many Military Men out of Foreign Parts, that he insulted over the *English* Nobility that came to meet him; among whom the chief were the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Hereford*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke* and *Warren*, to whom this Favourite gave ridiculous and opprobrious Names. The Prelates, Earls and Barons, taking advantage of the King's exorbitant Kindness to him, and his heaping such vast Riches upon him, to the great Diminution of the Crown Revenues, by their daily Care at length obtain'd of the King to make a formal Grant or Commission to them, enabling them to appoint a select Number amongst them, that should have Power to make *Ordinances* for the Government of the King's Household and his Kingdom. Accordingly seven Prelates, eight Earls, and six Barons were nominated and solemnly sworn; who after that drew up forty one Articles, Ordinances or Constitutions, which were

all confirm'd by a particular Instrument from the King. Thus he who before seem'd jealous of trusting his Subjects, now gave them an Opportunity of punishing that Mistrust; and to add to the King's Troubles, he now receiv'd many Complaints from the Pope, with a particular Demand of the Rent of a thousand Marks *per Annum* due to the *Roman Church*, and Arrears for fifteen Years in his Father's Time: But we do not find how he satisfy'd these Demands.

By the twentieth Article of the Ordinances Earl *Gaveston* was oblig'd with great Uneasiness to quit the Nation and go into Banishment; yet in no long Time after, the King recall'd him with infinite Fondness, declaring, *That he had been banish'd contrary to the Laws and Usages of the Kingdom, which he was bound to maintain by his Coronation Oath.* Therefore he wrote to all the Sheriffs in *England*, 'That since in the Instrument of Exile he had no other Appellations but of Good and Loyal, he return'd at his Commandment, and was ready to answer all that could be objected against him: Wherefore he should always esteem him Good and Loyal, and expected them to repute him so, and to publish the Matter through their whole Counties. The Lords did not neglect this Occasion of the King's Tenderness, but publicly declar'd, *That the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, together with the late made Ordinances, were not observ'd nor regarded.* The King to obviate the Effects of such Reports issu'd a Declaration to be publish'd in all Parts, manifesting his Desire of Peace and an Observance of the Laws, and the late Ordinances; and not long after he wrote to the Community of the City of *London*, to secure that City, so that no Mischiefs might arise from the Meeting of the Nobility. These and some other Methods proving ineffectual, he design'd to proceed amicably with the dissatisfy'd Bishops and Barons, and according to the Power reserv'd in his Protestation when he confirm'd the Ordinances, he appointed thirteen Commissioners to treat with those of the Nobility who had made the late Ordinances, and to correct and reform all such Things as were prejudicial and injurious. These Proposals were very reasonable and amicable; but still the Insolencies and Extravagancies of Earl *Gaveston* so far increas'd, as prevented all Accommodation. And also the young Queen thought her self not a little injur'd by this ungrateful Man's Predominancy, for which she sent her Complaints to the King of *France* her Father, *That her Lord's Affection to him was so great, that it had both alienated his Love for her, and himself from her Bed.* Which occasion'd some Writers to say, That the King was as loose in a personal Affection to him, as he was in his publick Favours.

In the mean Time the Lords pursu'd their Designs both privately and publickly, which were much promoted by the old Earl of *Lincoln's* dying Speech to the powerful Earl of *Lancaster*, who had marry'd his Daughter and Heir; in which he alledg'd, *That God had bless'd him with greater Riches and Authority than any Nobleman in England; for which he ow'd the greater Honour and Service: That he saw the Church of England, formerly in a State of Liberty, now reduc'd to Servitude by the Oppressions of the Romans, and the Exactions of Crown'd Heads; and the People, who had enjoy'd many Privileges, brought to the same Condition by divers Tallages and Vexations: Adjoining him by God's Blessing and his own, That when he had an Opportunity, he would deliver the Church and People from such Oppressions; That he would pay all due Honour and Reverence to the King his Lord, yet cause him to remove from his Presence all evil Counsellors and Strangers, and effectually to observe the Tenor of Magna Charta, and all other Ordinances granted to the Clergy and Laity; for accomplishing of which he should contract a strict Alliance with the Earl of Warwick, who better understood them than any other.* Having ended this Speech, he took his leave of the World; and shortly after the great Earl of *Lancaster*, with his Adherents the Earls of *Hereford*, *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, *Arundel* and *Warren*, and several Barons, joining with the Arch-

A. D.
1310.
Reg. 3.

Gaveston banish'd and then recall'd.

A. D.
1311.
Reg. 4.

The Lords combine against the King.

Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, undertook to relieve the Holy Church from Oppression, and recover the due Liberty of the Kingdom, as *Walsingham* our Author expresses it.

A. D. 1312. The great Earl of *Lancaster* was chosen their General, who by common Consent sent to the King then at *York*, petitioning him, Either to deliver Earl *Gaveston* to them, or oblige him to quit the Kingdom, according to the late Ordinances. The King took small Notice of their Supplications, left *York*, and repair'd to *Newcastle*, where he continu'd for a considerable Space. Upon which the Lords, with what Forces they could raise, march'd with all Speed towards *Newcastle*; not that they would offer Injury, or create Trouble to their Sovereign, but only take Earl *Gaveston*, and judge him according to the Laws made by common Agreement. Upon their Approach, the King and *Gaveston* immediately fled to *Tinmouth*; and tho' the Queen, then great with Child, with a Flood of Tears begg'd of him not to leave her in that Place, he without any Pity took Shipping and sail'd with his Favourite to *Scarborough*, commanding the Garrison of the Castle to protect him, while he repair'd into *Warwickshire*. The Earl of *Lancaster*, having possess'd himself of *Newcastle*, sent Messengers to the Queen at *Tinmouth* to comfort her, faithfully promising, *That he would not give over his Pursuit, 'till he had remov'd Gaveston from the King*; excusing himself for not coming to her in Person, *lest for her sake, he should incur the King's Indignation*. Shortly after the Lords left *Newcastle*, march'd with all Speed to *Scarborough* Castle, and invested it; but the Earl of *Lancaster* finding no Opposition from the Country, retir'd with his Forces, and lett the Ears of *Pembroke* and *Warren* to take the Castle, who in a short Time so straiten'd it, that *Gaveston* surrender'd himself upon Condition that he might stand to the Judgment of the Barons, and once more speak to the King. Upon Notice of which, the King earnestly desir'd he might speak with him, and heartily begg'd that his Life might be sav'd; promising upon that Condition to satisfy the Desires of the Nobility in all Things. Upon this Promise, the Earl of *Pembroke* perswaded the Barons to grant the King's Request, engaging upon the highest Penalties to keep him safe, 'till he had spoken with the King, and then restore him to the Barons at a prefix'd Time and Place, designing to carry him to *Wallingford*. In his Way thither, at *Deddington* in *Oxfordshire*, the Earl left him to the Care of his Servants, while he lodg'd with his Lady at a neighbouring Place; which being known to the Earl of *Warwick*, he came with a great Force, and at Night took him from the Servants, and carry'd him to his Castle at *Warwick*. The Lords now consulting what to do with him, a subtle Man amongst them declar'd, *That after all this Expence and Trouble, it would be very weak in them to hazard the losing of him*; adding, *That it was much better he should die, than a War should be rais'd in the Kingdom*. Upon which Advice, they took him out of Prison, and carry'd him to an Ascent about a Mile North-East of *Warwick*, call'd *Black-Low*, and there beheaded this Favourite; notwithstanding the earnest Solicitations of the King, which nothing but the total Destruction of all Trust and Confidence could have render'd ineffectual.

The Lords now finding their own Strength and the King's Weakness, proudly demanded of the King, That their Ordinances might be confirm'd and put in Execution, Threatning to constrain him by Force if not speedily perform'd; and accordingly they quarter'd their Forces in the Country about *Dunstable*, while the King continu'd at *London*. Yet at length by the Management and Mediation of the Pope's Nuncio's, the Bishops and the Earl of *Glocester*, Articles were agreed upon, and the present Heats allay'd, upon Condition that the Lords should restore to the King all they had taken at *Newcastle*, and what belong'd to Earl *Gaveston*, all which was shortly after perform'd. But the Resentments the King harbour'd for the Loss of his dear Companion were by the Sycophancies of the *French* at *Windsor* reviv'd again in a short Time; there-
fore

fore in a Parliament at *London*, the King vehemently charg'd those presumptuous Lords with their Contempt against him in the Spoils they committed at *Newcastle*, and the inhuman Murther of his Friend. To all which they boldly reply'd, *That they had not offended in any Point, but deserv'd his Royal Favour, in prosecuting the publick Enemy of the Nation, who had been so justly banish'd by two several Kings.* Nevertheless, to prevent Civil Contests, by the careful Management of the young Queen and the Prelates, the Lords in the open Court at *Westminster* humbled themselves before the King, supplicating his Favour; and the King by Writing granted his gracious Pardon to all such as desir'd it. The whole House of Parliament seeing the King's Wants, of their own Accord granted him a Fifteenth, and all Parties return'd home with Satisfaction; but not long after, *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, who in this Parliament was appointed to be of the Privy-Council, deceas'd, being poison'd by some of the King's secret Friends, as it was believ'd by many. In the same Year of this Reign, the King's Sorrow for *Gaveston* was much alleviated by the Birth of a Son at *Windsor* on the thirteenth Day of *November*, and baptiz'd by the Name of *Edward*; a Prince whose noble Acts afterwards redeem'd all the Blemishes with which his Father's Infelicities had darkned the *English* Name.

The Lords reconcil'd to the King.

King Edward III. born.

II. While the State of *England* stood thus distemper'd at home, through the Infirmary of a weak Head, that of *Scotland* grew strong by the provident Care of a vigilant and courageous King, who not only overcame all Factions, but gradually recover'd most of his own Country, and made great Devastations in the Borders of *England*. Having taken *Edinburgh* and other Places, while King *Edward* seem'd enchanted with unworthy Languishments, he sent his Brother to besiege the strong Castle of *Sterling*; but after some Continuance before it, and despairing of taking it by Force, both Parties agreed to these Conditions, That if the *English* did not relieve the Castle within a Year from the Day of the Treaty, it should be surrendr'd to the *Scots*, and the Garrison should have safe Conduct to march whither they pleas'd, with all their Goods. Rous'd with these repeated Advantages, King *Edward* summon'd all his Power and Force, and with a mighty Army began his March, consisting of a hundred thousand Men, according to the *Scotch* Writers, and of those of many Nations, who in Imagination had possess'd themselves of all the Strength and Riches of *Scotland*, before they enter'd that Kingdom. Besides the King was gloriously attended with most of the Nobility and great Men of *England*, except the four Earls of *Lancaster*, *Warwick*, *Warren* and *Arundel*, who refus'd to go, because the King had protracted the Ratification of their desired Liberties and Provisions. This splendid Army having enter'd *Scotland*, more with the Ornaments of Festival Solemnities than the Accoutrements of hardy Soldiers, was met near *Sterling* by the undaunted King *Robert* at the Head of a well appointed Army of thirty thousand Men, harden'd with the continual Use of War and Domestick Evils, fierce and resolute, carrying about with them all their Hopes of Life, Liberty, and whatever was dear to them. The Advantage of the Ground was theirs, having on one Side unaccessible Rocks to defend them, on the other a moorish Spot of Land, where they made Pits and Trenches fill'd with sharp Stakes, and cover'd over with Hurdles, so that the Foot might safely pass over; but in the Battel they so hamper'd and confounded the *English* Horse, that the *Scots* gain'd the Day, and gave *England* the greatest Overthrow that ever that Nation sustain'd. This fatal Battel was call'd *Bannock's-Bourn*, because fought by the Brook or River *Bannock*, upon which the *Scotch* made several scoffing Rhymes upon the Losses and Misfortunes of the *English*. *Gilbert* Earl of *Clare* was slain, with many Noblemen of the highest Rank, seven hundred Knights and Bannerets, great Numbers of Gentlemen, and ten thousand common Soldiers, tho' the *Scotch* Wri-

A. D.

1313.

Reg. 6.

The Scots recover Strength.

A. D.

1314.

Reg. 7.

The King marches against them.

He receives a great Overthrow.

ters say fifty. Many great Men were taken Prisoners, great Riches and Booty lost, and the King himself with great Difficulty escap'd by Flight. This Defeat gave such Wealth and Power to the *Scots*, that they liv'd securely for several Years after; yet King *Edward* upon his Return to *York* shew'd a great Inclination to repair this Dishonour, but the People grew cold and languid, and return'd home without effecting any Thing. The Unhappy Borderers were great Sufferers by it, and became so disheartned, that according to *Walsingham* a hundred of them would fly from three *Scotch* Soldiers; to such a sudden Faintness were the Inferiors brought, when the nobler Parts of the State were dispirited.

A. D. 1315.
Reg. 8.
Calamities in England.

This great Disaster was attended and succeeded by terrible Inundations, Famines and Pestilences, which exceedingly afflicted the Land. Upon the Dearness of Provisions, at a Parliament held at *Westminster*, it was ordain'd That all Victuals exceeding an establish'd Price should be forfeited to the King: Particularly the best Ox fatted with Grass should be sold for sixteen Shillings, if fatted with Corn for twenty four Shillings; the best Cow for twelve Shillings; a fat Swine of two Years old for three Shillings and four Pence; a fat Wether or Mutton unshorn for twenty Pence, and shorn for fourteen Pence; a fat Goose for two Pence half-penny, a fat Capon for two Pence, a fat Hen for a Penny, two Chickens for a Penny, four Pidgeons for a Penny, and twenty four Eggs for the same. But this Act was in Time found to be so prejudicial, by reason of the Scarcity of all Things, that in the following Year it was repeal'd, and Men were left to their Liberty to make what Advantage they could in these calamitous Times. But neither the Dishonours from *Scotland*, nor the Miseries and Discontents at home, could divert King *Edward* from a publick Solemnization of his beloved *Gaveston's* Funeral; whose Body he remov'd with great Pomp and Splendor from his former Burial at *Oxford* to *King's Langley* in *Hertfordshire*; where he in Person, with the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, four Bishops, many Abbots and Ecclesiasticks, honour'd his Obsequies: But few of the Nobility could so far lay aside their Resentments, as to attend upon such an Occasion.

A. D. 1316.
Reg. 9.
A great Famine.

In the mean Time the State of the Kingdom became deplorable, there being no Love between the King and the Nobility, nor any great Care in Him, or Them, of the publick Affairs; yet they assembled at a Parliament in *London*, where nothing material was enacted, and the Famine and Pettilence daily increas'd. The Famine was become so excessive, as we are told, That not only Horses and Dogs, but even Men and Children were stolen for Food; and, which is horrible to imagine, the Criminals newly brought into the Prisons, were torn in Pieces, and eaten almost alive by such as had been there a longer Time. In *London* it was proclaim'd, That no Corn should be converted to Brewers Uses, which Act, the King, mov'd with Compassion towards the Nation, both follow'd himself, and caus'd to be executed throughout the Kingdom; otherwise, says *Walsingham*, the greater Part of the People had perish'd for want of Bread. The Bloody Flux or Dysentery, caus'd by crude and corrupt Humours, proceeding from unwholsome Diet, rag'd in all Places, and together with other Distempers brought such Multitudes of the meaner Sort to their Graves, that the Living were scarce sufficient to bury the Dead. But all these Calamities could not extinguish the Rancour between the King and his Nobility, tho' he made the Head of them, the Earl of *Lancaster*, Chief of his Privy-Council; for daily some Accident happen'd that increas'd the Averfion.

A. D. 1282.
Reg. 10.
Hatred between the King and Nobility.

Particularly this great Earl's Wife was taken out of his House at *Canford* in *Dorsetshire*, by one *Richard St. Martin*, a most deformed Dwarf, who claim'd her, the greatest Heiress in *England*, for his Wife, avowing that he had lain with her before she was marry'd to the Earl; which the Lady her self, to her perpetual Infamy and Dishonour, voluntarily averr'd. By her this worthless Person claim'd and obtain'd both the Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, to the

the great Diminution of the Earl's Power and Fortunes; which never could have been effected without the greatest Supporters. The King was noted as a special Agent in this Affair, which being in so tender a Point as Marriage, added much to his other Violations of Order and good Government, and gave Occasion and Boldness to inferior Persons to reproach his Behaviour. Particularly at the Celebration of the Feast of *Pentecost*, at Dinner in the open Hall of *Westminster*, a Woman fantastically disguis'd enter'd on Horse-back and deliver'd a Letter to him at the Table, which reprov'd him for his great Neglect of such as had done noble Service to him and his Father, and tax'd him with advancing of unworthy Men, and other Miscarriages. This Letter being read, and the Woman retir'd, the King in a Rage blam'd his Guards for suffering her to enter in such a Manner; who excus'd themselves by alledging It was not the Custom in Kings Palaces, at Times of Festivals, to keep out any that came to divert the Assembly. The Woman being found, confess'd that she was hired by a particular Knight to do this Act; and he being examin'd, boldly declar'd, *That what he did was purely for the King's Honour*, and so escap'd without any further Noise or Disturbance.

The Earl of Lancaster disgraced.

Still the Northern Parts were not only infested and wasted by the *Scots*, but likewise by such *English* as under Colour of Protection and Assistance, robb'd and pillag'd where-ever they came, to the miserable Ruin of the Inhabitants. Nor did the King seem to have any Will or Power to relieve the common Calamities, but rather to convert all his Thoughts and Forces against the Displeasure of the Nobility, who under the Notion of maintaining their Provisions and Establishments, daily withdrew their Love, Service and Duty from him. Wherefore finding himself thus weak and abandon'd, he begg'd the Spiritual Assistance of the Pope; who thereupon sent certain Cardinals to settle the Peace and Tranquility of the Nation. These made a formal Reconciliation between the King and the Earl of *Lancaster*, who in a certain Plain near *Leicester* amicably met with Kisses and Embraces; but when they could not work the same Effect with the *Scots*, they put their whole Country under an Interdict. For they had now so much increas'd in Strength and Power, that they began to cast their Eyes upon the Kingdom of *Ireland*; whither *Edward*, Brother to King *Robert*, had pass'd with an Army, and procur'd himself to be crown'd King of that Country, by the Favour of some of the *Irish* Nobility. Yet after three Years from his first Entrance, the *English* under the Conduct of the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, and *John* Lord *Brenningham* Justiciary of *Ireland*, so valiantly encounter'd him, that he lost both his usurped Kingdom and his Life. In this Battel fell many of the *Scotch* Nobility, besides above five thousand of the ordinary Sort, which much diminish'd the Glory of all their former Successes. But King *Robert*, like an expert and vigilant Prince, was no ways dishearten'd, but proceeding with all Vigour, won the important Town of *Berwick*, which was soon surrender'd to him, by the Treason, as it is believ'd, of *Peter Spalding* the Governor. And when King *Edward* endeavour'd to recover it again, the *Scots* diverted him from the Siege with Incursions and Slaughters of his People in other Parts of *England*, being near surprizing of the Queen her self in a Village not far from *York*, where she continu'd during the Siege of *Berwick*; which Contrivance was form'd by the *Scots* and some perfidious *English*, whom King *Robert* had brib'd for that purpose. The Inhabitants of *York* and the adjacent Country, having sustain'd innumerable Losses by the *Scots*, gather'd together an Army of ten thousand Men, and briskly attack'd them at *Wilton* on *Swaile*; but being neither well led, nor experienc'd, they were defeated with the Loss of three thousand Men. The King being inform'd of this Misfortune, and finding all Affairs in a melancholy Posture, gladly concluded a formal Truce with the *Scots* for two Years, and again return'd with Dishonour from the Northern Parts.

He is reconcil'd to the King.

A. D.

1318.

Reg. 11.

The Scots pass into Ireland.

They are defeated.

A. D.

1319.

Reg. 12.

A Truce made with them.

A. D.

1320.

Reg. 13

*The Rise of the
Spencers.*

III. The Truce with the *Scots* gave no Ease to the Nation as was expected, but was succeeded with great Troubles and Confusion. For it happen'd that about this Time, the King, upon the Recommendation of the Lords themselves, had made *Hugh de Spenser* Lord Chamberlain, who being a Man of equal Insolence, Vices and Ambition with *Gaveston*, so insinuated himself with the King, that he obtain'd all the Favours and Authority that the other ever enjoy'd, and in like manner procur'd no less Envy and Hatred. *Hugh* his Father, an ancient Knight, the better to support his Son in his Courses, was likewise employ'd, and grew in great Favour with the King, who afterwards also created him Earl of *Winchester*; and tho' he was unlike his Son in Manners and Qualifications, yet his inordinate Affection to him was the Cause of his own Ruin. The Son, as he was of a noble Shape and Presence, so the very Spirit of Pride and Rapine carry'd him to such intollerable Actions and Oppressions, that *Gaveston* might with good Reason seem to be wish'd for again. Against these two, who wholly govern'd the unfortunate King, the popular Earl of *Lancaster* and most of the Nobility swell'd with such Rage and Impatience, that gathering together above eleven thousand Men, they enter'd upon their several Lands and vast Estates, wasted sixty three Manors of the Father, and took away such Quantities of Sheep, Oxen and Swine, together with such Provisions of Corn, Wine, and other Conveniencies and Necessaries from both, as amounted to about sixty eight thousand Pounds; as it was given in by themselves afterwards. And not satisfy'd with these Wailes, the Lords by the Terror of civil Arms, in Parliament procur'd these two Favourites to be banish'd; revenging at once both their own and the publick Injuries.

A. D.

1321.

Reg. 14

*The Nobility rise
against them.**They are banish'd.*

In all Contests which happen'd between the King and his Nobility, Queen *Isabel* had been hitherto a Promoter of Peace, and a Performer of many worthy Offices; but the ill Fates of the Earls of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* would not permit her to continue so any longer: For the Queen being one Night deny'd Lodging in the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, which belong'd to the Lord of *Badlesmere*, one of the Earl's Party, she withdrew her good Opinion, and oblig'd the King to take a cruel Revenge for this Dishonour. For immediately after coming in Person with many thousand Men before the Castle, he took the Governor, and all the best of the Garrison, and put them to a shameful Death. Then desiring to be reveng'd on the Lords for their late Insolencies, he march'd to *Cirester*, took many Castles and besieg'd others; while the Lords, not suspecting such sudden Assaults, were providing for their Defence. At *Cirester* *Hugh Spenser* the Son repair'd to him according to Command, having been hovering upon the Sea, expecting the Event of these Affairs by Land. The Nobility, who had fallen from their Sovereign's good Opinion, and wanting now their usual Mediatrix the Queen, lay expos'd to all the Mischiefs that Enemies could raise or procure from the King; who, taking the Regal Power to be in Danger, resolv'd courageously to die in the Contest, or bring the Lords to a full Subjection. In the mean Time the Judgment of Banishment given against the two *Spencers* was revers'd as erroneous, and their Revocation decreed by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and his Suffragans.

A. D.

1322.

Reg. 15

*The Lords
weaken'd.*

The Lords, not all of the same Disposition, began to be apprehensive of the King's Power, and many of them forsook their Commander the Earl of *Lancaster*, and surrender'd themselves to the King; and others were apprehended, particularly the two *Mortimers*, who were committed to the Tower of *London*, and others to *Wallingford* Castle. The Faction weaken'd by this Detention, drew together in the North under the Conduct of the Earl of *Lancaster*, who was now to fight for his Life as well as Estate. Upon which the King march'd thither, and with a Part of his Army constrain'd the Earl to fly from *Burton upon Trent*; whose Forces in their Retreat or Flight behav'd themselves outrageously and barbarously. But they soon met with their deserv'd Punishment

ment; for the King pursu'd them to *Burgh-Bridge*, while they were marching towards their Allies the *Scots*, where they were stopp'd by Forces brought from *Carlisle* by Sir *Andrew Harclay*, and others from *York* by Sir *Simon Ward*. In forcing his Way over the Bridge, the Earl of *Hereford* was kill'd; and the Earl of *Lancaster* not being able to sustain the Shock of the Battel, nor yet to escape, was taken Prisoner by Sir *Andrew Harclay*, and many other Barons, Bannerets and Knights, to the Number of ninety five. The Earl was immediately sent Prisoner to *Pontfract* Castle, his own but lately surrender'd, where the whole Multitude derided him and call'd him *King Arthur*, which Name he is said by some to have assum'd to himself, in an intercepted Letter written to the *Scots*. But this was not all his Fate, for on the third Day after his Apprehension, the King sitting in Judgment at the same Castle, with his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren*, both the *Spencers*, and others, Sentence of Death was given against *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, by drawing, hanging and beheading as a Rebel and a Traitor. The two first Punishments were remitted in regard he was of the Royal Blood; but he was beheaded on the same Day he was condemn'd without the Town of *Pontfract*, before his own Castle, and that without answering, or the Judgment of his Peers. And by the same Judgment were condemn'd the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warren Lisle*, the Lord *William Tokit*, *Thomas Manduit*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitzwilliams*, *William Lord Cheyny*, *Thomas Lord Mowbray*, and *Joceline Lord D'enynvill*; all which were executed at *York*. Shortly after the Lord *Teyes* was taken, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at *London*, the Lord *Aldenharn* at *Windsor*, the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Ashburnham* at *Canterbury*, and the Lord *Gifford* at *Glocester*; all great Men and in great Cities, to spread the more Terror over the Kingdom; which was attended with the intire Confiscation of all their Lands, Titles and Estates, by which many were enrich'd and advanc'd. Never was the *English* Nation so stain'd with the Blood of her Nobility shed in this Manner since the Conquest, which being caus'd in a great Measure by the Power of the *Spencers*, and without regular Process, it open'd Veins for more to follow, and afterwards procur'd a most dismal Revenge.

A grand Execution of the Nobility.

King *Edward* conceiving that this Exploit had made him formidable to the *Scots*, as well as terrible to the *English*, march'd with a mighty Army, but with small Provisions into *Scotland*; from whence not long after, for want of usual Subsistence, he was compell'd to retire without the Honour of any Action. And what prov'd still more dishonourable, the *Scots* pursu'd him many Miles into *England*, and at *Blackmore* Forest took all his Treasure and Furniture, and were so near taking his Person, that he could hardly escape with a few Followers. They took the Earl of *Richmond* and the King of *France's* Envoy, with many others, and wasted the Country with Fire and Sword almost to the Walls of *York*; they burnt *Ripon*, and compounded with *Beverly* for four hundred Pounds, and return'd home loaden with great Spoils and Booty. This was the Success of this unfortunate King in his third *Scottish* Expedition; yet King *Robert*, having lain five Years under the Censure of the Pope's Interdict, desir'd a Truce, which was granted him for thirteen Years.

The King worsted by the Scots.

And now being at Leisure, and in a calmer Temper, the King began to have a Sense of the Execution of the Earl of *Lancaster*, which was discover'd upon this Occasion: Some Persons about him making earnest Suit to grant a Pardon to a Man of low Condition, one of the Earl's Attendants and Followers, he fell into a violent Passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who could urge him to save the Life of a notorious Villain, and would not speak one Word for his near Kinsman the Earl of *Lancaster*; who, if he had liv'd, might have been beneficial to him and the whole Kingdom; but for this Man, the longer he liv'd, the more Mischief he would commit: Therefore with a desperate Oath he declar'd, That he should suffer that Death he

The King concern'd for the Earl of Lancaster.

A. D.

1320.

Reg. 13

*The Rise of the
Spencers.*

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A. D.

1321.

Reg. 14

*The Nobility rise
against them.**They are banish'd.**The Beginning
of a Civil War.*

In all Contests which happen'd between the King and his Nobility, Queen *Isabel* had been hitherto a Promoter of Peace, and a Performer of many worthy Offices; but the ill Fates of the Earls of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* would not permit her to continue so any longer: For the Queen being one Night deny'd Lodging in the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, which belong'd to the Lord of *Badlesmere*, one of the Earl's Party, she withdrew her good Opinion, and oblig'd the King to take a cruel Revenge for this Dishonour. For immediately after coming in Person with many thousand Men before the Castle, he took the Governor, and all the best of the Garrison, and put them to a shameful Death. Then desiring to be reveng'd on the Lords for their late Insolencies, he march'd to *Cirester*, took many Castles and besieg'd others; while the Lords, not suspecting such sudden Assaults, were providing for their Defence. At *Cirester* *Hugh Spenser* the Son repair'd to him according to Command, having been hovering upon the Sea, expecting the Event of these Affairs by Land. The Nobility, who had fallen from their Sovereign's good Opinion, and wanting now their usual Mediatrix the Queen, lay expos'd to all the Mischiefs that Enemies could raise or procure from the King; who, taking the Regal Power to be in Danger, resolv'd courageously to die in the Contest, or bring the Lords to a full Subjection. In the mean Time the Judgment of Banishment given against the two *Spencers* was revers'd as erroneous, and their Revocation decreed by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and his Suffragans.

A. D.

1322.

Reg. 15

*The Lords
weaken'd.*

The Lords, not all of the same Disposition, began to be apprehensive of the King's Power, and many of them forsook their Commander the Earl of *Lancaster*, and surrender'd themselves to the King; and others were apprehended, particularly the two *Mortimers*, who were committed to the Tower of *London*, and others to *Wallingford* Castle. The Faction weaken'd by this Detection, drew together in the North under the Conduct of the Earl of *Lancaster*, who was now to fight for his Life as well as Estate. Upon which the King march'd thither, and with a Part of his Army constrain'd the Earl to fly from *Burton upon Trent*; whose Forces in their Retreat or Flight behav'd themselves outrageously and barbarously. But they soon met with their deserv'd Punishment.

ment; for the King pursu'd them to *Burgh-Bridge*, while they were marching towards their Allies the *Scots*, where they were stopp'd by Forces brought from *Carlisle* by Sir *Andrew Harclay*, and others from *York* by Sir *Simon Ward*. In forcing his Way over the Bridge, the Earl of *Hereford* was kill'd; and the Earl of *Lancaster* not being able to sustain the Shock of the Battel, nor yet to escape, was taken Prisoner by Sir *Andrew Harclay*, and many other Barons, Bannerets and Knights, to the Number of ninety five. The Earl was immediately sent Prisoner to *Pontfract* Castle, his own but lately surrendr'd, where the whole Multitude derided him and call'd him *King Arthur*, which Name he is said by some to have assum'd to himself, in an intercepted Letter written to the *Scots*. But this was not all his Fate, for on the third Day after his Apprehension, the King sitting in Judgment at the same Castle, with his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren*, both the *Spensers*, and others, Sentence of Death was given against *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, by drawing, hanging and beheading as a Rebel and a Traitor. The two first Punishments were remitted in regard he was of the Royal Blood; but he was beheaded on the same Day he was condemn'd without the Town of *Pontfract*, before his own Castle, and that without answering, or the Judgment of his Peers. And by the same Judgment were condemn'd the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warren Lisle*, the Lord *William Tokit*, *Thomas Manduit*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitzwilliams*, *William* Lord *Cheyne*, *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray*, and *Joceline* Lord *D'enynvill*; all which were executed at *York*. Shortly after the Lord *Teyes* was taken, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at *London*, the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windsor*, the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Ashburnham* at *Canterbury*, and the Lord *Gifford* at *Glocester*; all great Men and in great Cities, to spread the more Terror over the Kingdom; which was attended with the intire Confiscation of all their Lands, Titles and Estates, by which many were enrich'd and advanc'd. Never was the *English* Nation stain'd with the Blood of her Nobility shed in this Manner since the Conquest, which being caus'd in a great Measure by the Power of the *Spensers*, and without regular Process, it open'd Veins for more to follow, and afterwards procur'd a most dismal Revenge.

A grand Execution of the Nobility.

King *Edward* conceiving that this Exploit had made him formidable to the *Scots*, as well as terrible to the *English*, march'd with a mighty Army, but with small Provisions into *Scotland*; from whence not long after, for want of usual Subsistence, he was compell'd to retire without the Honour of any Action. And what prov'd still more dishonourable, the *Scots* pursu'd him many Miles into *England*, and at *Blackmore* Forest took all his Treasure and Furniture, and were so near taking his Person, that he could hardly escape with a few Followers. They took the Earl of *Richmond* and the King of *France's* Envoy, with many others, and wasted the Country with Fire and Sword almost to the Walls of *York*; they burnt *Ripon*, and compounded with *Beverly* for four hundred Pounds, and return'd home loaden with great Spoils and Booty. This was the Success of this unfortunate King in his third *Scottish* Expedition; yet King *Robert*, having lain five Years under the Censure of the Pope's Interdict, desir'd a Truce, which was granted him for thirteen Years.

The King worsted by the Scots.

And now being at Leisure, and in a calmer Temper, the King began to have a Sense of the Execution of the Earl of *Lancaster*, which was discover'd upon this Occasion: Some Persons about him making earnest Suit to grant a Pardon to a Man of low Condition, one of the Earl's Assistants and Followers, he fell into a violent Passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who could urge him to save the Life of a notorious Villain, and would not speak one Word for his near Kinsman the Earl of *Lancaster*; who, if he had liv'd, might have been beneficial to him and the whole Kingdom; but for this Man, the longer he liv'd, the more Mischief he would commit: Therefore with a desperate Oath he declar'd, That he should suffer that Death he

The King concerned for the Earl of Lancaster.

had deserv'd. And notwithstanding the Crimes and Treasons of this Earl of *Lancaster*, the People held him in such Veneration, that they repair'd to his Tomb as to that of the greatest Saint; and many Miracles and Cures were reported to have been wrought there. Sir *Andrew Harclay*, who took him Prisoner at *Burgh-Bridge*, being advanc'd for his Service to the Earldom of *Carlisle*, enjoy'd his Honour but a short Time. For in the following Year, either falling into Discontent by the *Spensers* envying his high Preferment, or combining with the *Scots* who had allur'd him with the Hopes of a great Match, as he was accus'd, he was degraded of all his Honours, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at *London* for Treason; and remains among the Examples of sudden Down-falls, under an unconstant and ill-governing Prince.

A. D. IV. We are now arriv'd at the last Act or Part of King *Edward's* Tragical Misfortunes; occasion'd from the new King of *France*, *Charles* the Fifth, his pretending to seize the Dutchy of *Gascony* for want of Homage, and from the exorbitant Power and Possessions of the two *Spensers*. These two powerful Men, one created Earl of *Winchester* and the other Earl of *Glocester*, now aspiring to the Height of Command, and endeavouring to remove all Impediments to their Grandeur, continually rais'd mortal Enmities against themselves and the King. The Queen took their Carriage heinously, because, among other Disobligations, they had retrench'd her expensive Way of Living, while they abounded in all Riches and Magnificence, as she complain'd, particularly, *That the Daughter and Heir of the King of France was marry'd to a Miser, and tho' she was promis'd to be made a Queen, she was no better than a Waiting-Woman, living upon a Pension from the Spensers.* Thus was the Foundation of their common Destruction laid, and begun in the Impotency of a Woman's Will; to strengthen which, they themselves increas'd her Party with *Adam* Bishop of *Hereford*, by divesting him of all his Temporalities as a Traitor, for having supported the *Mortimers* in the Barons Contest. This *Adam* was a Man of a subtle Wit, profound in Human Policy, daring and factious, who for this Cause conceiving the greatest Indignation, soon found means to become dear to the Queen, and to form a great and secret Party: To which *Henry* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who for the like Causes had been kept out of his Temporalities about two Years, join'd himself. Neither would the Avarice of the *Spensers* permit them to lessen the Multitudes of their Enemies; for they sold the King's Pardons and Favours to such as had been concern'd in the Barons Contest at such excessive Rates, both of Lands and Mony, that they impoverish'd many of the Nobility. In sum, the Royal Power being in the Hands of the *Spensers*, and the Chancellor *Baldock*, or of their Creatures and Favourites, this new Faction had the general Discontents of the Nation to work upon for their Advantage.

A. D. The King being thus govern'd, and having sent his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* to compose the Affairs of *Gascony*, the Matter was soon brought to this Issue: That whereas the King resolv'd to have gone in Person into *France*, the *Spensers*, who dreaded a Separation from his Person, as knowing the Reverence of that to be their only Safeguard, perswaded the King, contrary to the Opinion of all others, to oblige the Queen in her Requests, and send her over to negotiate his Affairs with her Brother the *French* King. All this she in a short Time perform'd, and by her Suit and Management all Differences were compos'd, upon Condition that King *Edward* should give to his Son Prince *Edward* the Dukedom of *Gascony* and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, for which the King of *France* was willing to accept of his young Nephew's Homage. This being effected, the Prince was sent over for that Purpose to his Mother, to the utter Ruin of the King his Father and all his Favourites: For the Heir of *England* being in Foreign Parts, and among the contrary Faction, all their Consultation was, under Colour of defeating the *Spensers*, how to accomplish their own Delights

The several
Steps towards
King Edward's
Ruin.

The Queen
sent over to
France.

Designs. And what strengthen'd their Interest was the Arrival of young *Roger Mortimer* from *England*, a Person as much in Favour with the Queen as the *Spensers* were with the King, who having been imprison'd in the Tower for joining in the late Rebellion, had either corrupted or poison'd his Keepers, and made his Escape with other Fugitives into *France*. Now the Queen and Prince having perform'd the whole of their Negotiation, the King about *Michaelmas* sent several kind Letters and Messages to them to desire them to return into *England*; but the Conspiracy not being ripe, she deferr'd the Thing upon several Pretences, and detain'd her Son still. Among many that went over with the young Prince was *Stapleton* Bishop of *Exeter*, who perceiving the Familiarity between the Queen and *Mortimer* to be greater than was agreeable either to her Honour or Duty, and seeing him and other Fugitives enjoy that Privacy in Council that was assign'd to himself, he return'd secretly and unexpectedly into *England*, and faithfully inform'd the King of all that he knew.

Designs against
the King.

The unfortunate King *Edward* now clearly seeing his Error, by the Greatness of his Dangers, earnestly solicited the King of *France* to send home the Queen and the Prince; but that not succeeding, he imprudently in the City of *London* caus'd them to be proclaim'd Enemies to the Kingdom, banishing them and all their Adherents from the same. For his greater Security also he caus'd the Ports to be carefully watch'd; and besides this, there was a Design laid, as it was suppos'd and believ'd, to take away the Lives of the Queen and Prince. The Queen on the other Side, fearing that the *Spensers* Gold might ruin all her Proceedings in *France*, politickly retir'd out of the Way, 'till with the Prince, the Lord *Mortimer*, and her other Adherents, were arriv'd safely in *Hainault*. There was also some other Reasons to move Queen *Isabel* to depart out of *France*, besides the Danger of Designs against her Person, as to divert and remove a War from her Native Country, which for her sake began now to be infested on the Sea-Coasts: For Sir *John Oturwin*, Sir *Nicolas Kiried*, and Sir *John Felton*, with the Navy of the Ports, and of other Places, had by Commission from the King so scoured the narrow Seas, that they within a short Time, brought a hundred and twenty *Norman* Ships into *England*, as lawful Prizes. And further, whereas those two Bishops, which the Pope had sent over upon her Account, were return'd out of *England*, without doing or hoping to do her any Service, she was fully perswaded that the Sword or nothing could effect it.

A. D.

1325.

Reg. 18.

The Queen
and her Party
proclaim'd
Traitors.

But at *Hainault* she found a hearty and honourable Reception from *William* the Earl of that Country; where, contrary to the Advice and Consent of the Peers of *England*, she contracted the Prince her Son, then not fourteen Years of Age, to *Philippa*, one of the Earl's Daughters; and with the Mony of her Portion rais'd Soldiers out of *Hainault* and *Germany* for her Service in *England*. Being provided with Men and Vessels, she embark'd for *England* with her Son, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* the King's Brother, *Roger Mortimer*, and many others who fled out of *England*, and with two thousand seven hundred and fifty seven Men at Arms, commanded by *John* the Earl's Brother, she landed at *Harwich* on *Wednesday* before *Michaelmas* Day, where she was join'd by the Earl-Marshal; the Earl of *Leicester*, with several Barons and Knights, and almost all the Prelates, but chiefly with the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Hereford* and *Ely*, who together compos'd a considerable Army, which being refresh'd at *St. Edmund's Bury*, set forwards to meet with all Opposers. The unfortunate King, now destitute of Friends and Means, as well as Courage and Counsel, demanded Assistance of the City of *London*, where he receiv'd this Answer, *That they would honour and obey the King, Queen and Prince, but would shut their Gates against all Foreigners and Traitors to the Realm*. The King and his few Friends reposing no Assurance in this Answer, committed an Error worse than any of his former, by retiring himself into the West, with his inseparable Favourites the *Spensers*, *Baldock* and others, there to raise an Army

A. D.

1326.

Reg. 19.

The Queen
lands with an
Army.

The King flies
to the West.

Army against the Queen. But before his Departure, he left his other Son, the Lord *John of Eltham* in the Tower of *London*, with his Niece (the Countess of *Glocester* Wife to the younger *Spenser*, committing the Government of the Tower to Sir *John Weston*, who was well provided of Men and Ammunition. He also by Proclamation commanded all Men to kill and destroy the Queen's Adherents, none excepted but her self, the Prince, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*; and that none upon pain of Death, and Forfeiture of Estates, should any ways aid or assist them; and that whoever brought him the Head of the Lord *Mortimer*, should be rewarded with a thousand Pounds. Thus the King took his final leave of the City of *London*, and in a great Measure of his Rule and Dominion.

The Queen's
Power increases

On the contrary Side the Queen in a short Time gather'd a very considerable Force, which to retain, as well as to encrease, Letters and Rumours were dispers'd in all Parts, declaring That the King of *France*, to aid his Sister, had got ready so many Dukes, Earls and others, that *England* could scarce maintain them. This false Report had great Effect upon such as depended upon the Force of Arms; but to those whom the Power of Religion might move, it was as subtly, tho' as falsely spread abroad, That the Pope had excommunicated all such as had taken up Arms against the Queen; and the more to countenance the Faction, that two Cardinals employ'd about that Affair, were seen in the Queen's Camp. Besides these, it was proclaim'd, That the Causes of the Queen's Arrival were only to deliver the Nation from the King's Evil Counsellors, which were nam'd to be the two *Spensers*, *Robert Baldock* Lord Chancellor, and their Favourites; all others were to be safe, that nothing should be taken from any Subject without paying ready Mony, and a Penalty was impos'd on all who acted contrary, as for the Value of three Pence to lose a Finger, six Pence the Hand, and twelve Pence the Head; and finally whosoever brought the younger *Spenser's* Head to the Queen, should have two thousand Pounds Reward. With these outward Shows of Justice and Reason, the Queen with her Son and whole Army pursu'd the King, as it had been agreed in a Council of War, marching first into the City of *Oxford*; where the Bishop of *Hereford*, the Queen's chief Counsellor, preach'd before her, the Army and the University, believing the Cause of her Proceedings, and taking for his Text, *My Head, my Head aketh*; from whence he concluded, contrary to the Rules of Physick, as well as Precepts of Divinity, that an aking and sick Head of a Kingdom, was of Necessity to be taken off, and not otherwise to be cured. In the mean Time the *Londoners* in Favour of the Queen, and Hatred of the *Spensers*, committed horrid Outrages, besides inhuman Sacrilege in cutting off the Bishop of *Exeter's* Head, and some others, whom the King had left Guardians of the City, among whom was a Citizen of their own *John de Marchal*, an Acquaintance of the younger *Spenser*. They also got the Tower into their Possession, placing and displacing the Garrison and Officers at their Pleasure, under the Name of the Lord *John of Eltham*, the King's second Son, whom they proclaim'd *Custos* of the City and the Kingdom. They also set at Liberty all Prisoners, which by the popular Queen's Commands was done throughout the Nation; and all Exiles and Fugitives were recall'd, who all flocking to the City of *London*, made no small Addition to her Forces.

She pursues the
King.

The miserable King had now the clamorous Effects of ill Counsels calling too loud upon him; yet found no Way left to recover or repair the Misfortunes to which those Errors had reduc'd him. Where-ever he went he found but few Subjects, for those with their Hearts were lost before; but being led on by uncertain Advices, after many Motions, as various as his former Humour, he took Shipping with a few Friends, intending for the Isle of *Lundy*, or *Ireland*; but having sustain'd much Damage at Sea, he came on Shore in *Glamorganshire*, where he entrusted himself to God, and the Faith of the *Welsh*, who still retain'd their former Love to him, lying secret amongst them in the Abby of *Nethe*.

The King re-
tires to Wales.

Nethe. In the mean Time the Queen with increasing Forces, and restless Revenge, pursu'd her flying Husband and Sovereign; and from *Oxford* march'd directly to *Glocester*, and from thence to *Bristol*; which being fortify'd as well as the Time would permit, was committed by the King to the Care of the Earl of *Arundel*, and the elder *Spenser*. But this Place soon yielded to that Success, which seem'd to deny all Hopes to the King's declining Condition. Old *Spenser* was there taken and executed upon the common Gallows with all the Rigour that Revenge and Conquest could invent; and with as much Contempt of Law, as he and his Son had formerly shew'd. They condemn'd him without Trial; and prevented his natural End, which could not have been long, being then near ninety Years of Age.

Old *Spenser*
executed.

The King having lain conceal'd for some Time, Proclamations were daily issued from the Queen's Army declaring, *That if King Edward would come in and conform himself to the Laws and Government of the Nation, he should be restor'd by the general Consent of the People.* But the King, not daring to trust to this Declaration, kept himself still conceal'd with *Spenser*; upon which the Queen with her Forces and Friends at *Hereford* undertook to dispose of the Government, and by the Consent of the Lords and Community of *England*, Prince *Edward* was made *Custos* or Guardian of the Kingdom, and had Fealty sworn to him accordingly; the Bishop of *Norwich* was made Chancellor of the Realm, and the Bishop of *Winchester* Treasurer. But the King's Person was still too great to be kept long in secret; for the revengeful Eyes of the late Earl of *Lancaster*'s Brother, with some others, soon discover'd him in his Retirement; and by the Force of Mony and Arms they got him into their Possession, together with the younger *Spenser*, Chancellor *Baldock*, and *Simon de Reding*. The King was convey'd by the Earl from the Place of his Captivity to *Monmouth*, to *Ledbury*, and so to the Castle of *Kenelworth* in *Warwickshire*, belonging to the Earl of *Leicester*, to whose Custody he was committed: The other three, *Spenser*, *Baldock* and *Reding*, were strongly guarded to *Hereford*, there to be dispos'd at the Pleasure of their most mortal Enemies. Before their Arrival, the Earl of *Arundel* with some others were beheaded, chiefly to oblige *Mortimer*, who now govern'd the Queen's Affections as well as Affairs. The younger *Spenser* was carry'd along, only to grace the Queen's triumphant March; and, as the chief Cause of her taking Arms, he was render'd a most contemptible Spectacle, and expos'd in a sitting Posture, to increase the Scorns and Reproaches that usually attend such miserable Objects. But he was soon eas'd of his Sufferings, and receiv'd Sentence of Death from the Judge *William Trussel*; then being ignominiously dragg'd to the Place of Execution, he was hung upon a Gallows fifty Foot high, and after that beheaded and quarter'd; they who brought him to the Queen having their promis'd Reward of two thousand Pounds. His Head was set up at *London*, and his Quarters in four Parts of the Kingdom; and *Simon de Reding* was hang'd ten Foot lower than he in the same Place. This Execution was done on a *Monday*, in Revenge of the Death of the Earl of *Lancaster*, whose Blood was shed on that Day. As to Chancellor *Baldock*, he was committed to the Bishop of *Hereford*'s Care, who brought him to *London*; where the tumultuous People took him by Violence, and tho' he was a Bishop, thrust him into *Newgate*, where he dy'd miserably.

Prince *Edward*
made *Custos* of
the Kingdom.

The King is
taken.

Young *Spenser*
executed.

After some Stay at *Hereford*, the Queen came to *London* with her Son *Edward*, and her Favourite *Mortimer*; where she was receiv'd with as many Testimonies of Joy and Satisfaction, as could arise from two such great Causes, as the Misfortunes of her Husband, and her own Success. A Parliament or Convention was then summon'd, which was held the next Day after the *Epiphany*; where it was adjudg'd and declar'd That King *Edward* was unfit to govern the Kingdom any longer, for these Reasons: First, 'For that in all his Reign he has been mis-led and govern'd by others, who gave him evil Council to the Dishonour of Himself, and the Destruction of the Church and his People, not consider-

A. D.

1327.

Reg. 20.

Articles against
King *Edward*.

ring

‘ ring or knowing whether it was Good or Evil; nor would remedy these Things,
 ‘ when he was petition’d by the chief Men of his Kingdom, nor suffer them to
 ‘ be redress’d. Secondly, He would not submit to good Counsel, nor the good
 ‘ Government of his Kingdom; but neglecting the Business of the Realm, gave
 ‘ himself to Works and Employments unbecoming his Station. Thirdly, For want of
 ‘ good Government he lost the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and other Territories in
 ‘ *Gascony* and *Ireland*, which his Father had left to him in a peaceable State.
 ‘ Fourthly, By his Pride and Cruelty he destroy’d the Holy Church, and her
 ‘ chief Ministers, imprisoning some, and distressing others; and also executed,
 ‘ imprison’d, banish’d, and disinherited many great and noble Men of the Land.
 ‘ Fifthly, Whereas he was bound by Oath to do Justice to all, he only observ’d
 ‘ his own Profit, and the Avarice of his wicked Counsellors; nor did he regard
 ‘ the other Points of his Coronation Oath. Sixthly, He abandon’d his King-
 ‘ dom, and endeavour’d to destroy it and his People; and what was worse, by
 ‘ the Cruelty and Default of his Person, he was become incorrigible without
 ‘ Hopes of Amendment. All which were so notorious, as not to be gainsaid.

*He is declar’d
no King.*

For these Reasons he was declar’d no King, and his Son appointed to be crown’d, which was proclaim’d in the great Hall of *Westminster*, with the universal Consent of the People there present; and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* made a Sermon upon this Text, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of God*, exhorting all there present to invoke the King of Kings for the Person they had then chosen.

The Queen, when she heard of this heavy Sentence, of deposing her Husband, seem’d to sink under the Weight he was to bear, and to act the Part of a tender and dutiful Wife; but she who had reduc’d him to that Condition could scarcely with feign’d Tears and Lamentations persuade others to believe that she really deplor’d it. Besides that unjustifiable Passion for *Mortimer*, which had so long and so violently govern’d her, was a convincing Proof that there was not Kindness enough left for her unhappy Husband to cause a sincere Grief for his Calamities. The Prince her Son, either mov’d by that specious Shew of Sorrow, which might easily deceive his innocent Youth, or rather urg’d by his own natural and generous Temper, solemnly vow’d That he would never accept of the Crown but by his Father’s Consent. Upon which Commissioners were sent to the King at *Kenelworth* Castle, consisting of three Bishops, two Earls, two Barons, two Abbots, and two Justiciaries; among whom was Judge *Trussel*, Proxy to the whole Parliament. The Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford* went before to prepare and persuade the King to resign the Crown; and as Promises frequently exceed Performances, they assur’d him, *He should live more happy than before, and that in Effect he should only resign his Cares, and enjoy an undisturb’d Quiet and Plenty.* On the other side they threatned, *That if he refus’d to Grant what the People would certainly Take, and which was desir’d of him to satisfy his Son, he could not prevent his own Fate, but would bring Misfortunes upon his Posterity; for in that Case the People would chuse a King that had no Relation to his Blood.*

*He is persuad-
ed to resign.*

Upon the Arrival of the Commissioners, who were to receive his Resignation, the poor dispirited King came forth cloath’d in deep Mourning answerable to his Sorrows; and at the Sight of that Power which was to take away his, he could support himself no longer, but sunk with the Weight of his Afflictions down to the Ground. But after some Time being reviv’d and recover’d, the Bishop of *Hereford* deliver’d to him the subject Matter of their Commission, with the fatal Consequences of his Non-Compliance, which must involve his Son and Posterity in his own unhappy Condition. Upon which the King being greatly dejected, told them, *That he submitted to all Things with the more Patience, because his Crimes and Offences had caus’d the Misery that was fallen upon him; yet it was a most afflicting Thought to him, That his People should retain such Hatred against him, as not to endure him any longer* for then

their Sovereign: But if his Condition would admit of any Consolation, it must proceed from the Kindness they had shown to his Son, which he could not but gratefully acknowledge. This said, they proceeded to the short Ceremony of his Resignation, which principally consisted in the Surrender of his Diadem and Ensigns of Majesty to the Use of his Son the new King. For the Form of it, this being the first known in *England*, they could follow no Precedent, but were oblig'd to make one, and Judge *Trussel* put it into the Stile of Law to render it more Authentick, and pronounc'd it after this Manner, 'I William *Trussel in the Name of all the Men of the Land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurator, resign to Thee Edward the Homage that was made to Thee sometime, and from this Time forwards, I defy Thee and deprive Thee of all Royal Power; and I shall never be Attendant on Thee as King after this Time.* Which being done, Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight Steward of the Household, by breaking his Staff, resign'd his Office, and declar'd that the late King's Family was discharg'd. This was done upon the twenty second Day of *January*, in the forty third Year of his Age, after an unfortunate and dishonourable Reign of nineteen Years, six Months, and fifteen Days.

The Manner of his Resignation.

Here ended all the Power and Sovereignty of King *Edward* the Second, which dropt from him without those violent Struggles that usually attend such Contests; and in our History this is the first Instance where a King fell with so little Honour, and so great Infidelity, that found neither Sword nor Tongue to assert his Right. Tho' *England* had endur'd great Miseries and Afflictions, through the Violence and Ambition of some of her Kings, yet she had been govern'd by Men, and those Troubles were incident to vigorous Dispositions; but under this King, who could neither gain nor keep, the Nation sustain'd all those Calamities that could proceed from the Weaknesses and Levities of a Child. His very Nature was so passive and complying, that he seem'd not only to have been govern'd, but even actuated by his Favourites, who directed and carry'd him as they pleas'd, commanded his Person and Kingdom, and only made use of his Name to colour and countenance their Villanies. For this Prince was not, like some of the former, ruin'd by a violent grasping at unlawful Power; but by meanly subjecting himself to the Power and Guidance of Others: And as Pride, Obstinacy and Ambition were the Vices that embroyld some of the former Reigns; so Easiness, Complacency, and Submission or rather Subjection were the Ruin of this: Which cannot so much be call'd Vices in themselves, as they became so, in being unfortunately plac'd. In short he was more weak than wicked, and his Exorbitancies met with as great, or greater in his People. He was too much given to Drink, but remarkable for his Continence; and he left some Remains of his Charity and Piety behind him, having founded *Oriel* College and *St. Mary-Hall* in *Oxford*, and built a Church for Friars at his Manor of *Langley*.

His Character.

In the Beginning of this King's Reign all the Knights *Templars* throughout *England* were at once arrested, and committed to Prison. They were a famous Order of Knights instituted by *Baldwin* King of *Jerusalem* about two hundred Years before, and first appointed for the Defence of that City, and the safe Conduct of those that travelled thither. Afterwards they were dispers'd through all the Kingdoms of Christendom, and by the pious Munificence of Princes and others, enrich'd with infinite Possessions, which caus'd them to degenerate from their first Institution, and to become exorbitantly vicious and scandalous. So that all the Kings of Christendom at the same Time joyning together, caus'd them to be apprehended within their Dominions, and to be depriv'd both of their Order and Estates. Being first condemn'd in a general Council held at *Vienna*, their Estates were afterwards given to another Order of Knights call'd *Hospitallers*.

The Destruction of the Knights Templars.

S E C T. III.

*The Reign of King EDWARD the Third.**Containing 50 Years, 4 Months, and 27 Days.*

A. D. I. **T**HE Wounds and Weaknesses which the Publick sustain'd in the ^{Reign of King Edward the Second, were in a few Years cur'd by} ^{that of his mighty Son; and the English Nation not only recover'd}
 1327.

Reg. 1. Vigour and Strength, but also Beauty and Glory: But the Worth and Grandeur of this Prince did not immediately appear, he being not full fifteen Years of Age at his Father's Resignation, and therefore continu'd under the Tuition and Government of others. Shortly after the Deposition and Resignation of the old King, great Preparations were made for this young Prince's Coronation, and he was first proclaim'd King by Order and Consent of Parliament on the twenty fifth Day of *January*. And immediately after Writs were issu'd out to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom to proclaim the new King's Peace, in which he declar'd to the People *That his Father the late King had, by the Advice and Consent of the Nobility and Community of the Realm, made a free and voluntary Resignation of his Regal Dignity to him, as being his Eldest Son, and Heir to the Kingdom.* Upon Sunday the first of *February*, this youthful Hero was first girded with the Sword of Knighthood by the Hands of his Cousin *Henry Earl of Lancaster*, and then crown'd at *Westminster* by *Walter Reginald Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* with great Solemnity: And as an Earnest of the numerous Benefits of his succeeding Reign, a general Pardon was proclaim'd; which gave Occasion to succeeding Kings to grant the like at their Accession to the Crown, in Imitation of so renown'd an Example. But by reason of his unripe Years, twelve of the chief Nobility were appointed as Guardians to Him and the Kingdom, 'till he should be of Age, the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Hereford* and *Worcester*, the two Earls of *Norfolk* and *Kent*, both Uncles to the King, and five Barons, *Warren*, *Wake*, *Percy*, *Ingham* and *Ross*. But the Queen and the Lord *Mortimer* notwithstanding usurp'd this Charge, and in a great measure took all to themselves; and the Queen's Dowry was so unreasonably enlarg'd, that the King her Son had scarce a Third Part of the Crown Revenues to himself; of which *Mortimer* made great Advantage, to advance his Creatures, and establish his own Authority and Grandeur.

King Edward
the Third
crowned.

His Guardians.

Before the Affairs of *England* were fully establish'd, *Robert King of Scotland*, tho' decay'd and infirm, remembering how much he had suffer'd from this young King's Grand-father, notwithstanding the Peace agreed on three Years before, resolv'd to take Advantage of the unsettled Times, and invade the Kingdom of *England*; and accordingly about *Easter*, he sent the Earl of *Murray* and Sir *James Douglas* with an Army into *England* to waste and ravage the Country, according to their former Methods of Invasion. On the other Side young *Edward*, inflam'd with a Desire of revenging the dishonourable Defeats in his Father's Reign, and being inform'd of the *Scotch* Designs, by the Advice of his Council publish'd his Proclamations, commanding all Noblemen and others to be well appointed according to their Ranks and Degrees, and to attend him at the City of *York* on *Ascension-Day*. He also sent to the Lord *John Beaumont*, Brother to the Earl of *Hainault*, whom the Queen had brought over from the *Low-Countries*, requesting his Company and Assistance in this Expedition, and that he would be at *York* at the appointed Time, with what Men of Arms he could procure. To which the Lord *Beaumont* readily comply'd; and gathering together out of *Hainault*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Artois* and other

The Scots invade England.

The King prepares against them.

other Places many brave Noblemen and Knights to accompany him, consisting of five hundred Men at Arms; all gallantly appointed and mounted, he arriv'd at the City of *York* three Days before *Whitsontide*, where he found the young King, the Queen his Mother, and all his Lords, and a powerful Army, attending his Coming. Shortly after their Arrival, there happen'd a great and unhappy Contest between some of the Archers of the *English* Army; and the Servants of the Foreigners, begun and promoted, as it was believ'd, by some Male-contents Friends to the *Spensers* and the late Earl of *Arundel*, which not only caus'd the shedding of some Blood in the Army; but also became a great Impediment in the design'd Expedition. The Occasion of the Quarrel was found to be in the *English*, which tho' by the King's Care it was with some Difficulty appeas'd, yet it was an ominous Prefage of the ill Success of that Enterprize; and because in the Minds of some of the Parties offended there still remain'd some secret Resentments, it happen'd that all the promising Endeavours of the King of *England* came at that Time to little or no Effect.

After six Weeks Continuance in and about *York*, King *Edward*, hearing that the *Scots* were enter'd *England*, left that Place, and with his Barons and Forces, and the Lord *Beaumont* and his Men, march'd to the City of *Durham*. Before which Time, notwithstanding the Care of the Earl-Marshal at *Newcastle*, and the Lord *Mowbray* at *Carlisle*, the *Scots* had pass'd the River *Tyne* with an Army consisting of four thousand Men at Arms, Knights and Esquires well mounted, and a thousand others arm'd after their Country Fashion, upon small inconsiderable Horses, besides their Forces on Foot. King *Edward* being inform'd of this, and the Devastations they made, immediately gave Command for every Man to dislodge, and follow the Lord Marshal's Banner; and thus prepar'd, he with his mighty Army advanc'd towards the Enemy, with no better Guide to direct him, than the Smoak of their Burnings. At length he found them incamp'd in *Stanhope* Park, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, where he strongly beleagu'r'd them on every Side, and so confin'd them for the Space of fifteen Days, that their Provisions fail'd them; and being much weaken'd with Hunger, they were constrain'd to invent a Way for their Escape. And therefore they prepar'd great Numbers of Fleaks, Hurdels and Faggots, by the help of which, in the following Night, they and their Horses pass'd safely out of the Park, over a deep and moorish Ground, which by the Negligence or Treachery of some great Men in King *Edward's* Army was left undefended, and with all Speed and Secrecy fled from the Sight of the *English* to the next Mountains. King *Edward*, inrag'd at their Escape, with his whole Army pursu'd them from Place to Place for many Days together; but could not discover them, 'till after a Proclamation of a hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and the Honour of Knighthood, to be given to any who would bring certain Intelligence where they were incamp'd, he was inform'd by One who had labour'd for that Purpose, that they were lodg'd in a certain Mountain, six Miles from his Camp, and attended his Coming with a Design to give him Battel. Upon this pleasing Account, the King and his Army, having perform'd all Acts of Devotion, and refresh'd themselves and Horses, follow'd this new made Knight as their Guide through difficult Passages, and about Noon arriv'd within Sight of their Enemies.

As the *English* had the greater Army, so the *Scotch* had the Advantage of the Ground, having drawn up their Men in the Descent of the Mountain, where a great River ran between the *English* and them, so full of large Rocks and Stones, that the *English* could not pass over to them without the greatest Hazards; nor was there Room between the *Scotch* and River for the *English* to draw up in Battalia. King *Edward* therefore, after a Council of War, by his Heralds made these Proposals to the *Scots*, *That if they would pass the River and fight with him in the plain Field, he would freely retire 'till he had left them sufficient Space to range their whole Army, that Day, or when they pleas'd;*

He marches against them.

They make their Escape.

King Edward offers them Battel.

pleas'd; or else upon the like Offer, he would come over to them. But the *Scotch* would accept of neither, sending this Answer to the King of *England*, *That since the English were three Times more numerous than they, it would be the highest Indiscretion for them to abandon that Ground they had chosen for their Defence: And since the English were not ignorant in whose Dominions they were, and what Waste they had made, they might correct them if they could, for they would stay there as long as they thought fit.* Upon this Answer, King *Edward* order'd his Men to continue there the Night following, and they were forc'd to lye upon the Ground and hard Stones in their Armour, without any Conveniency for their Horses or themselves; and thus the two Armies continu'd in Sight of each other for three Days, being neither of them desirous to fight, by reason of the Danger in passing the River. On the fourth Day, the *English* perceiving that the *Scots* had left the Mountain by Night, and being inform'd that they were lodg'd on another by the same River Side, more advantagious than the former by reason of a neighbouring Wood, they immediately decamp'd and lodg'd themselves upon another Hill over-against the *Scots*, where the two Armies being drawn up, made fair shews of a Battel; but neither durst run the Hazard of passing the River. Thus they continu'd for the Space of eighteen Days, during which Time, some of both Parties often broke out, and skirmish'd with each other, to the Death and Captivity of many; and the King of *England* by his Heralds renew'd his former Proposal of accommodating them with convenient Ground to fight on, or to accept of the like from them; but the *Scots* continuing in their first Resolution, would consent to nothing of that Nature.

They refuse.

A brave Attempt.

Among other Occurrences that happen'd during this Time, the brave and courageous Attempt of the Lord *James Douglas* ought not to be forgotten, who in the Night Time with two hundred extraordinary Horsemen pass'd the River some Distance from the *English* Army, and notwithstanding the Watch, suddenly broke into the Camp, and slew divers of the Army without Resistance; then riding up to the King's Tent, cut some of the Cords of it, and slew the King's Chaplain who valiantly defended his Master, from whence he retir'd with the Loss of a few Men to his own Army. From this Time the *English* were more careful in their Watch, and the most Part lay every Night in their Arms, to prevent the like Attempts; and tho' the *Scots* were a hardy People enduring Hunger, Cold and Labour, and satisfy'd with a mean and spare Diet, yet at this Time wanting all Provisions, and losing all Hopes of further Success this Campaign, they resolv'd to break up with all convenient Speed, and return to their proper Habitations; and therefore, after they had wasted all that might be useful to the *English*, they privately retir'd at Midnight, and got safe into their own Country. In the mean Time the King of *England* and his Lords, highly dissatisfy'd at this Disappointment, took Counsel what was best to be done; and duely considering that the Soldiers were fatigu'd with frequent Removals, Hunger, Wet, Cold, ill Lodgings and hard Passages, and that their Horses were weaken'd for Want of Conveniencies and good Provision, they concluded that it would be to no Advantage to pursue the *Scots* any further. And having spent above a Month in an useless Pursuit, the King repair'd with his Army to *Durham*, and within three Days after to *York*, where he found the Queen his Mother, and divers other noble Ladies, who receiv'd him and his Company with great Joy. Here the King gave leave to all Soldiers to return to their Habitations, and dismiss'd the Lord *Beaumont* and all his Retinue and Attendance with munificent Rewards for all former Services. And thus the mighty Preparation which King *Edward* and his Friends had made for the Ruin of the small *Scotch* Army, came to little Effect; and this young King born for Victories and Triumphs, was depriv'd of the Honour of his first Action; the ill Success of which was afterwards charg'd upon the Lord *Mortimer*, who is said to have kept private Intelligence with the Enemy, and to have suffer'd them to escape without Damage.

The Scots retire home.

The King not successful.

*Baron
Mortimer
&c.*

During

During these Transactions in the North, the old depos'd King remain'd close Prisoner at *Kenelworth* Castle in *Warwickshire*, with an Allowance of a hundred Marks a Month for his Expences; but depriv'd of all other Human Comforts, especially the Company of his Queen, whom he still lov'd intirely, tho' she was the great Cause of his Ruin. All his soft and tender Invitations by Letters were frustrated by the Vigilance of *Mortimer*, who consented to her sending civil Answers and Suits of Apparel, but perswaded her, *That his Design was only to murder her, if he could get her into his Power.* This great Neglect caus'd him with many Sighs to say to his Keepers, *Wherein have I offended my Wife, and my Son, whom they have made King; that neither of them will let me see their Faces?* But in a short Time the Nation began sensibly to reflect upon his sad Fate, calmly to consider the Pretences of his Enemies, and to contrive how they might be kind to him, and prevent further Mischiefs. His chief Keeper also, the Earl of *Lancaster*, began to be every Way obliging to him, highly commiserating his deplorable State, and many Lords and Others thought upon Means to deliver him out of his Captivity. The Notice or rather Suspicion of this extreamly startled *Mortimer* and the Queen, and all the chief Actors in this Tragedy, who reviewing all their former Actions, and dreading the old King's Liberty as their own inevitable Ruin, immediately resolv'd to remove him from *Kenelworth* Castle, and appointed him two new Keepers, *Thomas Gournay* and *John Maltravers* Knights, Persons of a rough and incompassionate Temper. These two impious Agents had Commission to enter any Fortrefs and Castle in the Kingdom; and by them he was remov'd from *Kenelworth*, and hurry'd about in the Night from one Place to another, as first to the Castle of *Corfe* in *Dorsetshire*, then to *Bristol* Castle, and at length to *Barkley* Castle in *Glocestershire*; and all this to disappoint his Friends, and to prevent their Assistance. In his Passage to *Barkley* Castle they us'd the most horrid Indignities to him; and the more to disguise him from any Man's Knowledge they shav'd his Head and Beard; which was done in the open Fields, by the Commandment of *Gournay*, who caus'd the miserable King to sit on a Mole-Hill while the Barber shav'd him, who using cold Water out of a Ditch told him, *That that should serve him for this Time*; to which he mournfully reply'd, *That they should not hinder him of warm Water to his shaving*, and therewithal let fall a shower of Tears that overflow'd his Face and Beard.

The Sufferings of the late King

The Nation pities him.

He is shamefully treated.

At *Barkley* Castle they proceeded to greater Inhumanities and more barbarous Usages, endeavouring to destroy him by unheard of Contrivances: But being frustrated in their Designs by his Strength of Body and Fortitude of Mind, they desir'd fresh Instructions from some at Court, who directly intimated the Necessity of removing him; only the subtle Bishop of *Hereford* is said to have sent them this dark ambiguous Line, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*, at once encouraging the Murder, and reserving an Excuse for himself. However to remove all Difficulties, upon the twenty second Day of *September*, finding him in his Bed, they press'd heavy Bolsters and Pillows upon his Head, and through a ductile Pipe thrust up a red hot Iron into his Bowels and Body; and in this cruel manner murder'd him, that no Wound or Mark of a violent Death might be found upon him. For the Body being afterwards view'd by many considerable Citizens of *Bristol* and *Glocester*, summon'd thither for that purpose, they could find no Sign either of Wound or Poison; so that their Evidence confirm'd the Report spread abroad, that he dy'd of the Extremity of Grief. Thus fell the unfortunate King *Edward* the Second, who for his meek and pious Behaviour under his Afflictions, was afterwards reputed a Saint. This happen'd about eight Months after he was depos'd; and his Body was carry'd to *Glocester*, where without any Funeral Pomp it was bury'd in *St. Peter's* Minster by the *Benedictine* Friars. Afterwards his Son erected to his Memory a fair Monument with his Portraiture of Alabaster, in the second Arch and the North

and barbarously murder'd.

The Punishments of his Murderers.

North Side of the Altar, between two Pillars of the *Tuscan* Order, about which are painted the Figures of several Stags, with which, as common Fame tells us, his Corps was drawn thither from *Barkley* Castle. After this execrable Paricide the immediate Agents *Gournay* and *Maltravers*, instead of receiving Rewards, met with such terrible Threats from the Queen and Bishop of *Hereford*, that they were forc'd to fly beyond Sea to secure their detested Lives. *Gournay*, after three Years Exile, was taken and sent for *England*, but in his Passage had his Head struck off; and *Maltravers* fled into *Germany*, where in Repentance he had Time to waste a miserable Life. But Heaven's Vengeance did not stop at the Lives of the chief Contrivers, but afterwards reach'd to the whole Kingdom; and what happen'd to the Progeny of the present Prince, whose Throne (tho' perhaps without his Guilt) was erected upon his Father's Blood, the many imbru'd Scaffolds, the various bloody Fields, the infinite Slaughters occasion'd by their divided Families, with the extirpated Race of most of this present Nobility, will abundantly testify.

A. D. 1328.
Reg. 2.
King Edward marry'd.

King Edward's first Claim to France.

II. Young *Edward* having now a Title to the Crown of *England* beyond all Dispute, by the Advice of his Mother and others solemniz'd the Marriage between himself and the beautiful Lady *Philippa*, the Earl of *Hainault's* youngest Daughter, to whom he had formerly been contracted. The Ceremony was perform'd at *York* on the twenty fourth Day of *January*; and on the first Sunday in *Lent* the young Queen was crown'd at *Westminster* with great Pomp and Glory, and the Coronation was succeeded by all Kinds of magnificent Rejoycings for three Weeks after. In *Whitsond* Week a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, in which King *Edward* first mov'd about his Title to the Crown of *France*; for *Charles* King of *France*, Brother to his Mother *Isabel*, being lately dead without Issue Male; notwithstanding that King *Edward* acknowledg'd the *Salick* Law which excluded Females Inheritance, yet he maintain'd this Point, That the Sons of the Daughters, having no such Imbecillity of Sex, were not uncapable, and that the Peers of *France* ought to prefer him, who was a Male and Grand-Child to King *Philip*, before *Philip* of *Valois*, whom they had lately advanc'd, tho' he was but a Nephew.

A dishonourable Treaty with Scotland.

In this Parliament a dishonourable Peace was concluded between the Kingdom of *England* and *Scotland*, chiefly manag'd by the old Queen and *Mortimer*; by whose Contrivance, the better to confirm it, a Marriage was agreed on between *David* Prince of *Scotland*, Son to King *Robert*, and *Joan* Sister to King *Edward*; which Match, by Reason of the tender Years of the Prince who did not exceed seven Years of Age, promising but little Advantage, was oppos'd by most of the Nobility of *England*. Besides, by the secret Management of the Queen-Mother, *Mortimer* and Sir *James Douglas*, the King by his Charter surrender'd his Title to the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and therein releas'd to King *Robert* and his Heirs, all Homages and Fealties that the Kings of *Scotland* by their several Charters ought to have done to the Crown of *England*. And also he deliver'd up divers Deeds, Instruments and Records of their former Homages and Fealties done to the King of *England* his Predecessors, together with that famous Evidence call'd *Ragman Rowle*, which was seal'd and sign'd by the King of *Scotland* and his Nobility to King *Edward* the First; which contain'd all the several Services that the King of the *Scots*, and all the Prelates, Earls and Barons of that Kingdom ought to have done to the King of *England* for the Time being; as also all the Rights that several Barons and Knights of *England* ought to have had in the Realm of *Scotland*. At the same Parliament were also re-deliver'd many ancient Jewels and Monuments, among the rest the Black Cross of *Scotland*, which King *Edward* the First brought from the Abby of *Scone*; and many other Things were transacted to the Damage and Dishonour of the Crown of *England*, against the Consent of the *English* Nobility, by the Procurement of Queen

Queen *Isabel* and her Party, who at that Time so manag'd the Affairs of the Kingdom, that both Lords and Commons were highly dissatisfy'd. In Consideration of the foresaid Peace, the intended Marriage, and the dishonourable Surrenders and Releases, together with the Damages done by the *Scots*, it was also concluded that King *Robert* should pay thirty thousand Marks to the King of *England*, within the Space of three Years. And according to Agreement, upon the twenty second Day of *July* the Marriage was solemniz'd between *David* Prince of *Scotland* and the Lady *Joan* the King's Sister, at the Town of *Berwick*, to the great Dissatisfaction of the Chief of the *English* Nation. In another Parliament held in *October*, the Lord *Mortimer* procur'd himself to be made Earl of *Marche*; at which Time two other Earls were created, the King's Brother *John* of *Eltham* was made Earl of *Cornwall*, and Sir *James Butler* of *Ireland* Earl of *Ormond*. From which Parliament the Earl of *Lancaster*, and some other Peers, seeing the King at the Disposal of others, absented themselves, and by Arms began to redress publick Grievances; but by the wise Mediation of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Matters were adjusted and they reconcil'd to the King.

The King of the
Scots marries
King Edward's
Sister.

Within a Year after the Marriage between Prince *David* of *Scotland* and King *Edward*'s Sister, *Robert* King of that Country, being worn out with his great Infirmary, and sensible of approaching Death, caus'd his chief Nobility to be assembled in his Chamber, and in the Presence of all committed to them the Government of his Son *David*, then not fully eight Years of Age: And among many Things touching the Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he gave them these politick Instructions concerning their Affairs with the *English*. First *That they would never appoint any set Battel with the English, nor hazard the Realm upon the Chance of one Field, but rather to keep them from invading of their Country by frequent Skirmishes, Incursions, and Intercepting their Forces; that if the Scots were defeated, they might still have a Reserve for a new Resistance. Next, That they would not make any lasting Peace with England, lest long Rest and Inactivity should so enervate their Minds and Bodies, as they would not be able to endure great Pains and Labour; and since the English would not continue any longer in Peace, than their Want of a convenient Opportunity to attempt a new War, it was safest for them, never to conclude a perpetual Peace with them, nor make any Truce longer than three or four Years. Lastly, That they would be always mindful, that when there appear'd the least Shew of any intended War from England, then to be most wary and circumspect, lest their Enemies should invade their Country, and find them unprepar'd for able and timely Resistance.* He surviv'd not long after these and some other Instructions, but dy'd of a Leprosie, in the twenty fourth Year of his Reign, leaving his young Son *David* to succeed him in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. He was an expert Soldier, valiant and wise, and considering the innumerable Difficulties he had in gaining and keeping his Kingdom against King *Edward* the First, and the Power of *England*, he may well be rank'd in the Number of the bravest Princes of that Time.

A. D.

1329.

Reg. 3.

King Robert's
Advice to the
Scots.

His Death.

David succeeds.

In the mean Time Earl *Mortimer* daily increas'd in Power and Grandeur, and joining in Interest and Affection with the Queen-Mother, dispos'd of all Offices and Places, and the Treasure of the Nation; so that many great Men env'y'd and oppos'd him, but none so dangerously as the King's Uncle *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, who endeavour'd to rescue the young King from the exorbitant Power of his Governors. To remove this great Opposer, *Mortimer* by his infernal Artifices and plausible Accusations caus'd him to be condemn'd in a Parliament held at *Winchester*, for conspiring to deliver his Brother *Edward* late King of *England*; being by an extraordinary Contrivance drawn into an absurd Belief that he was still alive, and kept secretly in *Corfe* Castle. Thus for endeavouring to set a dead Man at Liberty the noble Earl of *Kent* had his Head stricken off at *Winchester*; and he became so dismal an Object of Pity from

Noon

Noon 'till Night, at the Place of Execution before the Castle Gates, none being found to behead him, 'till a vile Wretch of the Marshalsea was sent and did it: So little Conscience did the Malice and Ambition of his potent Adversaries make of shedding the Royal Blood; yet the Hand of Heav'n seem'd to have been upon him for formerly countenancing what was done against his Royal Brother; so that he lost his Life in the twenty eighth Year of his Age.

The Earl of Kent executed.
King Edward does Homage for his French Territories.

King *Edward* still under Guardians, in the same Year was summon'd by the new King of *France* to do Homage to him for *Gascony* and other Territories in that Kingdom; which Message was very ungrateful to him: But considering the Emergencies of Affairs, he went over into *France* and met the *French* King at *Amiens*; where, to let the *French* see what manner of Prince he was, he came so royally appointed and attended, as if he design'd to have stricken him with Fear, or Admiration, having many Earls, Barons and Knights, and a thousand Horse in his Retinue. At the appointed Day, being gloriously attired in Robes of Crimson Velvet, powder'd with Golden Leopards, his Crown on his Head, his mighty Sword by his Side, and his Golden Spurs on his Heels, he did his Homage with a Posture and Magnificence different from any of his Predecessors. This, and the haughty Reception he met withal, occasion'd a great Envy between the two Kings; and prov'd afterwards an Incentive towards a bloody War.

A. D. 1330. Reg. 4. At length the Vengeance of Heav'n began to overtake the haughty and subtle *Mortimer*, whose immoderate Power became a Grievance to the State, and whose Familiarity with the Queen-Mother gave Occasion for some to report he was with Child by him. The publick Complaints and the secret Whispers of several of the Nobility rous'd up a sleeping Lion in the young King's Breast, so that he grew enrag'd at the Proceedings of this shining Favourite; for such were *Mortimer's* Extravagancies, that he eclips'd the Royal Youth in outward Pomp and Magnificence, his Person being surrounded with a more numerous Attendance, and his Authority so great that he rais'd Men with his Smiles, and ruin'd them with his Frowns.

Mortimer's Grandeur.

He is seiz'd on.

The vigorous *Edward* awaken'd by these Proceedings, at a Parliament held at *Nottingham*, resolv'd to destroy this powerful Man whose Interest threaten'd both him and the Publick. Accordingly, with the brave *Montague* and a few valiant Followers, he enter'd into *Nottingham* Castle by Night, through a secret Mine in a Rock, since call'd *Mortimer's Hole*, and with some little Bloodshed seiz'd upon *Mortimer* with the Queen, tho' he had no less than a hundred and eighty Knights in his Retinue, besides Esquires and Gentlemen. With him were taken the Lord *Geoffry Mortimer* his Son, and Sir *Simon de Bedford* a great Agent of his; and all three were sent Prisoners to the Tower of *London* under a strong Guard. This being done, the King by common Consent of Parliament took into his Hands his Mother's excessive Dowry, and restrain'd her extravagant Living to a narrow Pension of three thousand Pounds *per Annum*, confining her within as narrow Limits for her Abode, but yearly giving her the Honour and Comfort of one or two Visits; tho' otherwise scarce thinking her worthy of Life, in regard of her Familiarity with *Mortimer*, and her many heinous Practices.

He is condemned and executed.

As to *Mortimer*, fourteen Articles were exhibited against him in a Parliament held not long after at *Westminster*, in which he was accus'd of several grievous Crimes and Offences, particularly That he had procured many exorbitant Grants from the Crown out of *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*; That he had caus'd the Murder of the late King, and his Brother the Earl of *Kent*; and That he had kept a secret Correspondence with *Scotland*, and had occasion'd a dishonourable Treaty with that Nation. These and other Accusations being exhibited before the Earls and Barons in Parliament, they declar'd their Opinion that his Crimes were notorious and known to themselves and the People, therefore they adjudg'd That the said Earl *Mortimer*, as a Traitor and Enemy to the Kingdom, should be drawn and hang'd at the common Gallows at

at *Tyburn*. This was executed after the most opprobrious Manner, and his Body was kept hanging two Days, for a Spectacle of Horror and Dishonour: And this Sentence he receiv'd without being call'd to any Kind of Answer; which was a just Judgment upon an impious Minister who had treated others after the same Manner, particularly the two *Spensers* and the Earl of *Kent*. There dy'd with him Sir *Simon de Bedford*, and *John Deverel* Esquire, as well for Expiation of the late King *Edward's* Blood, as in Compliment, as it were, of so great a Man's Fall, who in such Cases ought not to die singly. Thus did this noble young Prince, now increasing in Vigour and Wisdom, begin to wipe out the Stains which during his Minority had blemish'd the State of his Kingdom. And to add to his Felicity, this Year Queen *Philippa* brought forth an admirable Son, nam'd *Edward*, and afterwards from his mighty Acts call'd *The Black Prince*; a Prince who seem'd to have been sent from Heav'n for the Glory and Renown of the *English* Nation, and to be at once the Delight and Terror of Mankind.

with several others.

The Black Prince born.

III. The young King *Edward* having taken the Government into his own Hands, soon began to display his Vigour and Power; and the first Country that felt the Force of his Arms was *Scotland*. For growing sensible that the Peace last concluded with that Nation, was dishonourable to him and his Kingdom, and considering that his Brother-in-Law King *David* was possess'd of the Town of *Berwick*, which belong'd to the Crown of *England*, and desiring to receive the usual Homage for all *Scotland*, he resolv'd to right himself upon the first Occasion, which was soon offer'd upon a great Contest about the Crown of that Kingdom, which was this. *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John Baliol* formerly King of *Scotland*, thirty two Years after his Father's Deposition, taking Advantage of the Youth of King *David*, and of the Factions among the *Scottish* Nobility, by the Solicitation of the Lord *Beaumont* then in *France* with him, set his Thoughts upon the Recovery of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and came together with the Lord *Beaumont* over into *England*, and for a short Time continu'd privately with the Lady *Vesey* at *Sandhall* upon *Ouse* in *Yorkshire*, 'till by the Interest of the Lord *Beaumont*, the Lord *Talbot*, and others, he was permitted secretly to get what Assistance he could procure in *England* to furnish him for his intended Enterprize. His Designs being known in *England*, many Noblemen and Soldiers repair'd to him, and prepar'd to attend him into *Scotland*; as the Lord *Beaumont*, with an Intent to claim the Earldom of *Bucquhan* in the Right of his Lady, Sir *Gilbert Umfreville* claiming the Earldom of *Angus*, the Lord *Percy* claiming the Earldom of *Galloway*, and *David Strathbolgy* the Earldom of *Athol*; together with the Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Talbot*, Sir *Geofry Mowbray*, *Walter Comin*, and divers others; who at the Conclusion of the last Peace being banish'd out of *Scotland*, all resolv'd to fight for the Recovery of their Lands and Honours then detain'd from them. Besides *Edward Baliol* had several Friends in *Scotland*, from whom he receiv'd fair Invitations and ample Encouragement.

A. D. 1331. Reg. 5.

A new Design upon Scotland.

All Things being in Readiness, and Shipping provided, *Baliol* with his Friends, and two thousand five hundred well appointed Men, set Sail and landed at *Kingcorn*, not far from *Perth*; and to prevent all Hopes of Flight, the Vessels were sent back. Upon the Rumour of his Arrival, the *Scots*, to the Number of ten thousand, had gather'd towards the Shore to hinder his Landing, being conducted by the Earl of *Fife*; but finding all his Men actually on Shore, they set furiously upon them to destroy them. *Baliol* and his brave Adventurers being reduc'd to a Necessity of fighting valiantly or dying cowardly, encounter'd their Opposers with such Vigour and Magnanimity, that they gave them a signal Defeat, and forc'd them to fly dishonourably, crying out *That the Enemy was come!* The Earl of *Fife*, wounded both in Body and Mind, desiring to be reveng'd and to redeem his lost Honour, with the Assistance of

A. D. 1332. Reg. 6.

The great Success of the new Adventurers.

the Earl of *Caricke*, Natural Son to King *Robert* deceas'd, and the Lord *Seton*, recruited his Forces, and with the same Number gave his Enemies a second Battel, but with no better Success than before; for the greatest Part of his Army was cut in pieces, except the Captains and Commanders, who sav'd themselves by Flight, or were taken Prisoners. Upon this second Victory *Baliol* march'd further into the Country, which he reduc'd as far as the Abby of *Dumferling*, where he found good Store of Provision and Ammunition; while the *Scots*, not far off at a Place call'd *Glasmore*, had another Army prepar'd, consisting of forty thousand Men. Of which *Baliol* being inform'd, he thought it necessary to put his small Army in mind of his former great Success, and to use many forcible Reasons to encourage them against the Inequality of the Numbers. His Exhortations being seconded by the Lord *Vesey*, the Lord *Stafford*, and Sir *Fulk Warren*, all Men of extraordinary Valour, the Soldiers were inspired with so much Warmth and Vigour, that they a third Time bravely encounter'd their Enemies, and gave them a great and bloody Overthrow. Within five Days after, the *English* meeting with Sir *Nigel Brus* at *Dupline*, at the Head of ten thousand Men, they valiantly attack'd him, defeated him, and slew most of his Men; having made an Order among themselves to take no Prisoners, because they wanted Men to take Care of them. These four Battels were all fought in a few Days Time, in which, as some Writers report, sixty thousand *Scots* were slain; which happen'd as well by their confus'd Disorder and Want of Discipline, as the Valour of the *English*. The chief Men of the *Scots* slain were the Earl of *Marre*, one of the Governors of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Carick*, the Earl of *Murrey*, the Earl of *Menteith*, *Robert Keith* Marshal of *Scotland*, Sir *Alexander Seton*, Sir *Alexander Fraser*, Sir *David Lindsey*, Sir *George Dunbarre*, and many other brave Commanders; while the Earl of *Fife* with some few others were taken Prisoners. Of the *English* Side we read not of any great Man slain, besides two Knights, Sir *John Gordon*, and Sir *Reginald Beche*, and thirty three Esquires; so extraordinary valiant and fortunate were these *English* Adventurers.

Further Successes.

The Lord *Baliol's* Friends and Soldiers being highly encourag'd with these happy Victories, immediately advanc'd towards *St. John's Town* or *Perth*, which they besieg'd and soon took by Force without any great Resistance; where they found Provision and Ammunition sufficient both for their Relief and Defence. From hence *Baliol* sent all his wounded Men to Sea to be convey'd to *England* and cured there; who in their Voyage met with one *Crabbe*, a *Flemish* Pirate and a Friend to the *Scots*, who hating the *English*, furiously set upon them with a Design to destroy every Man. But the *English*, tho' they were wounded, so well defended themselves, and fought so valiantly, that they soon defeated *Crabbe* and his Company, and forc'd him to fly to *Scotland*. As he came towards *Perth*, he found the Earl of *Marche*, the other Governor of *Scotland*, and *Archibald Douglas*, with thirty thousand *Scots* besieging the Town; to whom he related his bad Success, how the wounded *English* Men had by their Valour defeated him at Sea, urging further, *That there was but little Expectation of prevailing against the Lord Baliol, who with his Handful of Men had overthrown so many of the Scotch Nobility; therefore he advis'd them to break up the Siege, and in Time to provide for their own Security.* The *Scots*, mov'd with his Persuasions, and some other Considerations, tho' they had fill'd up the Town Ditches, and had a fair Prospect of Taking the Place, by the Direction of the Earl of *Marche*, suddenly rais'd the Siege in the Night, and retir'd with great Dishonour.

The Reputation of these frequent and incredible Victories was so great, that it brought great Numbers of Lords, Ladies and others to the Lord *Baliol*, who offer'd him their Service and Assistance, as his Loyal Subjects, towards his Recovery of the Crown of *Scotland*; and there did their Homages and Fealties to him as their Sovereign Lord, for all the Lands and Honours they held. As

an Addition to *Baliol's* Successes, at the same Time, several of the Ports and Cities of *England* at their own Charges sent a Fleet of Ships towards *Scotland*, to assist the *English* Lords if there were Occasion, and to attack the *Scotch* Navy where-ever they could meet with them; which fell out according to their Expectation and Desire. For they met with them in the Water of *Tay*, where they fought with them and intirely defeated them, took some of their Ships, and burnt and sunk the rest. All Things thus happily succeeding on *Baliol's* Side, and daily encreasing in Power, he receiv'd the Oaths of the Earl of *Fife*, and the Bishop of *Dunkeld*; and with them and many others he went to *Scone*, where he was solemnly crown'd King on the twenty fourth Day of *September*, and receiv'd the Homages and Fealties of many of the Nobility and Gentry there assembled. Before which, young King *David*, to avoid all Dangers, by the Advice of his Council, fled out of his Kingdom into *France*, with Queen *Joan* his Wife, Sister to the King of *England*; where they were most civilly entertain'd by *Philip* King of *France*, and there continu'd for the Space of nine Years.

*Baliol crown'd
King of Scot-
land.*

*King David
flies into France*

In the mean Time, the noble King *Edward*, now at full Age, hearing of the late Coronation of Lord *Baliol*, and the present Division of the Nobility of *Scotland*, was highly pleas'd at these Transactions, supposing now that he had a fair Opportunity of subduing that Kingdom; therefore he resolv'd to shew himself openly for *Baliol* against *David* his Brother-in-Law. But first, to avoid the Imputation of Breach of Articles, he publicly proclaim'd, That he was not oblig'd to observe any League with *Scotland* that was made in his Minority, against his own and the Nation's Consent. After which he prepar'd to go in Person with a powerful Army towards *Scotland*, and march'd with the utmost Expedition, designing for his first Action the Recovery of the important Town of *Berwick*, which he strongly besieg'd by Sea and Land. After a Month's Siege, there happen'd a great Fire in the Town, which caus'd the Besieg'd to desire a Truce, upon Promise of surrendering it and the Castle, if not reliev'd within fifteen Days, and to give twelve Hostages for Performance. But before the Time was expir'd, all the Nobility of *Scotland* of King *David's* Party, march'd with a powerful Army under the Conduct of the Lord *Archibald Douglas* their General, as far as the River *Tweed*; but finding it difficult to relieve the Town, they resolv'd to act by Way of Diversion, and hearing that the young Queen was then at *Bamburgh* Castle, they advanc'd towards it with great Speed in hopes to surprize the Place, but still without Success. Then after six Days ravaging of the Country, by the Importunities of the Garrison of *Berwick*, who perswaded them to ingage the *English* Forces, at that Time far less numerous than themselves, they return'd towards the Town, and drew up their Army in four great Battalions, under as many Noblemen. On *Monday* the nineteenth of *July*, King *Edward* march'd out with great Bravery to meet them at the Head of his own Army, and at *Hallidown-Hill*, not far from *Berwick*, he valiantly encounter'd the whole *Scotch* Army, and gave them a total Defeat. In this Battel were slain seven *Scotch* Earls, nine hundred Knights and Bannerets, and four hundred Esquires, and of common Soldiers to the Number of two and thirty thousand and upwards; tho' the *Scotch* Writers will not acknowledge half the Number. Upon this great Victory, within two Days the Besieg'd surrender'd both the Town and Castle to the King's Mercy, who kept it in his own Hands, by the Right of Conquest, as well as by that deriv'd from his Father and Grand-father. Then obliging *Edward Baliol* by Oath, and ordaining him and some Noblemen of *England* to be Governors of the Realm of *Scotland* in his Absence, he triumphantly return'd with glorious Success into *England*, where he was receiv'd with great Joy by all his Subjects. As to his hanging the Governor of *Berwick's* Sons contrary the Law of Arms, and some other Severities reported of him by *Scotch* Writers, we look upon them to be highly improbable, and directly contrary to the Character of this great and generous Prince.

A. D.

1333.

Reg. 7.

*King Edward
marches against
the Scots.*

*He gives them
a great Defeat
at Hallidown-
Hill,*

*and takes Ber-
wick.*

New Advan-
ges gain'd.

A. D.
1334.
Reg. 8.

After King *Edward's* Return, *Baliol* the new King of the *Scots*, at the Head of twenty six thousand Men, most of them *English*, march'd forwards to prosecute his Success into the very Heart of *Scotland*, taking Towns and Castles at his Pleasure; and having pass'd beyond the Frith of *Edinburgh*, and reduc'd all the strong Places that held out for King *David*, except *Dunbritton* and a few other Castles, he summon'd a Parliament about *Michaelmas* to meet him at *Perth* or *St. John's Town*. Here all those *English* Lords, who claim'd Estates in *Scotland*, repair'd and did their Homage for the respective Lands they held under him, reserving the Allegiance they ow'd to their Sovereign Lord the King of *England*; the principal of whom were the Lord *Beaumont*, the Earl of *Buchan*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Earl of *Athol*, the Lord *Piercy*, and divers other *English* Noblemen, who were all restor'd to the Honours and Estates they claim'd in *Scotland*: And in this Parliament all Acts, Statutes, Ordinances and Grants made by *Robert* or *David Brus*, late Kings of *Scotland*, were declar'd null and void. And thus *David* was seemingly depriv'd of his Kingdom, and *Edward Baliol* in all Appearance plac'd in the Throne of *Scotland*. And to strengthen his Alliance, first at *Edinburgh*, and afterwards at *Newcastle*, he in the Presence of many great Lords and Commons of both Nations, did Homage to the King of *England*, as to his superior Lord; and took his Oath of Fealty, binding himself and his Heirs to hold the Kingdom of *Scotland* of him and his Successors for ever; and further he granted to him the Possession of five Counties next adjoining to the Borders.

Many of the
Scots revolt.

King Edward's
great Advan-
tages against
them.

But this Homage, and over-liberal Concessions made from one King to the other, were so far from advancing the Interest of either, that they serv'd to turn the Body of that jealous Nation against both; since the *Scots* saw that King *Edward* sought his own Grandeur more than their Interest, and that *Baliol* was an Instrument to promote his Designs. Several of the *Scotch* Nobility also finding their late Services slighted, began to revolt from *Baliol*, and to promote the Interest of King *David*; and not long after, raising great Numbers of the Commons of *Scotland*, they resolv'd to begin a War. *Baliol* being inform'd of this met and engag'd with them at *Annandale*; but after an obstinate Fight, many of his Men were slain, the rest dispers'd, and he himself oblig'd to fly out of the Nation to the City of *Carlisle*; from whence he sent to the King of *England*, complaining of the Falshood and Treachery of his People, in whom he trusted, and again begg'd his Assistance against his Enemies. In the mean Time King *Edward* call'd a Parliament at *London*, where he declar'd that he had form'd a Resolution to take a Voyage with the *French* King and other Christian Princes to the *Holy-Land*. But this Change in *Scotland* soon alter'd his Design; and having a Tenth granted him from the Clergy, a Fifteenth from the Temporalty, and a Twelfth from the Cities and Boroughs, he enter'd *Scotland* with a great Power, and no less Terror. Then joining with King *Baliol*, who before had made great Devastations, he without taking in Castles and strong Places, swiftly pursu'd the flying *Scots* as far as beyond *Cathness*, which was farther than King *Edward* his Grand-father had ever reach'd. After which Actions, the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* rejoin'd their Forces, and return'd towards *Berwick*. But shortly after, the Earl of *Dunbar* revolted in the *Highlands*, and renounc'd his Homage to both Parties; which oblig'd King *Edward* to remain the rest of the Year in the Borders of *Scotland*, and keep his *Christmas* at *Roxburgh*, still retaining the Pope's Nuncio with him, who came to mediate a Peace between him and King *David*, then under the Protection of the *French* King.

A. D.
1335.
Reg. 9.

In the following Year, after some Stay in *England*, King *Edward* with a well prepar'd Army enter'd *Scotland* both by Sea and Land; and marching as far as *Perth*, he ravag'd all the Country, as he had done the Year before; and meeting with small Opposition, he constituted *David* Earl of *Athol* Governor of *Scotland* to subdue the rest of the Places that held out. But tho' the *Scots* were

were suppos'd to be retir'd into their Woods and Mountains for Safety, yet shortly after, under the Conduct of the Earls of *Murrey* and *Dunbar*, they surpriz'd five hundred *English* Archers, who returning home too securely, were all put to the Sword: And not long after, *John* Earl of *Namur*, and *Robert* his Brother, having landed in *England*, and marching with several Lords and Knights and a select Body of a hundred Men at Arms, were assaulted near *Edinburgh* by the Earl of *Marche* and the Lord *Douglas*; and after a sharp Conflict were forc'd to surrender themselves Prisoners. Yet either out of Generosity or Policy, to gratifie the *French* King, whose Kinsmen they were, they were not only releas'd by the Earl of *Murrey*, but were also by him convey'd back as far as the *English* Borders; but in his Return the Earl suffer'd for his Compliment, being met by the Garrison of *Roxburgh*, who routed his Party, and took him Prisoner. In the mean Time King *Edward's* Brother the late Earl of *Cornwall* enter'd *Scotland* and destroy'd *Galloway*, *Carrick*, *Kyle*, and all the Western Parts that held out against King *Baliol*; and after that repair'd to his Brother at *Perth*, lately return'd from an Expedition in the *Highlands*. At *Perth* King *Edward* receiv'd Ambassadors from the King of *France*, who to hinder his Progress in *Scotland*, had procur'd the Pope to mediate a Peace between him and King *David*, and also to desire him to accompany King *Philip* in the Holy-War, which he had lately undertaken by the Incouragement of his Holiness. But King *Edward* being offended at the *French* King's Intermeddling in his Affairs, gave the Ambassadors this short and resolute Answer, *That by the Blessing of Heav'n he was able at any Time to make War upon the Infidels, without their Master's Assistance; and that he would undertake no foreign Expedition, 'till he had subdu'd his Enemies the Scots.* Not long after many of the *Scotch* Nobility, seeing King *Edward's* Resolution and Power, came and submitted to him at *Perth*, where Articles of Peace were in a short Time concluded. Then having settled his Affairs in *Scotland*, fortify'd the Town of *Perth*, new built the Castles of *Sterling* and *Edinburgh*, and left sufficient Forces with the Earl of *Athol*, he return'd into *England* in *Autumn*, with the valiant Lord *Talbot*, whom he had lately ransom'd from his Imprisonment.

The Scotch Nobility submit to King Edward.

After King *Edward's* Departure, the Earl of *Athol*, resolving to redeem his lost Credit with the two Kings, laid Siege to the Castle of *Kildrumney*, which still held out for King *David*; but upon the Arrival of the Earl of *Dunbar*, and the Lords *Murrey* and *Douglas*, who came to relieve the Place, he was not only defeated by an inferior Force, but also lost his Life together with his Honour and Reputation. The Death of this Governor caus'd a great Turn in the Affairs of *Scotland*, so that many Places in the North revolted, and declar'd for King *David* against *Baliol* and the *English* Power; which Defection caus'd King *Edward* to raise an Army of forty thousand Men, with which like a Conqueror he enter'd into the Bowels of *Scotland*, rais'd the Siege of *Lochindoris*, pursu'd the Enemy through *Athol* and *Murrey*, and pass'd with his victorious Arms as far as *Elgin* and *Inverness*, where *Scotland* is bounded by the Ocean. Then marching from one Province to another, ravaging and destroying all Places that oppos'd his Authority, at his Return, besides other Places, he burnt the Town of *Aberdeen*, because the Inhabitants had treacherously kill'd an *English* Knight call'd *Thomas Rosselyn*. After he had strucken Terror in all Places, and met with little or no Opposition, he left King *Baliol* to reduce the Remainder of the *Scots*, and in the middle of *September* return'd triumphantly into *England*; having now made four successful and glorious Expeditions into *Scotland*. In these Expeditions the King never return'd but with such great Destruction and Bloodshed of that afflicted People, that it might give cause of the greatest Admiration to imagine how it was possible for that barren Part of the Isle, and so often wasted, to breed so many Men as had been slain in Battel within these fifty last Years; and yet still be able to bring Armies into

A. D.

1336.

Reg. 10.

King Edward makes a new Expedition into Scotland.

His Successes.

into the Field, both to maintain their own Contests, and to defend their Liberties, and that poor Ground they inhabited.

A. D.
1327.
Reg. 11.
*The Beginnings
of the Wars
with France.*

IV. King *Edward*, now experienc'd and renown'd in Arms, design'd not to have left *Scotland* so soon, but he had for some Time a far nobler Prize in View; and that was no less than the Kingdom of *France*, towards the Attainment of which he had already made some Advances, and several fair Pretensions as to his Title to that Crown. This Design was violently promoted by *Robert de Artois*, a Prince of the Blood of *France*, who being highly oblig'd by the *French* King's awarding the County of *Artois* from him to his Aunt *Matilda*, openly declar'd, *That he would unmake the King by the same Power he had made him*; which so provok'd King *Philip*, that he immediately proclaim'd him a Traitor, confiscated all his Estate, and forc'd him to fly out of his Kingdom. In *England* he was generously entertain'd by King *Edward*, made of his Council, and invest'd with the Earldom of *Richmond*; and here he became the grand Incendiary between the two mighty Nations, and blew up such a dreadful Flame as lasted above a hundred Years, and the Smoak of it much longer. This at present was very happy for the State of *Scotland*, which *Boetius* acknowledges to have been so weaken'd and impoverish'd, that if King *Edward* had continu'd his Wars, it must have came to inevitable Ruin. This was also the Cause why the *French*, the great Supporters of the *Scotch*, became more vigilant, and us'd all Means to annoy the *English*, not only in *Scotland*, but also in *Gascony* and other Places; which, besides King *Edward's* Title to the Crown of *France*, had given sufficient Cause for a Breach between the two Kings. But that the World might take Notice of his just Proceedings, and main Causes of his Design against *France*, King *Edward* in a pious Epistle directed to the Colledge of Cardinals declar'd, 'First, 'his Title to the Crown of *France*, which *Philip de Valois* had unjustly detain'd notwithstanding he himself was the nearest in Blood of any Male living. 'Secondly, That his Ambassadors, desiring to put the Cause to a Civil Trial, 'were not only refus'd to be heard, but were repuls'd with Danger of their 'Lives. Thirdly, That the Court of the twelve Peers, in giving the Crown 'from him, when under Age, left the Office of Judges and became Invaders; wherefore their Proceedings against him during his Minority were 'lawless, null and void. Fourthly, That *Philip de Valois* invaded the Dukedom of *Gascony*, which belong'd to the Crown of *England*, and added such 'Places and Territories as he had injuriously gain'd to those he had injuriously 'detain'd. Fifthly, That he had assisted the *Scots* in their Insurrections against 'him, when by reason of his near Relation he ought rather to have join'd 'with him; and finally had declar'd by his Actions, That his Honour, Power 'and Person were equally hated by him.

King Edward's
Pretensions.

His Alliances.

King *Edward*, knowing that Words alone were of no great Effect, to strengthen his Alliance, by the Advice of his Council and his Father-in-Law the Earl of *Hamault*, resolv'd to join with several Princes of the high and low *Dutch*, who lay most convenient for his Designs. But the better to unite their Interests, he was advis'd to gain the Alliance of *Lewis* the Emperor, with whom he made in Effect but an unprofitable Confederacy; tho' it was really subservient to his present Purposes. Most to his Advantage were the extraordinary Endeavours of *James de Arteville*, a rich Burger of *Gaunt*, of admirable Dexterity and Management, and so popular among the *Flemmings*, that he had the Command of *Flanders* more than the Earl himself, who was lately expell'd. By the singular Diligence of this Burger, and of *Sigar de Courtray*, a Nobleman of *Flanders*, a mighty Party was soon rais'd for the *English* against the *French*: Which was much increas'd by an Overthrow given to the *French Flemmings*, who under the Conduct of *Guy* Brother to the Earl of *Flanders*, had plac'd themselves in the Ile of *Cadfant* to stop the Passage of the *English*, who

who fortunately took *Guy* Prisoner, and slew most of his Men. This Victory was obtain'd by the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Beauchamp*, and other Commanders; of whose Fame *D'Arteville* made such a seasonable Use, by letting the *Flemmings* see the *English* were able to protect them, that without Hesitation they became firm Confederates in the Presence of the Earl of *Gelder* at *Gaunt*, notwithstanding the Endeavours of the great King of *France*, and their Sovereign Earl to the contrary. As King *Edward* took Care of his Interest abroad, so was he no less careful of his Country at home; and in a Parliament held at *Westminster* it was ordain'd, That no *English* Wool should be transported, and that all Cloath-Workers should be receiv'd from any Foreign Parts, and fit Places assign'd them, with divers Liberties and Privileges; and that they should have a certain Allowance from the King, 'till they were fix'd in a competent Way of Living. It was also ordain'd, That none should wear any Cloaths wrought beyond Sea for the future, except the King, Queen, and their Children; also, That no one should wear foreign Furrs or Silks, unless he was worth one hundred Pounds *per Annum*. By these and the like Laws King *Edward* gradually reviv'd the Woollen Manufacture, after it had been lost for many Years to this Nation; from which Time it still increas'd to the general Advantage of the Kingdom. Also in this Parliament the King created his eldest Son Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Cornwall*, who was the first that ever had the Title of Duke in *England*: He also created six Earls, of *Darby*, *Salisbury*, *Glocester*, *Huntington*, *Northampton* and *Suffolk*, and twenty Knights; at which Solemnity the King made a most magnificent Entertainment.

The Woollen
Manufacture
reviv'd.

The first Duke
in England.

The War, which all this Time seem'd only in Mens Mouths, now began to break out into Actions, and some of the first Flames appear'd at *Southampton*, which the *French*, by the help of their Gallies, almost reduc'd to Ashes; but they with the Loss of their chief Commander and three hundred Soldiers were repuls'd the next Day. To extinguish this encreasing Contest, Pope *Benedict* sent over two Cardinals into *England*; but one of them in a Speech to the Clergy seeming to favour the *French* Clergy, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* immediately stood up and protested, *That the Cardinal's Arguments were vain and frivolous*. Whereupon they soon after departed, and it was publish'd in all Parts of *England*, *That King Edward had a Right to the Crown of France, which he design'd to prosecute by all honourable Methods*. Notwithstanding the King, to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, gave Instructions to the Cardinals, that upon certain reasonable Conditions he was willing to make an entire Peace with *France*, and to take any honest and proportionable Offer: But the chief Impediment to this was that the *French* insisted to have the *Scots* included in the Treaty, to which King *Edward* would by no Means consent, resolving, when Opportunity permitted, to reduce them to the *English* Scepter, so that the Labour and Hopes of the Cardinals were all ineffectual. *Philip de Valois*, in Possession of so noble a Kingdom, on the other Side had the most prevalent Motives to stand off; as his own Honour, Profit, Strength and Alliance, besides the Vastness and apparent Difficulty of King *Edward's* Enterprize. Then to justify his Cause he alledg'd, 'First, That the *Salick* Law had cut off all King *Edward's* Pretensions to the Crown of *France*. Secondly, That he Himself was acknowledg'd and receiv'd as King by a publick Act of the whole State of *France*. Thirdly, King *Edward's* Birth-Place made him a Stranger to the *French*, and therefore incapable of Governing that Nation. Lastly, King *Edward* in the Beginning of his Reign, had in his own Person done Homage to *Philip de Valois* for the Dukedom of *Gascony*, and by his Letters Patents testify'd the same.

A. D.
1338.
Reg. 12.
Southampton
burnt.

The French
King's Pretensions.

At length, after the most mature Deliberation, King *Edward*, on the sixteenth Day of *July*, took Shipping at the Port of *Orewell* near *Harwich*, with a Royal Navy of five hundred Sail, and many of the chief Nobility of *England* in his Company; who with their great Trains and Retinues compos'd a formidable

King Edward
goes into Flan-
ders.

His Interview
with the Em-
peror.

dable Body of Horse. Besides these the King had a great Multitude of Archers and *Welshmen*, with all which he arriv'd at *Antwerp*, then belonging to the Duke of *Brabant*; and while he resided in that City, vast Throngs of People came from all Parts to see him, and to observe the extraordinary Magnificence of his Court. After several Treaties of Alliances, King *Edward* remov'd to *Cologne*, whither the Emperor himself came no less than seven Days Journey to meet his Majesty. The Interview was surprizingly pompous, in the Midst of the Market-Place, where two Royal Thrones were erected in the open Air, the one for the Emperor, and the other for the King of *England*. The former took his Place first, and the other immediately after; in which magnificent Assembly, as Assistants there were four great Dukes, three Arch-Bishops, six Bishops, thirty seven Earls, and of Barons, Bannerets, Knights and Esquires about seventeen thousand. Here the Emperor set forth the Falshood which the King of *France* had us'd towards him, and thereupon defy'd him, and pronounced both him and his Adherents Enemies to the Empire; and further by an Instrument which he publickly deliver'd to King *Edward*, he ordain'd and constituted him his Deputy and Vicar-General of the Sacred *Roman* Empire, over all the Provinces in the West as far as *Cologne*; and after that he enter'd into a League Offensive and Defensive for the Term of seven Years. After King *Edward's* Return to *Antwerp* with his new Power, he vigorously prosecuted his Affair of Confederacy with the Lords and Governors of the *Low-Countries*, among whom he and his Royal Family continu'd with great Love and Esteem above a whole Year. The principal Persons that enter'd into this League against the *French* were the Arch-Bishop of *Cologne*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Gelderland* who had lately marry'd King *Edward's* Sister *Isabel*, the Marquess of *Juliers*, with several *German* Princes. On the other Side the *French* had the King of *Bohemia*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Bishop of *Metz*, the Duke of *Austria*, the Marquess of *Montferrat*, the Earl of *Genoa*, besides many Princes out of *Germany*, *Franche-County*, *Savoy*, *Dauphine*, *Spain* and other Countries. So that all the best of the Christian World were either in Arms, or assisting in this Contest between the two mighty Monarchs of *England* and *France*.

A. D. All Things being prepar'd, after some smaller Actions, the mighty *Edward*^{Emperor}
1339. at the Head of a brave Army of above forty thousand Men enter'd into the Con-
Reg. 13. fines of *France*, where in five Weeks Time he ravag'd all the Territories of
He enters France. *Cambresis*, *Vernandois*, *Tierasche* and *Laonois*; and other Parts of *Picardy* and *Artois* were wholly wasted except some few of the stronger Places, and such as had sworn Allegiance to him. So that the Inhabitants of the Country fled on all Sides, without making Resistance. In the mean Time King *Philip*, with a more numerous Army, and still increasing, encamp'd in *Cambresis*, and resolv'd not to move from thence till he had fought with the King of *England* and his Allies: And to that End, on the *Monday* following, a principal Commander of the *French* sent Letters to another in King *Edward's* Army, desiring him to give his Master Notice from King *Philip*, *That if he would chuse any open Place, not incumber'd with Woods or Bogs, he would give him Battel before Thursday next*: Which was also confirm'd by another Messenger from the King of *Bohemia* and the Duke of *Lorain*. Not long after, the two Armies advancing within three Leagues of each other, King *Edward*, not to be behind hand with the Enemy, by a particular Herald sent the King of *France* a Challenge *To fight his whole Army on what Day he should please to appoint*; which was accepted by King *Philip*, who appointed *Friday* the twenty second of *October*: In the mean Time the Princes and Commanders had Notice to prepare themselves for this great Encounter. When, on the appointed Day, both Armies were drawn out in Order of Battel, and all expected a bloody Engagement, it was again debated in the *French* King's Council of War, Whether it was best to give the *English* Battel or not. Many of his Counsellors maintain'd,
That

A Day of Battel appointed,

That the Hazard was too great, since if they lost the Day, the Crown of France would be in Danger; whereas if the Enemy were beaten, neither King Edward, nor his Allies would lose any of their Dominions. While this was debating, King Philip was absolutely discourag'd by Letters from the King of Naples and Sicily, who by the Rules of Astrology declar'd *That he would be overcome if he fought with King Edward that Time.* Upon which King Philip immediately gave Orders to his Army to retreat into the Camp, and in the Night privately march'd away into the Borders of *Flanders*. King Edward finding that there was no further Expectation of Fighting, remov'd towards *Hainault*; so that nothing of any great Moment was further transacted this Year. *but to no Effect.*

About this Time, the *Flemmings*, the most necessary Part of King Edward's Alliance, began to decline their Assistance, and would not ingage in an offensive War against *France*, unless King Edward would first assume the Title and Arms of that Kingdom, as the only lawful King of it. This was projected by the famous *D'Arteville*; and after the Proposal was fully and publickly debated, He with the Consent of the *Flemmings* and others, took upon him the Title and Arms of *France*, quartering the *French Flower de Lises* with the *Leopards* or *Lions* of *England*. And about this Time he plac'd this *French* Motto under his Shield *Dieu & mon Droit, God and my Right*; declaring his Confidence to be only in God and the Justice of his Cause: Which Motto, together with the Arms of *France*, has been continu'd by all the succeeding Kings of *England*. After this, King Edward publish'd the same under his Seal, setting the Name of *England* first, and sent his Letters Patents to the Frontiers of the Enemies Dominions, and fixing them upon the Doors of the Churches, as well to declare the Reason of his Proceedings, as to exempt those from a succeeding Storm, who upon this Notice would acknowledge him their lawful Sovereign. His Affairs growing ripe in those Parts, he left his Queen and Children at *Antwerp*, as an assur'd Pledge of his Return, and in *February* took Shipping for *England*; where in a Parliament at *Westminster*, he obtain'd very liberal Aids upon Wool, Leather and other Things, for the supporting of his intended Conquest. In lieu of which ready Assistance, he granted a general Pardon both for Trespasses, and all Aids for making his Son Knight, and the Marriage of his Daughter during his Reign; forgiving also all Arrears of Farmers and Accountants 'till the tenth Year of his Reign, and all old Debts due to any of his Predecessors; and likewise confirm'd the famous *Magna Charta*, and of the *Forests*, with some others. In this Parliament the Lords and Commons petition'd, *That since the King had taken upon him the Title of King of France, and chang'd his Arms, they might not be oblig'd to obey Him as King of France, nor that the Kingdom of England be put in Subjection to Him, as King of France.* Upon which he caus'd several Letters Patents to be publish'd, which gave them full Satisfaction. A. D. 1340. Reg. 14.

King Edward takes upon him the Arms of France.

He calls a Parliament.

The grand Discourse was now all of the Conquest of *France*; Musters were made throughout the Kingdom, Armourers and other warlike Artificers were full of Employment, and all *Englishmen* seem'd possess'd with a martial Eager-ness and Fury. King Edward being ready to repass the Sea, receiv'd Intelligence that the *French* lay near *Stuice* in *Flanders* with a mighty Fleet of four hundred Ships to intercept him; whereupon he resolv'd to force his Way through. Accordingly he set Sail about Midsummer, and stood towards the Coast where the Enemy attended, being reinforc'd by the Northern Navy of *England*, under the Command of the Lord *Morley*; so that he had in all about two or three hundred Sail. The valiant King commanding in Person, order'd the best Ships that were well mann'd with Archers and other Soldiers to stand foremost in the Line of Battel; then having tack'd about to gain the Weather-gage, they bravely receiv'd the first Onset. For the *French* Admirals, discovering the Royal Banner of *England* upon one of the biggest Ships, were satisfy'd King Edward puts to Sea.

A a a

that

*He obtains a
glorious Victory
over the French
Fleet.*

that the King was there in Person; they therefore resolv'd to use all Methods to break his Fleet, and take him Prisoner. So falling down upon the *English*, there began an obstinate Fight, first with a dreadful Shower of Arrows, by which the *English* Archers did greater Execution than the *French*; and after that the two Fleets, coming close to each other, proceeded to grappling and boarding, and by handy Strokes a desperate Slaughter was made, and that with various Success. This Fight continu'd from Ten in the Morning 'till Seven at Night; 'till at length the Strength and Courage of the *English* prevail'd against far greater Numbers of the *French*, causing Multitudes of them to leap desperately into the Sea, to shun the Power of their Arms; and in the Conclusion, not above thirty of the *French* Vessels could escape. In this Battel the *French* lost about thirty thousand Men; and this was the greatest Sea-Fight that had ever happen'd on the Narrow Seas, and the first in which a King of *England* commanded in Person; where, besides himself, the greatest Earls and Barons of his Kingdom behav'd themselves with incomparable Bravery and Gallantry. This was such killing News to *France*, that at first none durst tell it to King *Philip* but by means of his Jester, who in his Presence often cry'd out *Cowardly Englishmen! Fainthearted Englishmen!* 'till the King enquiring into his Meaning, he told him *That the Frenchmen most bravely leap'd into the Sea, and the Englishmen had not the Courage to follow them.* By which artificial Turn the King apprehended a Notion of this Overthrow.

*He enters the
Borders of
France with a
mighty Army.*

After this memorable Victory, King *Edward* landing in *Flanders*, in a short Time gather'd together one of the most powerful Armies, that ever any King of *England* commanded, consisting of near an hundred thousand Soldiers *English* and *Dutch*, and under the Conduct of many worthy Generals. With this he advanc'd to the Northern Parts of *France*, where after great Ravages made in the Country, he sat down before *Tourney*, designing it both for a Seat of War, and a Place of Refuge. King *Philip* on the other Side had provided an Army, not inferior to the other in Numbers, which besides himself was commanded by the two Kings of *Navarre* and *Bohemia*, with several Princes and great Men, who in a short Time advanc'd towards King *Edward's* Forces. At *Tourney*, King *Edward* with invincible Courage sent a Message to his Rival, saluting him by no other Title than *Philip of Valois*, by which, *To avoid the Effusion of Blood, he challenged him to meet and fight him in a single Combate; or, if that displeas'd him, each to bring a hundred Men into the Field, and decide the Contest with so small a Hazard; or otherwise, within ten Days to join in a full Battel with all their Forces near Tourney.* To which *Philip* gave no direct Answer, as being contrary to his Honour; alledging, *That the Message was not sent to him the King of France, but barely to Philip of Valois:* Nevertheless he let him understand, *That his Design was to beat him out of France, hoping in Christ, from whom he deriv'd his Power, shortly to effect it.* The Eyes of all Christendom were now upon these mighty Armies, anxiously expecting the Event and Fate of the War, when after three Months Continuance near *Tourney*, and no great Action perform'd, *Jane de Valois*, Sister to King *Philip* and Mother to King *Edward's* Queen, a Princess of extraordinary Virtue, came from *Fountenelles*, where she had taken the Life of a Nun, to mediate a Peace between these two inrag'd Kings, her Brother and Son-in-Law. She travell'd from one to the other, labour'd incessantly, and never desisted, tho' often deny'd, 'till she had with great Patience and wise Conduct so allay'd their furious Passions, that she obtain'd a Day and Place for both Kings to parley together: A memorable Work to be effected by a Woman, in such a warlike Age as this was. This Parley soon produc'd a Truce for one Year, by which the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who had been taken Prisoners, were releas'd; and shortly after both the great Armies were disbanded. Upon which King *Edward* return'd home with his Queen, who had remain'd three Years in those Parts,

A Truce concluded for a Year.

Parts, and had there brought forth two Sons, *Lionell*, afterwards Duke of *Clarence*, and *John* born at *Gaunt*, afterwards Duke of *Lancaster*.

^{Ibid.} But King *Edward*'s condescending to this sudden Truce, had in reality no other Motive than some Supplies of Mony, which came short of his Expectation, notwithstanding those great Impositions laid on his Subjects. Therefore in his Return to *England*, to punish the Mismanagement of his Ministers and Officers, he committed some to Prison, turn'd others out of their Places, and was so vigorous and active, that it occasion'd a warm Contest between him and *John* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who by Letters boldly complain'd of manifest Violences done against the Liberties of the Church and English Nation contain'd in *Magna Charta*, &c. And whereas the King openly charg'd the Arch-Bishop to have been the chief Adviser of his entering into a League with the *Germans*, and then telling him, *That he need take no Care for Treasure, because he himself would see him abundantly furnish'd from England, out of the new granted Subsidies and Profits of the Crown*; And that through the Defects in the Arch-Bishop's Performances, he was not only oblig'd to desist from his present Designs, but also to intangle himself among Bankers and Usurers; the Arch-Bishop return'd Answer, *That he desir'd it might be examin'd in open Parliament who hinder'd the City of Tourney from being taken; directly removing the Blame from himself and his Friends, upon such as were daily Contrivers, who serving their own Turns by the Abuse of the Publick, would expose him to the Odium of their Actions*. And some were of Opinion that the Arch-Bishop privately practis'd against the King's good Fortune in *France*; which if true, it was easie to discover the principal Motive. For certainly Pope *Benedict* was no ways pleas'd with King *Edward*'s Successes, nor with the War it self, affirming it pernicious to *Christendom*; the Scandal of which the *French* charg'd upon the *English* as unlawful Claimers, as the *English* did upon the *French* as unjust Detainers. This Pope therefore interpos'd, and put *Flanders* under an Interdict, as having dilloyally deserted their own Earl, and their principal Lord *Philip* King of *France*, contrary to their Faith and Allegiance; but they for their Justification return'd Answer, *That Edward was the only lawful King of France, and Philip, to whom they had sworn, a meer Usurper*; therefore notwithstanding the Interdict, and the Papal Decision, they still persisted in their Adherence. But what still further weaken'd King *Edward*'s Interest, was the Desertion of the Emperor *Lewis*, who being won over to the Party of the *French* King, became his sworn Confederate, and revok'd the Vicarship of the Empire, formerly confirm'd on the King of *England*, pretending that the Cause was for concluding the late Truce without him, as appears by his Letters to King *Edward*, which are again by him bravely and compleatly answer'd.

A. D.

1341.

Reg. 15.

King Edward's Regulations at home.

The Pope interdicts Flanders.

The Emperor abandons King Edward.

^{Ibid.} But instead of this remote and unconstant Confederate, whose Power was without the Limits of *France*, Fortune brought in another more near and offensive, within the Body of that Kingdom. For about this Time the Succession to the Dukedom of *Bretaign* was in Contest between *Charles de Blois*, Nephew to King *Philip*, and *John de Montfort*, upon this Title: *Arthur* Duke of *Bretaign* had by his first Wife two Sons, *John* and *Guy*, and by his second this *John de Montfort*. *John* the Eldest, having no Issue, appointed his Niece *Jane*, Daughter to his Brother *Guy* deceas'd, to succeed him in his Dukedom; upon which Appointment *Charles de Blois* marry'd her, on Condition his Issue by her should inherit the same, and for the greater Security he was invested in it during the Life of *John* their Uncle. But after his Death, *John de Montfort*, claiming the Dukedom, went to *Paris* to do Homage for it to King *Philip*; but *Charles de Blois*, opposing him in Right of his Wife, the Controversie was referr'd to the Parliament, where Sentence pass'd in Favour of *Charles*. *Montfort* inrag'd at this, repair'd to the King of *England*, to whom he did Homage for his Dukedom, was receiv'd with great Applause, and his

A. D.

1342.

Reg. 16.

A new Contest in France.

*A three Years
Truce between
England and
France.*

Title acknowledg'd as good. Returning back into *Bretaign* with Satisfaction and Assistance, after some Encounters with his Enemy, he was taken and committed Prisoner in *Paris*. His Lady, the Countess of *Montfort*, a Woman of an undaunted and masculine Spirit, vigorously prosecuted her Husband's Quarrel, put on Armour, led her People in Person, surpriz'd and defended many strong Places in *Bretaign*. But at length being press'd strongly by *Charles de Blois*, she begg'd Assistance of the King of *England*, and had it sent, under the Conduct of the Lord *Water de Manny*; which reliev'd her at present, but the future requir'd more, of which King *Edward* was not sparing in regard of his own Designs. The Countess her self came into *England* to treat both for Supplies and Alliance, and of a Match between her Son and a Daughter of King *Edward*; and the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, and the Lords *Stafford*, *Spenser* and *Bourchier*, with *Robert de Artois*, the first grand Incendiary, were sent with considerable Forces back with the Lady. Many were the Encounters, Attacks and Surprizes, both by Sea and Land, between the *English* and the *French*; and at the Siege of *Vannes*, *Robert de Artois* receiv'd his last Wound, after he had valiantly, tho' some think dishonourably, assisted the *English* about six Years. Not long after King *Edward* went over into *Bretaign* in Person with fresh Supplies; and lying before *Vannes*, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, eldest Son to the King of *France*, sent to the Assistance of *Charles de Blois*, with an Army of forty thousand Men came to give him Battel. But being just ready to encounter, a Mediation of Truce was made by two Cardinals, sent from Pope *Clement VI.* and concluded for three whole Years, upon several Conditions, with a Reference to the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, to hear and examine the Differences between the two Kingdoms, but not to determine them without the Consent of both Kings. The *English* kept Possession of the City of *Vannes*, that if a settled Peace follow'd not upon this Truce, they might have sufficient Footing, from whence they might march into the Heart of *France*. *John de Montfort* did not long out-live this Truce, after whose Death the greatest Part of *Bretaign* fell into the Hands of *Charles de Blois*.

A great Revolution in Scotland.

During the Time of the several Years Wars with *France*, a great Change happen'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*: For not long after the Departure of King *Edward* from that Kingdom, King *David's* Party, under their chief Commander *Andrew Murrey*, issu'd out from the Loughs, Mountains and other Places of Retreat with considerable Advantage. King *Edward* indeed had more than once sent Armies under valiant Generals to support *Baliol's* Cause, where Success was variable 'till the Death of *Murrey*. After whom the Lord *Smart*, taking Advantage of King *Edward's* Foreign Expeditions, us'd all Methods to prepare a peaceable Entrance for King *David*, still in *France*. The Assistance of the Lord *William Douglas* was very beneficial to that purpose, tho' not always fortunate; being overthrown in a set Battel by King *Edward's* Forces, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Berkley*, at *Blackbourn*. But towards the Decision of the Miseries of the Nation, there arriv'd great Quantities of Ammunition and Supplies from the Kingdom of *France*, at such Time as the Lord *Smart* had lain ten Weeks at the Siege of *Perth* with small Hopes of Success. *Perth* at length being surrender'd, *Baliol* finding his Interest and Power daily to decline, abandon'd the Nation, and retir'd into *England*. Upon which Desertion, King *David* with his Queen, and many of the *Scotch* and *French* Nobility, return'd peaceably into *Scotland*, after nine Years Absence; and 'till the *French* King's Cause unfortunately put him into Arms against the *English*, the afflicted Realm of *Scotland* enjoy'd Rest and Quiet.

King David restored.

A. D. V. The provident King *Edward*, returning home after the Truce with
1343. *France*, became as careful in Domestick, as he had been vigorous in Foreign
Reg. 17. Affairs; and enacted the Statute of *Provisors* upon this Occasion: Pope *Bene-*
dict

dict being dead, *Clement VI.* succeeded; a Man of singular Learning, but extremely profuse in his Preferments, who by Way of *Provision* had bestow'd several choice Benefices in *England* upon Foreigners. For the Prevention of a Practice, so odious to the King and his Parliament, it was made High-Treason or Death for any to bring such Papal Provisions into the Kingdom. And in Justification, the King sent an admirable Letter to the Pope in which he represented *how highly it derogated from the State of the Kingdom of England, that such Reservations and Provisions formerly us'd, should in such Manner be continu'd. For the Churches of England had formerly been endow'd by noble and worthy Persons; that the People might be instructed by such as were of their own Language: And yet by the Usurpations of some of his Predecessors, Strangers, and sometimes Enemies to the Realm, were preferr'd before Natives; whereby the Mony and Profits were transported, the Churches and Cures unserv'd, Alms and Hospitality refus'd, the Houses and Edifices ruined, the Charity and Devotion of the People diminish'd, and many other fatal Enormities occasion'd, contrary to the Honour of God and the Founders Wills.* In the Beginning of this same Parliament, the King created his eldest Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, investing him by a Coronet and a Ring of Gold. He was now in the thirteenth Year of his Age, being the Delight and Expectation of all Men; and in a short Time he prov'd so renown'd a Gentleman, that the Commendations given by *Walsingham* of his Father, *as exceeding all the Princes that went before him*, may be parallel'd in the Son, as surpassing all the Princes that liv'd after him.

The Statute of Provisors.

Young Edward made Prince of Wales.

Walsing.

His noble Father King *Edward*, who had his Eye still fix'd upon *France* as the Mark of his Conquest, having Notice among other Things by a Messenger from the Pope, that the Emperor *Lewis* had wholly submitted himself, and was absolv'd from all Censures, upon his declaring in King *Philip's* Favour; he courageously broke out into this warm Expression, *If Lewis joins with the French King, I my self will fight with them both.* And whether invited by the Fame of King *Arthur*, and the Knights of the *Round-Table*, or by the Glory of all Martial Actions and Exercises; he order'd a spacious Room of Wood to be erected at *Windsor* Castle, two hundred Foot in Diameter, which he call'd the *Round-Table*, because he there intended to treat all the Knights which he had invited from Foreign Parts. In the Beginning of this Year he held his Feast of the *Round-Table* at *Windsor*, and also issu'd out Letters of safe Conduct for all Foreign Knights and their Servants, who should please to come to a solemn Tournament to be kept for fourteen Days together. At the appointed Day there was a noble Appearance of Knights and great Men of several Nations, and the Solemnity began with a most magnificent Entertainment or Supper; and the Day following the Jufts and Tournaments began, and were continu'd almost every Day during the King's Letters of Protection, being perform'd in the Presence of the Queen and all the Ladies of the Court, who had Scaffolds purposely erected to behold these Martial Sports: Which so pleas'd the King, that in *August* following, he caus'd a more durable Structure to be erected of the like Form, and for the same Exercises to be continu'd every Year. In Emulation of all this King *Philip*, knowing that all tended to Preparations against him, erected the like in his Court, to prevent the Knights and great Soldiers of *Germany* and *Italy* from repairing to King *Edward*. And in one Thing more, he did wisely and politicly, in giving leave to his Subjects freely to fell down his Woods for building of Ships, by which his Navy was much augmented, and became very serviceable afterwards. But his Jealousies against the King of *England* put him upon open Acts of Cruelty, and occasion'd him to put several principal Men of *Normandy*, *Picardy* and *Gascony* to Death, only because they were *English* in Affection: Among whom are reckon'd Sir *Oliver de Clifton*, *Bacco*, *Percie* and *Geoffry of Malestroict*, Knights of the best Note: Sir *Godfrey of Harcourt*, Brother to the Earl of *Harcourt*, being also summon'd

A. D.

1344.

Reg. 18.

King Edward institutes the Feast of the Round-Table.

mon'd to *Paris*, fled into *England*, where he became a great Incendiary in the approaching Flame.

A. D. 1345. Reg. 19. It was not Pope *Clement's* Mediation, or Diligence in discussing the Title and Pretensions of these two mighty Monarchs, that could prolong the fatal Punishment of *France*; yet according to former Articles, each Prince sent his particular Orators, where the Difficulties arose so thick and intricate, that the Pope despairing to clear them, deferr'd the Consideration of them to another Time. But King *Edward* affirming the Truce to be manifestly broken, by the Execution and Persecuting his Friends in *Normandy* and elsewhere, signify'd thus much to his Holiness, *That the Sword, not the Tongue should determine his Right and Title.* His Provisions of Men, of Arms, of Ships, of Victuals and Treasure, and of all Things necessary for so brave and daring an Enterprize, were worthy of the Grandeur, Courage and Majesty of an *English* Monarch. Into *Gascony* he sent the valiant *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, with a gallant Appearance of Commanders and proportionable Troops of Soldiers; where he perform'd many great Actions, for the Defence and Enlargement of that Dukedom, and took several Cities, Towns and Castles. After a glorious Campaign, in which he also defeated a superior Body of *French* with the Loss of seven thousand of their Men, he return'd richly loaden with Spoils and Prisoners to *Bordeaux*. Not long before this, at the taking of the City of *Bergerac* by Storm, where he permitted every particular Soldier to seize any House and convert all the Treasure to his own use; a certain Knight or Soldier call'd *Reth* seiz'd upon a House where the Bankers for Security had lodg'd their Mony in long Sacks: Upon the Sight of which, *Reth* imagining so great a Treasure not design'd for private Men, acquainted his General with what he had found; to whom the generous Earl answer'd, *That the whole House, and all the Mony in it was his own, tho' it was never so much.* The Soldier upon a second Search was still far more surpriz'd, and thinking so great a Treasure could belong to none but a General, once more acquainted him with the Greatness of it, which he had discover'd to be much more than at first. But this great Man was so far from being affected with it, That he told him with some Indignation, *That the Greatness of the Treasure could not alter the Case; since he pass'd his Word and Honour, he scorn'd to revoke it.* During this Campaign, the Scots attempting upon the Marches of *England*, by the Vigilance and Valour of the Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Lords *Percie*, *Nevile* and *Lucie*, and others intrusted in those Parts, they were forc'd to retire into their own Kingdom. It was now the Practice of either Prince to divert and disturb each others Affairs in different Parts, as the *English* did King *Philip's* in *Gascony*, and he the *English* by his perpetual and constant Confederates the *Scots*. But King *Edward* at present could do it the less in *Flanders*, because his most vigilant and faithful Friend, *James de Arteville* was this Year slain in a Mutiny by such as were of the *French* Faction.

A. D. 1346. Reg. 20. At length King *Edward*, having establish'd his Affairs in *England*, resolv'd to go in Person into *France*, and try his Fortunes in that fair Kingdom, and preparing a great Fleet and a brave Army, he took leave of his beloved Queen and went to *Southampton*, accompany'd by his admirable Son the Prince of *Wales*, then in the sixteenth Year of his Age, together with all the chief Nobility and most valiant Men of the Nation; to whom he made a short Speech, which was communicated to the whole Army; in which he desir'd them *to behave themselves like Men, since he resolv'd to send back his Fleet upon his first landing in France; therefore if any Man's Courage fail'd him, he had his Liberty to stay in England:* To which they unanimously answer'd, as tho' inspir'd by his Valour, *That they were all ready to follow so brave a Commander, were it to Death it self.* After a few Days Sail, his Fleet arriv'd at the Haven of *La Hogue* in *Normandy*, contrary to his intentions; where leaping on Shore with some Violence, the Blood gush'd out of his

The Truce with France broken.

The Earl of Darby's Bravery.

King Edward's great Expedition against France.

He lands in Normandy.

his Nose. Upon which his Lords, discourag'd at such an ill-boding Omen, desir'd him to re-enter his Ship, and not land his Men that Day; but the King undauntedly reply'd, *It was rather a Sign that the Land desired to have him.* Then knighting his Son, and some other young Men of Quality, he enter'd into the Country which did not expect him, resolving to take a full Revenge for the Blood of his Friends, upon the *Norman* Towns and People; protesting that he sacrific'd them to *Clisson, Bacco, Percy* and the rest. His Army, consisting of thirty thousand Foot and twenty five hundred Horse, march'd divided by Day in three Bodies, which usually join'd together at Night. The Cities of *Valongnes, Carentan, St. Lo* and *Harfleur* became the first Prey to his victorious Arms; and *Rodolph* Constable of *France*, and the Earl of *Tankerville*, whom the King had sent to *Caen*, increas'd his Spoil and Fame by taking them Prisoners, with the Defeat of twenty thousand Men. Moving from *Caen*, he continu'd his March by the Bishopricks of *Liseux* and *Eureux*, wasted and burnt all along the *Seyne* almost to the Walls of *Paris*, and came and encamped at *Poissy*. Here he endeavour'd to draw out King *Philip* to a Combate, declaring *That he would wrestle with him in the Eye of all France, on the great Theatre before his Capital City of Paris.* But after he had continu'd there five Days, fearing to be enclos'd between the Rivers *Seyne* and *Oyse*, he caus'd the Bridges to be repaired, and pass'd into *Beauvais*, with Design to retire into his Country of *Ponthieu*, all the Way marking his Road with dreadful Traces of Fire and Blood.

and marches
up to Paris.

King *Philip*, foaming with Rage to behold from his Capital City such furious Flames in the Heart of his Kingdom, with the greatest Army that *France* had ever seen, advanc'd towards his Enemy, resolving upon Revenge, and scarce doubting of Victory; especially since King *Edward's* Retreat was look'd upon as a Flight. King *Edward* had retir'd to gain the River *Somme* at a Place call'd *Blanquetaque* below *Abbeville*; but that Passage was to be disputed by the Sword: For King *Philip* had before sent a *Norman* Lord call'd *Godemar du Fay*, who stood ready on the opposite Bank of the River with a Body of twelve thousand Men, so advantageously posted that King *Edward's* Passage was concluded to be impracticable. But this undaunted Hero, resolving to pass or perish in the Attempt, plung'd foremost into the River, crying out, *They who love me will follow me!* upon which all press'd forwards, each striving who should be foremost, 'till through Showers of Darts and Arrows they gain'd the opposite Shore, and soon put the Enemy to flight, with the Loss of two thousand of their Men. King *Philip*, who thought he was secure of his Rival, and that he must be inclos'd between the *Somme* and his own numerous Army, was enrag'd at this Defeat, and cry'd out *That he was betray'd*: Therefore he immediately follow'd the *English* by the Banks of the River, on the other Side of which King *Edward* and his Army lay; and he had with him an Army of above a hundred thousand Men, yet King *Edward* bravely offer'd him a free Passage over the Ford, if he would pass the next Tide, and chuse a fit Place for Battel. But King *Philip* refusing this generous Offer, the other march'd further into *Ponthieu* 'till he came near a Town call'd *Cressy*; where finding a convenient Country for two Armies to draw up in Battalia, and rightly conjecturing that his Enemies would follow him where-ever he march'd, he said to his Nobility, *That he would now stay 'till he had fac'd his Enemies and recover'd this Province, the Inheritance of Queen Eleanor his Grand-mother;* concluding with his own Motto, *GOD DEFEND MY RIGHT*: And because he had not above a fourth Part of the Army King *Philip* brought into the Field, he commanded his Marshals to chuse the best Piece of Ground they could; which being done, and having sent out his Scouts, he strongly encamp'd himself and his Army, impatiently expecting his Enemy.

The French
King prepares
against him.

King Edward's
Passage over
the Somme.

He waits for
the French at
Cressy.

In a short Time after the *French* approach'd with no small Numbers, Noise and Precipitation; while King *Edward* spent a great Part of the Night in the profoundest

*The Order of
his Army.*

*He prepares
for Battel.*

profoundest Devotions, and taking the Sacrament with his Son and the chief Nobility. In the Morning he form'd his Army into three main Battalions, the first of which was led by the young Prince of *Wales*, of Strength and Courage far above his Years; with whom were join'd the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Harcourt*, with divers other Persons of Quality, amounting to the Number of eight hundred Men of Arms, two thousand Archers, and a thousand light-arm'd *Welshmen*. The second Battalion was commanded by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton*, the Lord *Ross*, and many other valiant Lords and Knights; the whole Body amounting to the Number of eight hundred Men of Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. The last Battalion was headed by the King himself, accompany'd with the Lord *Mowbray*, the Lord *Mortimer*, and others; amounting to the Number of seven hundred Men of Arms and two thousand Archers; the whole Army making up in all about thirty thousand effective Soldiers. Then having Knighted fifty young Noblemen and Gentlemen for their Encouragement, the valiant King without the least Perturbation, mounted on a white Nag and with a white Staff in his Hand, rode from Rank to Rank, and exhorted every Man to maintain his Right and Honour, with such moving and obliging Expressions as fired the most faint-hearted in the Army. Then refreshing themselves, every Man prepar'd to conquer bravely or die honourably. The Prince's Battalion led the Van, and he had plac'd his Archers in the Front, who were drawn up in a thin oblong Square, that they might not be surrounded by their numerous Enemies, and behind them stood the Prince himself at the Head of the main Body of the Men of Arms; whilst the King himself was drawn up on the Right Hand further off, on the Side of a Hill, with twelve thousand Men, for a Reserve in case of Extremity, and the Carriages were plac'd within a strong Intrenchment cast up for that purpose. The good Order of the *English* being told to the brave old King of *Bohemia* on the other Side, he made Answer, as a Man of Experience, *Then I see, the English are resolv'd to win all, or die.*

*The famous
Battel of Cressy.*

It was about three in the Afternoon when King *Philip* approach'd the *English* at the Head of his vast Army, and Multitude of Commanders, which he also divided into three main Bodies; and then order'd the first Onset to be made by the *Genoese* Cross-Bows, who were about fifteen thousand. This they did with some Reluctancy, as being tir'd with the March, and having their Bow-strings much damag'd by a great Shower of Rain; so that when they came to engage with the *English* Long-Bows, they were soon broken in Pieces, and put to flight. This was attended with such Confusion and Damage to King *Philip's* Horsemen, that he cry'd out *Kill these cowardly Villains who only hinder us!* But after a while, getting clear of the *Genoese*, the Earls of *Alencon*, *Flanders* and *Blois*, with other Commanders fell in with that *English* Battalion where the young Prince commanded, who receiv'd them with incomparable Valour and Bravery. But fresh Squadrons of *French* and *German* Horse rushing in with great Fury, the second Battalion commanded by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton* came in to his Assistance, and vigorously attacking the Enemy, caus'd a new Deluge of Blood in the Field. In the mean Time King *Edward* himself with his Battalion hover'd on the Hill like a Tempest in a Cloud, ready to discharge its Fury, but at present only watching and observing this unequal Conflict. Here a Message was sent to him from the Earl of *Northampton* to desire him to come down and succour his Son, now very hardly beset; upon which he demanded *Whether he was alive:* The Messenger told him *Yes, but was in Danger of being over-power'd by Numbers.* Then reply'd the King with his usual Courage, *let them know, that while my Son is alive, they send for no Assistance to me, for the Honour of this glorious Day shall be His.* This Answer from so compleat a General added new Life and Flame to the Prince and his valiant Supporters, so that pressing forwards with uncommon Vigour, this brave young Lion, surrounded with Blood and Death, far

out-did

out-did his Father's and the World's Expectation. Then rushing in to the main Body of the *French*, the Marquess *Charles*, Emperor Elect, receiv'd him with great Courage, 'till his Men being slain round about him, and himself wounded in several Places, he found it necessary to quit the Field without staying to see the Fate of his Father the old King of *Bohemia*; who tho' he had already lost one Eye, and was almost blind with Age, resolv'd not to stain his former Victories with an ignoble Flight: But making the Gentlemen about him lead him up to the Enemy, and ordering his Horse's Bridle to be ty'd to those next him, as the rest did to those of their Companions, they fought so desperately that they were all slain upon the Place, and their dead Bodies were found the next Day surrounding that of their Master. Then were the Arms of that valiant King, being three *Ostrich-Feathers*, taken by the Prince of *Wales* and afterwards us'd in his *Devise*; and have ever since been born by his Successors the Princes of *Wales*.

The Black Prince and the English are victorious.

In the mean while King *Philip* did not fail to perform the Part not only of a courageous General, but also of a valiant Soldier: For rallying again the Flower of his Nobility and Men of Arms, he enter'd the hottest of the Battel, and not being known, he was so hemm'd in among the *English*, that his Horse being kill'd, he was remounted by those about him; and being again dismount-ed, and wounded in the Neck and Thigh, he had been slain or taken Prisoner had he not been mounted a third Time by the Lord *John* of *Hainault*; who at the same Time, partly by Persuasions and partly by Force, oblig'd him to quit the Field. After whose Departure little Resistance was made, so that the Victory in a short Time fell intirely to the *English*; and Night put an End to the Conflict. On the *French* Side were slain the two Kings of *Bohe-mia* and *Majorca*; and of Princes, the Earl of *Alencon* King *Philip's* Brother, the Earl of *Blois*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Lorrain* Nephew to the King of *France*, the Dauphine of *Vienne*, and many others of the chief No-bility of *France*, *Bohemia* and *Germany*. Besides these, there fell twenty four Bannerets, twelve hundred Knights, fifteen hundred Gentlemen, four thousand Men of Arms and Esquires, and above thirty thousand more of the Commons of *France*. And all this without the Loss of any of the *English* Nobility, or of many common Soldiers; which was justly look'd upon as a signal In-stance of the Divine Favour to King *Edward's* Arms; which were so nobly employ'd on this Day, being the twenty fourth of *August*, 1346. King *Ed-ward* finding the Victory compleat, advanc'd with his untouch'd Battalion to-wards his victorious Son, and running into his Arms with a most affectionate Embrace and a Kiss, he said, *My dear Son, Heav'n send you to persevere in these prosperous Beginnings; you have this Day acquitted your self most no-bly, and truly merit that Crown for which we have fought.* Instead of re-plying, the noble young Prince with the profoundest Modesty and Silence fell on his Knees before his triumphant Father. The Night was spent by the whole Army in solemn Rejoycing for this glorious Victory, but they made no manner of Boasting: For it was the King's express Command, *That none should insult, nor make any vain ostentatious Songs, but all humbly to give Thanks to Al-mighty God, for his infinite Goodness and Mercy to them.* The next Day, for the sake of the Dead, the pious King caus'd the Place of Battel to be consecra-ted, for the decent Sepulture both of his-Enemies and Friends; and order'd that the Wounded should be carefully dress'd and reliev'd; and to the meaner Sort, when recover'd, he generously gave Money, and sent them whither they pleas'd to go. While the King was taking Care of the Dead and Wounded, five hundred Lances and two thousand Archers being sent out to discover what was become of the Enemy, met with great Numbers of such as were coming from *Abbeville*, *Roven* and other Places, all ignorant of what had happen'd; and ingaging with them, intirely defeated them, with the Loss of seven thou-sand Men. Our Writers report, that of Straglers that fled from the Battel,

The Greatness of the Victory.

and of others that were coming towards the Place, there were slain many more than in the Field the Day before; which shews us the wonderful Loss this afflicted Country sustain'd at one fatal Blow.

The disconsolate King *Philip* in the mean Time fled with a small Company to the Castle of *Braye*, where the Guard enquiring who he was, he answer'd *The Fortune of France*; and being let in, he was receiv'd with all the Marks of Sorrow and Lamentation. Coming to *Amiens*, he bitterly exclaim'd against the Lord *Godemar* for suffering King *Edward* to pass the River *Somme*, and threaten'd him with Death; but the Lord of *Hainault* moderated his Fury with this important Truth, *That it was not in Godemar's Power to resist the King of England, when all the Flower of France could not.* And finding that Complaints and Punishments were of no Use, he endeavour'd to make the best Defence against the prevailing Arms of King *Edward*; who, resolving to make the wisest Use of his Victory, went and sat down before the Town of *Calais*, which had been a long Annoyance both to him and his Kingdom, being then a Place of great Strength, and reputed the very Key of *France*. Nor did he invest it only by Land, but also block'd it up by Sea, the Earl of *Huntington* his Admiral lying before it with a great Fleet of seven hundred thirty eight Vessels of all Sorts. Upon his Approach to the Place he sent a Summons to *John de Vienne* the Governor *To surrender to Him as rightful King of France, otherwise, upon taking the Place, he would put them all to the Sword.* The other answer'd, *He knew but one King of France, who had sent him to keep that Place, of whose Assistance he doubted not, and in whose Service he resolv'd to live and die.* Upon this brave Answer, King *Edward* began to intrench himself strongly before the City, and since he could not expect to take it by Assault, resolv'd to reduce it by Famine; and to this End he threw up an Intrenchment quite round the Place, with regular Fortifications, and form'd his Camp into Streets, consisting of Huts cover'd with Reeds, sufficient for his Soldiers to lodge in all the Winter. The Governor finding it was like to be a long Siege, resolv'd to free the Town of as many usefess Mouths as he could, and accordingly drove out more than seventeen hundred of the poorest and least necessary People, and shut the Gates against them; which when the King saw, instead of driving them back and starving them, he out of a Generous and Christian Compassion permitted them to pass through his Camp without Molestation, giving them all a Dinner, and two Pence a Person in Money.

Many Expedients were consider'd for raising the Siege of this Important Place, but two more especially: The first was to gather a sufficient Force to beat King *Edward* in his Trenches, and the second was to make a powerful Diversion by Means of their ancient Allies the *Scots*. This latter, as the more easie, was first put in Execution by King *David*, who enter'd the Kingdom of *England* with a brave Army of above sixty thousand Men, assuring himself of Success, in regard, as he conceiv'd, that the main Strength of the Nation was gone into *France*. But he soon found his Error: For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert Humfrevile* Earl of *Angos*, and *William* Lord *la Zouche*, with eight other Lords, *Percy*, *Mowbray*, *Nevile*, *Deincourt*, *Manley*, *Leyburne*, *Scroop* and *Musgrave*, as also the Arch-Bishop of *York* and Bishop of *Durham*, with others of the Clergy, gather'd so great a Force, and so well order'd them by the particular Animation of the Heroick Queen, who in Person rod from Rank to Rank, that they intirely defeated this great Army; took King *David* himself Prisoner, with the Earls of *Isle*, *Menteth*, *Murrey* and *Southerland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and many others, with the Death of at least fifteen thousand Soldiers. This Victory, as well as that of *Cressy*, happen'd on a *Saturday*, six Weeks after the other; as if all Things had concurr'd to render this Year glorious and triumphant. King *David* was taken Prisoner by an Esquire nam'd *Copland*, who carefully kept him in Possession, and

King Edward
besieges Calais.

His Generosity.

The Scots over-
thrown by the
English.

King David
taken Prisoner.

and being order'd by the Queen to deliver him up to her, he utterly refus'd, whereupon she complain'd to the King lying then before *Calais*. *Copland* being commanded to repair thither, gave the King such a modest and loyal Answer, that he order'd him a Reward of five hundred Pounds a Year in Land, with a Warrant to deliver his Royal Prisoner to the Queen; which he did at *York* with so handfom an Apology, as both she and the Lords of the Council were fully satisfy'd. To compleat the Triumphs of this glorious Year, Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, like another *Machabee*, says our Author, with eight hundred Men of Arms, and one hundred Archers, in *Bretaign* overthrew *Charles de Blois*, who having twice in one Day with incredible Odds of Thirty to One, attack'd that brave Knight, was beaten out of the Field with extraordinary Loss of Nobility and others slain and taken. Not long after, the same Sir *Thomas*, with only three hundred Men of Arms and four hundred Archers, attack'd the same Lord *Charles*, lying at the Siege of *Rock-Darven*, with twelve hundred Knights and Esquires, six hundred other armed Men, two thousand Cross-Bow Men, and great Numbers of other Infantry; took *Charles* himself Prisoner, driving all his Forces, with incomparable Manhood and great Destruction out of the Field.

Sir Thomas Dagworth's Valour.

Still King *Edward* continu'd in Person before *Calais*, which he so closely block'd up by Sea and Land, that the Garrison could receive no Relief; so that now they were reduc'd to a languishing Condition, as appear'd by a Letter from the Governor to King *Philip*, which by an extraordinary Accident fell into King *Edward's* Hands. In which he told his Master, *That his People in Calais had eaten Horses, Dogs and Rats; and nothing remain'd for them but to devour each other; wherefore they were resolv'd, if not reliev'd, to die among their Enemies with Honour, rather than within the Walls by Famine.* King *Edward*, by an uncommon Strain of Generosity, sent this Letter to King *Philip*, requiring him *to use all Expedition, and succour his good People in Calais, who suffer'd such Miseries for his Sake.* Upon which King *Philip* hasten'd his Preparations, and having at length gather'd together a vast Army of a hundred and fifty thousand Men, he with his Son *John Duke of Normandy* march'd and advanc'd near to King *Edward's* Camp; and on the latter End of *July* he sent to offer him Battel. But the King of *England* wisely answer'd, *That he should find him within his Trenches, if he durst venture the Experiment; but since he had been at such Expence of Time and Treasure, he would not leave the Place, 'till he was Master of it.* After this two Cardinals, sent on purpose, urg'd for a Mediation and Treaty; in which the *French* King offer'd King *Edward* all *Gascony* and *Ponthieu*, with the Marriage of his Son *John*, and also the City of *Calais*. To which was reply'd, *That King Edward was not oblig'd to the offer for Calais, since the Place and all in it were at his Mercy already.* Next the *French* propos'd, That the Right of both Kings might be decid'd by Combat between five or six, chosen by each Side, and the Place assign'd by the King of *France*: To which the Earl of *Lancaster* answer'd, *That the Place ought to be assign'd by King Edward, as rightful King of England and France; for Philip of Valois had no Right at all:* So the Cardinals finding all ineffectual, retir'd to *St. Omers*. King *Edward* at that Time having a Reinforcement of seventeen thousand Men, not to be backwards in Bravery, not only offer'd the *French* King Battel, but also at his own Cost to fill the Trenches, and remove all Impediments that could hinder them from joining; provided he might have sufficient Security that nothing should be convey'd in to the Town during that Time. This generous Offer was likewise refus'd, and King *Philip*, in a despairing Condition, suddenly set fire to his Tents, and with his vast Army retir'd to *Amiens*, where he disbanded his Soldiers.

A. D.

1347.

Reg. 21.

The remarkable Siege of Calais.

King Edward's Bravery.

This Retreat extinguish'd all the Hopes of the *Califans*, and caus'd the Governor to take down the Banner of *France*, to set up that of *England*, and to beg a Parly with King *Edward*. This was granted, but by reason of the fre-

Calais surren-
der'd to King
Edward.

The generous
Piety of the
Queen.

Calais made an
English Colony.

The King re-
turns into En-
gland.

quent Piracies, as well as obstinate Defence they had made, the King would grant no milder Terms than that six of the chief Burgers of the Place should come to him bare headed, bare footed, in their Shirts, with Halts about their Necks, the Keys of the Town and Castle in their Hands, and submit themselves to the King's Pleasure: For the rest he was design'd to shew them Mercy. This final Sentence being brought to the Town, caus'd a general Consternation, it being thought impossible to find six who would fall a Sacrifice for the rest; 'till at last a chief Burger call'd *Eustace St. Pierre* gave a noble Example of Heroick Courage and Concern for his Fellow-Citizens, and bravely offer'd himself to be the first Man; which soon excited five Others to join with him. These six being brought before the King in that ignominious Manner as was appointed, he was at first inexorable, and notwithstanding the earnest Intercessions of his Son and Lords about him, he order'd them all to be immediately beheaded. But this deplorable Spectacle so pierc'd the Heart of the generous Queen, then in the Camp and great with Child, that she went and threw herself at the King's Feet, and begg'd of him for the Sake of *Jesus Christ*, the Blessed Virgin, and the tender Love between them, that she might have the Lives of those poor miserable Men. This affecting Sight soon melted the King into a tender Compassion and Compliance; and she immediately caus'd them to be carry'd into her Apartment, where being new cloath'd she order'd them a Dinner and six Nobles a Man, and then to be set at full Liberty: A noble and God-like Action, and worthy such a great and pious Queen. And thus the strong City of *Calais* was gain'd upon the third Day of *August*, 1347, after almost a whole Year's Siege with infinite Labour and Expence: All the Inhabitants, except a Priest and two ancient Men, were turn'd out, and sent away to seek new Habitations; and a Colony of the *English* were planted in their Room, which continu'd in the Possession of the *English* Crown above two hundred Years after. Upon the Taking of the Place, by the Mediation of Cardinals and other great Men, a Truce was concluded and sworn between the two Kings, upon the twenty eighth Day of *September*, to continue 'till fifteen Days after the Midsummer following; and King *Edward* in a short Time after, having settled the Town and his Affairs in those Parts, making Sir *Amery de Pavy*, an *Italian*, Governor of the Place, return'd into *England* with great Glory and Renown; and spent the remaining Part of the Year in Triumphs and Tournaments, celebrated with extraordinary Magnificence.

A. D. VI. Never was the *English* Name so great and glorious as at this Time, nor did *England* herself in any preceding Age enjoy a King more renown'd for Wisdom, Valour and Good Fortune; the mighty Splendor of his Virtues, not only adorning her with *Garlands*, conquer'd Spoils and Trophies, but seeming also, like some new shining Sun, to infuse Plenty and Fertility into the Earth it self. To add to his Glory, this Year he was solemnly elected Emperor of *Germany*, by the Princes of that Empire, and Ambassadors were sent over to him to desire him to accept of that Dignity: But after a mature Consideration of the Troubles and Factions in the Empire, he sully declin'd it, declaring to the Ambassadors, *That he would not undertake so great a Burden, 'till he had gain'd the Crown of France, which was due to him by Hereditary Right.* All this Year *England* so glory'd in the Spoils of *France*, that there was scarce a Woman of Condition but could show some rich Furs and Foreign Furniture, and the *English* Ladies began to pride themselves in the Fashions of the *French*; and Luxury now increasing, fine Table-Linnen, Gold and Silver, Plate and Jewels were commonly seen in the Houses of private Persons. And indeed the Vanity of the Women became very great at this Time; and they were so fond of Tournaments, that it was ordinary for them to ride forty or fifty in a Troop to these Assemblies; and having more Beauty than Discretion, went dress'd like Men in Party-colour'd Coats, embroider'd Girdles, and Daggers.

1348.

Reg. 22.

England's
Grandeur.

Great Luxury.

Daggers at their Wastes; and thus they rod upon fine Horses from one Tournament to another, waisting their Estates, and losing their Reputations. But God had provided a severe Scourge for the Luxury now reigning in the Nation, sending a dreadful Plague throughout the Nation, so that the Earth was fill'd with Graves, and the Air with Cries and Lamentations. This Pestilence began first among the *Turks*, and pierc'd by Degrees into *Italy* and *France*, where it cut off many thousands. In the City of *London* it had so quick and sharp an Edge, that in the Space of one Year, there were bury'd in the common Church-yard call'd the *Cestertian*, or *Charter-House*, above fifty thousand Persons.

A. D.
1349.
Reg. 23.
*A terrible
Plague.*

During these Calamities, the Lord *Charny* Governor of *St. Omers* made a secret Bargain with *St. Amery de Pavy* Governor of *Calais*, for twenty thousand Crowns to betray that important Town to him; of which King *Edward* having Notice, went privately thither the very Night the Delivery was agreed on, with the Prince of *Wales*, and several Earls and Barons, and lodg'd himself in the Castle, to secure it with the Men he brought with him. The Mony was actually brought and paid, and twelve Knights and a hundred Men at Arms were let into the Castle; but to their great Surprise were immediately made Prisoners by the King's Guards who lay undiscover'd. The Lord *Charny* was then under the Town with a considerable Force, plac'd near two Gates, ready to enter it when they were open'd. But in the mean Time the Prince of *Wales* issu'd out at one Gate, and the King at the other, conceal'd under the Banner of Sir *Walter Manny*, and fought bravely on Foot among the common Soldiers, being engag'd with the Lord *Eustace* of *Rylemont*, a valiant Man, who struck the King twice to his Knees; yet at last he was overcome by him, and made his Prisoner, with the Lord *Charny* and many other *French* Men of Note. The young Prince also prevail'd against the Party he engag'd; and there were slain and drown'd about six hundred *French*, who were double the Number to the *English* that fall'd out upon them; so much did the latter exceed the former in Valour. The Night following the King order'd a splendid Supper to be provided, as well for the Prisoners as his own Nobility; and to their great Surprise coming in amongst them, he told the Lord *Charny*, *That he was but a little oblig'd to him, since he design'd to steal that from him by Night, which he fairly won by Day.* But coming to the valiant *Rylemont*, he after a most obliging Manner took a rich Chaplet of Pearls from his own Head, and plac'd it upon the other's, as one who had deserv'd best in the whole Action, and generously forgave him his Ransom. Then removing Sir *Amery de Pavy* from his Government, and placing Sir *John Beauchamp* in his Room, the King return'd into *England* in Triumph with the chiefest of his Prisoners.

A secret Design to betray Calais.

The King prevents it in Person.

And now the renown'd *Edward*, resolving to give the highest Incouragement to all Martial Virtues, about this Time instituted, or rather compleated the most Noble Order of Knighthood call'd the *Garter*. For the more solemn and magnificent Celebration of it, the King sent his Heralds into *France*, *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, and almost all the Kingdoms in *Europe*, to invite all Knights and Esquires to come and shew their Military Skill and Valour, in all Kinds of Martial Exercises. As to the Original, Form and Nature of this glorious Order, we must refer our Reader to the learned Mr. *Ashmole*'s elaborate Work upon that Subject; and shall only observe, That the End and Design of this Institution was truly noble and generous, and worthy of the mighty Prince who had invented it. For it was not only to adorn martial Virtue by splendid Robes and rich Jewels, but also to engage them by a Solemn Oath before God to preserve Fidelity, Honour and Courage in the Minds of those who were admitted into it; which Virtues were justly esteem'd as the noblest Badges and Distinctions of all Military Men, and by a strict Observation of which they could only acquire great and real Reputation; when not to act justly, valiantly and faithfully, was accounted the most imaginable Blemish and Dishonour.

A. D.
1350.
Reg. 24.
He constitutes the noble Order of the Garter.

*He defeats the
Spanish Fleet.*

nour. Not long after this famous Institution, King *Edward* had a fresh Occasion to show his Valour: For hearing that certain *Spanish* Men of War, who the preceding Year had cruelly slain many *Englishmen* and taken away their Commodities, were come into his Seas, he like a Martial *Neptune* encounter'd them in Person not far from *Winchelsey*, with such Ships as could suddenly be procur'd; and after a most obstinate Fight, in which he and the Prince of *Wales* did Wonders, he took twenty six of the principal Ships, sunk others, and drove away the rest. The Gallantry and Spirit of the *Spaniards* was such, that disdaing to out-live the Disgrace of yielding, most of them dy'd by the *English* Weapons, or were drown'd in the Sea. Thus did this great Prince seek all Occasions, as well by Sea as Land, to expose his Person, not only to gain Glory, of which he had already sufficient, but to defend his Nation from Foreign Enemies that had insulted it; and he seems so much to have valu'd himself upon that Account, that on the first Pieces of Gold he ever coin'd, we find his Figure represented with a drawn Sword in the middle of a Ship of War. In the same Year dy'd *Philip* King of *France*, after he had reign'd twenty three Years, and was succeeded by his Son *John* Duke of *Normandy*, who renew'd the Truce with the *English* 'till *Pentecost* in the Year 1356.

A. D. But this Truce was not long well observ'd in *France*, each Nation taking
1351. what Advantage they could upon the other, in *Picardy*, *Bretaign* and *Gasco-*
Reg. 25. *ny*. Sir *John Beauchamp* Governor of *Calais* finding the Ways to that Place
much infested by the *French*, march'd out with three hundred Men at Arms, and
two hundred Archers on Horseback, and took much Booty in the adjacent
Country; but in his Return was encounter'd by the Lord *Beaulieu* with a Body
of two thousand *Frenchmen*; which Lord he slew, and had routed his Com-
pany, when another stronger Party came up, and worsted his, took him Pri-
soner with twenty *English* Knights besides. For the present he was succeeded
by Sir *Robert Herle*, who being recruited by a select Body of Men commanded
by the Lord *Manny*, march'd into the *French* Territories, and after much Da-
mage to the Neighbourhood, return'd without Loss and so large a Booty of
Cattel, that a fat Ox at *Calais* would hardly yield sixteen Pence Sterling. Not
long after *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, lately made a Duke in Parliament, and
the second in *England*, was sent by King *Edward* to *Calais*, who marching
along the Sea-Coasts, burnt the Suburbs of *Boloign* to the very Walls; then ad-
vancing as far as *Estaples*, which he plunder'd, he took a Compass to return
back on the right Hand, where he did the like to *Fanquenberg*, and after that
to *Terouenne*. In the Havens of these Towns he fir'd above a hundred Vessels
of all Sorts, and proceeded with Fire and Sword up to *Arques* and the Gates
of *St. Omers*; and having sufficiently made known the Terror of his Arms, he
triumphantly return'd to *Calais* with many Prisoners and much Booty. In
Bretaign, where the valiant Sir *Thomas Dagworth* had been unfortunately
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Number. Thirteen Lords, a hundred and forty Knights, a hundred Esquires,
five hundred Men of Arms, and great Numbers of common Soldiers were slain;
and nine Lords, and a hundred and forty Knights and Esquires were taken Pri-
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and was not easily repair'd. In the same Year, the Governor of *Calais* finding
the Town and Castle of *Guifnes*, within five Miles of it, to be a great Curb to
his Garrison on that Side, found Means to corrupt the Deputy-Governor of the
Place, and had the Town betray'd to him for a certain Sum of Mony. Upon
the taking of this Place in the Time of Truce, when Complaint was made of
it by the *French* King's Envoys to King *Edward*, his Answer was, *That*
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*Various Suc-
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taught the English Commanders that Buying and Selling was no Breach of the Truce.

To return to the Affairs of *England*, King *Edward* conceiving Displeasure against the *Flemmings*, being disappointed of the Match between a Daughter of his, and their young Earl of *Louis*, who was escap'd to *France* and bestow'd on a Daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*, withdrew the Mart or Staple of Wool from their Towns which had receiv'd great Advantage by the Trade, and caus'd the same to be kept at *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Canterbury*, *Lincoln*, *Warwick*, *York*, *Newcastle*, *Exeter*, *Caermarthen*, *Bristol* and *Hull*. Judging it more requisite to advance his own Towns than those of Foreigners, by the Commodities of his Kingdom. In the same Parliament that this was settled, many wise Ordinances were also enacted for the Governing and Ordering this Staple. *Stow* mentions an Act made in this Parliament at the Instance of the *Londoners*, That no common Harlot should wear any Hood, except rayed or strip'd with divers Colours, nor Furs; but Garments revers'd the wrong Side outwards: In which they endeavour'd well to set a scandalous Mark upon Impurity, to render it the more odious. In the next Parliament, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, Grandson to the famous *Mortimer*, who was attainted and executed twenty three Years before, was now restored to Blood, and the Judgment against the Grandfather was revers'd, as being given without his Answering, and contrary to Law. About the same Time great Mediation was made by the Pope to reconcile the two Kings of *England* and *France*; and Commissioners met on both Sides to treat and conclude a Peace. The chief Article in Deliberation was That the King of *England* should enjoy the whole Dukedom of *Gascony*, with the City of *Calais*, and the whole Counties of *Artois* and *Guisnes*, for himself and Successors, independently, without doing any Kind of Homage to the Kings of *France*. This at first seem'd fully agreed on, but at length was broken off by the *French*, to their further Calamity and Confusion, who might better have given up a Ceremony relating to a Part, than have had the Whole so miserably rent and torn in Pieces as it was afterwards.

These Miseries soon began to approach: For it being signify'd to King *Edward* that *John* King of *France* had given the Dukedom of *Gascony* to his Son the *Dauphine*, being much incens'd he immediately bestow'd that Province upon his invincible Son the Prince of *Wales*; commanding Him to defend his Right with his Sword against his Adversaries. All Things being ready for his Voyage, accompany'd with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury* and *Oxford*, the Lords *Chandoys*, *Audley*, *Buteport*, *Lisle*, and other brave Men, and having a thousand Men at Arms, and fourteen hundred Archers, he set Sail towards *Gascony*; where he immediately proceeded to perform Actions worthy of his great Name and Courage. On the other Side, King *Edward*, rous'd with a false Alarm, cross'd over the Seas, in Expectation of finding his Enemy King *John* at *St. Omers*; but failing of that, after many generous Offers of Combat and Battel, he ravag'd as far as *Hesdin*, and then return'd back to *England* to recover the Town of *Berwick* which the *Scots* had gotten by Surprise. Calling a Parliament at *Westminster*, a great Supply was granted to him of fifty Shillings upon every full Sack of Wool, for six Years ensuing; by which Imposition, our Historians believe that the King might be able to expend a thousand Marks a Day; such Vent of Wool was at that Time. But *Berwick*, before King *Edward* could appear to succour it, was burnt and dismantled, and then abandon'd by the *Scots*. The *French* had sent forty thousand Crowns and some Men at Arms into *Scotland*, to support their Confederates against the *English*; but King *Edward*, not satisfy'd in regaining his own without chastising his Adversaries, proceeded in a hostile Manner against the *Scots* both by Sea and Land. At *Roxborough*, *Baliol* one of the Kings of *Scotland* surrender'd to King *Edward* all the Right and Title which he had to that Kingdom, or any of the Appurtenances, reserving only to himself a yearly Pension of two thousand and fifty Pounds.

A. D.

1353.

Reg. 27.

The Staples of Wooll fix'd.

A. D.

1354.

Reg. 28.

A Peace endeavour'd between France and England.

A. D.

1355.

Reg. 29.

The Black Prince enters Gascony.

Pounds. Still *David* the other King was kept a Prisoner in *England*; and both were accounted Kings to the great Distraction of that miserable Kingdom. And Affliction seem'd to dwell in all Parts but *England*, where there was nothing to be seen but Triumphs and Festivals.

A. D. 1356. Reg. 30. *His mighty Actions.* In the mean Time the Prince of *Wales*, as it were in Emulation of his Father's Glory, perform'd Wonders in *France*; for with his victorious Arms he recover'd many Cities, Towns and Prisoners, piercing like a Thunderbolt through all *Languedoc*, and taking and destroying the two great Cities of *Narbon* and *Carcaffone*, which our Authors compare to *London* and *York*. The Damage done to the *French* King in this Expedition was exceeding great, for out of these Countries he rais'd a yearly Revenue of about four hundred thousand old Crowns. The Pope sending a Messenger from *Avignon*, with an Overture to intercede for Peace, had this Answer, *That the Message must be sent to the King his Father, for he could not act without his particular Commands*. In the mean Time he dispos'd of all Things without Molestation, and return'd loaded with Spoils and Honour to *Bordeaux*; from whence, after some Refreshment, he set forwards for new Enterprizes and Adventures. His Army consisted of about eight thousand brave and expert Soldiers, with whom he courageously advanc'd through *Peregor* and *Limosin* into the very Heart of *France*, up to the Gates of *Bourges* in *Berry*; the Terror of his Name still flying before him to his mighty Advantage. Thus satisfy'd for the present, he took a new Compass, with Design to return by *Renvorantine* in *Blaisois*, which he took, and then through the Countries of *Tourain*, *Poitou* and *Xantoign*, to his chief City of *Bordeaux*. But *John* King of *France*, hurry'd on with Impatience and hastning to go beyond his Father in Misfortunes, follow'd with an Army of sixty thousand Men, and near the City of *Poitiers* overtook the invincible Prince. Having drawn up his Men, he in a short Speech told them, *That while they were at Paris, and on their March, he had heard them deliver very swelling Words, How they would treat the English whenever they approach'd them: That now they were not far distant, and therefore he would soon lead them thither, hoping to find their Actions answerable to their former Threats*. At the same Time two Cardinals from the Pope began to mediate a Peace; but the *French* King, supposing he had his Enemy at his Mercy, would accept of no other Conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him four Hostages, and as vanquish'd, surrender himself and his Army to his Discretion. To which unworthy Motion the Prince reply'd with a contemptuous Smile, *That he hop'd to conquer; but if not, he could but die, yet he would never yield to lose his Honour, which he valu'd above his Life*. The Legates Persuasions being ineffectual, both Parties prepar'd for Battel.

The King of France overtakes him at Poitiers.

The glorious Battel of Poitiers. Now was the Time that this youthful Hero, fir'd with new Prospects of Glory, began to display his noble Qualifications, and to signalize both his Wisdom and Valour, after a most amazing Manner. Having mounted his Steed, riding from Rank to Rank, he told his Men *That Victory was in the Hands of Heav'n, and not always to be gain'd by a Multitude; which if they obtain'd, immortal Honour would be their Reward, or else Death would put an end to their Labours: But for his Part England should never pay his Ransom, for he was resolv'd either to die or conquer*. Then wisely taking all the Advantage that the Ground, Vines and Shrubs would afford them, a bloody Fight soon follow'd, which lasted above four Hours with uncommon Variety. Never did the *English* give nobler Testimony of their Valour and Bravery than at this Time; and the Prince himself with incredible Fury rush'd into the thickest of his Foes, forcing his Way with his insatiable Sword, and like a raging Lion dealing Death and Destruction to all that approach'd him. At length the admirable Conduct and inimitable Courage of the *English* prevail'd against the powerful Numbers of the *French*; so that they were intirely defeated, and forc'd to abandon the Field; and King *John* himself, after a long and valiant Resistance

ance was taken Prisoner, together with his Son *Philip*, then but thirteen Years of Age. Thus in short was this wonderful Battel gain'd in the Fields of *Beauvoir*, near *Poitiers* on *Monday* the nineteenth Day of *September*, to the great Glory of the *English* Prince and Nation. There were slain divers of the chief and most valiant of the Nobility of *France*, among whom were the two Dukes of *Bourbon*, besides many Earls and Barons, about six thousand Men at Arms, and of the common Sort eight thousand more. The Place of Battel was left free to the *English*, and more than a hundred Warlike Banners were brought away in Triumph. When the *English* were all return'd from the Chace, they found they had twice as many Prisoners as themselves; the chief of whom were the *French* King, his Son *Philip*, and seventeen Earls, besides Barons, Knights and Esquires to the Number of about two thousand: Wherefore to prevent the Inconveniency of too many Prisoners, they let many of them go upon their Paroles, and appointed them their fix'd Ransoms, in which they were very moderate; for the *English* generously declar'd *They would not set so high a Price upon a Knight or a Gentleman, but he might still be able to live after his Rank, and to follow the Wars according to his Quality.* The Loss on the *English* Side was very inconsiderable, for we find not the Name of any Person of Quality: But those who were most remarkable for their Valour were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford* and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spenser*, *Barkley*, *Basset*, Sir *John Chandois*, and others, who behav'd themselves with incomparable Bravery. But the Lord *James Audley* gain'd the greatest Honour both for his Valour and Bounty, who having vow'd to be foremost in the Battel, perform'd his Promise to Admiration, and seal'd it with numerous Wounds; for which the Prince having rewarded him with a Gift of five hundred Pounds Fee-simple, he immediately gave it to his four faithful Esquires who with him had sustain'd the Brunt of the Day. The Prince demanding of him Whether he accepted his Gift, he answer'd *That these Men had deserv'd it as well as himself, and had more need of it*; at which Answer the Prince was so sensibly pleas'd, that he gave him five hundred Pounds more in the same Kind, as the just Reward of so much Merit and Generosity.

The French King taken Prisoner.

The Generosity of the Lord Audley.

By this famous Victory the Prince of *Wales* gain'd a double Conquest, One by his invincible Sword in the Field, and the Other by his unparallel'd Courtesy to his vanquish'd Enemies. For the Night after the Battel he order'd a noble Supper to be provided for the *French* King, and the Prisoners of the highest Quality; King *John* and his Son, with the Princes of the Blood being placed at one Table, while the rest of the Lords and Knights sat at others. The Prince in the mean Time waited at the King's Table, and when desir'd to sit down, he with all the real Marks of Humility reply'd, *That he was not worthy to sit down with so great a Monarch.* And finding him still dejected and afflicted, he endeavour'd to raise his Spirits by the most civil and ingaging Expressions, telling him among other Things, *That his Majesty being one of the bravest of Christian Kings had no Cause to afflict himself; for tho' his Arms had not been favour'd by the sole Disposer of all Victory, yet his Gallantry must be acknowledg'd, and his Royal Dignity should be preserv'd inviolable.* As to himself he declar'd *That the Realm of France should always find him grateful to her which had produc'd so many of his Progenitors; and towards his Majesty, if he would permit him to glory in that Title, he would ever shew himself a most humble and respectful Kinsman.* This extraordinary Submission in a conquering young Prince, about twenty five Years of Age, quite melted the captive King into a Flood of Tears; and when the *French* Lords saw the Prince so humble amidst the highest Charms of Prosperity, and heard his generous Language deliver'd with such an unaffected obliging Air, they declared among themselves *That he had spoken nobly and gallantly, and that he would prove a most accomplish'd Prince.* At length King *John*, recovering himself a little, forc'd a civil Smile, and with an affectionate Countenance said,

The Greatness of the Black Prince.

He is admir'd by his Enemies.

That since it was his Fortune to be overcome, he had this uncommon Alleviation, That as he had not behav'd himself unworthily in the Battel, so he was fallen into the Hands of the most valiant and courteous Prince alive. The next Day the Prince causing his Chaplains and the Priests of the Army to celebrate Divine Service, he turn'd off all the Glory from himself, and most devoutly gave it to the great God of Victories; which being done, in the Sight and Hearing of the Prisoners, he heartily thank'd his Soldiers with Expressions full of Sincerity and Generosity. Then settling all Things, he march'd with his Prisoners and Trophies to *Bourdeaux*, the Capital City of his Dominions. How the News of this Victory was entertain'd in all Parts of the *English* Nation, is not hard to conjecture, but especially by King *Edward*, who gave speedy Orders to the two Arch-Bishops, that eight Days together should be spent in giving God the Honour and Glory of this wonderful Success.

A. D. The Prince having winter'd at *Bourdeaux*, and procur'd a sufficient Navy, ^{For the} in *April* set Sail for *England*, arriv'd at *Plimouth*, and by easie Journies came ^{For the} to *London*; where King *John* Royally adorn'd made a publick Entry, with the utmost Magnificence and Attendance, being mounted on a stately white Courser, as a Mark of Sovereignty, with the admir'd Prince riding by his Side upon a little black Nag, as one industriously avoiding all Suspensions of a Triumph. They were publickly receiv'd by the Lord Mayor and all the Companies in their richest Habits, their Houses and Streets being adorn'd with their most valuable Plate and Tapestry, as well as a noble Appearance of all Sorts of Armour and Weapons; and the Concourse of People were so numerous to behold so uncommon a Spectacle, that the Cavalcade held from three of the Clock in the Morning till high Noon; about which Time the Prince got to *Westminster-Hall*, where he solemnly presented to the King his Father, then sitting in great Majesty on his Royal Throne, the Person of King *John* his Prisoner. Yet King *Edward* could not long retain the severe Grandeur of a Conqueror; for when the Royal Captive approach'd his Throne, with such a manly Submission as became his present Fortune, he was sensibly touch'd with the Thoughts of the Instability of human Affairs, by the Sight of so great a Prince in so low a Condition; so that hastily rising, he met and caress'd him with as much Honour and Respect, as if he was only come to give him the Favour of a Visit. And the King had so true a Regard to Generosity as well as Valour, that being now acquainted with his Son's humble Deportment after the Battel of *Poitiers*, he declar'd, *That he was more satisfy'd with that, than with the Victory it self.* Nor did this great King make use of this solemn Entry as a Matter of his own Triumph, but rather of a devout Procession; for by his Order, the same Day the Clergy of *London* went forth in their proper Vestments, and singing Anthems to meet the Prince; and after that, for two Days together, publick Prayers and Thanksgivings were celebrated through the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*. King *Edward*, having treated his Prisoners after a great and magnificent Manner, order'd King *John* and his Son to be honourably lodg'd and entertain'd in the *Savoy*, being then a famous Palace belonging to the Duke of *Lancaster*; the rest were fix'd in other convenient Places. *David* King of the *Scots* was still kept Prisoner in the Castle of *Odiam*; but not long after, when he had endur'd about eleven Years Imprisonment, at the incessant Suit of Queen *Joan* his Wife, Sister to King *Edward*, he was releas'd, upon paying a Ransom of a hundred thousand Marks Sterling, and upon Condition of demolishing certain Forts and Castles.

David King of Scotland releas'd.

A. D. In the following Year, King *Edward*, to display his Grandeur, issu'd out an extraordinary Proclamation That all Foreign Knights and Gentlemen from any Part of the World, desiring to come to the Feast of *St. George*, to be solemnly held at *Windfor* on the twenty third of *April*, should have his Letters of safe Conduct for the Space of three Weeks, there to partake of those Martial Honours and Prizes, which should attend the Exercises of his publick Joustings at *Windfor*.

A. D. 1358.
Reg. 32.
A Tournament proclaim'd at Windfor.

Tournaments. These were celebrated with the highest Magnificence and Splendor, and attended by the Duke of *Brabant*, and great Numbers of Lords, Knights and brave Men out of *Germany*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Scotland*, and other Nations. In the same Year dy'd the famous *Isabella*, Mother to King *Edward*, in the sixty third Year of her Age, after about twenty eight Years Confinement at the Castle of *Risings* near *London*, as having been highly culpable in relation both to her Husband and the Nation. Her Marriage with King *Edward* II. as it prov'd fatal to her Husband, so it was unfortunate to her Country the Kingdom of *France*; since from her the present King of *England* deriv'd his Title, and brought infinite Miseries upon that Nation, which at this Time were greater than ever happen'd since the Time of the *Romans*. For *Charles* the *Dauphine*, Duke of *Normandy*, who had escap'd from the Battel of *Poitiers*, took the Government upon him during his Father's Imprisonment; but by the dangerous Practices of *Charles* King of *Navarre*, and evil Disposition of the *Pavilians* towards the Delivery of their Sovereign, he was grievously incumber'd, and surrounded with innumerable Mischiefs, not being able as yet to work out his Father's Liberty. Moreover the *English* under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Knowles*, Sir *James Pye*, and *Thomalin Foulk*, committed terrible Devastations, and gain'd great Treasure, Booty and Ransoms, in *Bretaign* and *Normandy*, under the Pretence of serving those of *Navarre*. In short all the Kingdom of *France* was over-run with dissolute Soldiers of several Nations, who having no General, wasted all at their Pleasure, and by unheard of Insolencies discover'd all the Miseries of Anarchy and Confusion.

Queen Isabella dies.

Great Miseries in France.

Two Cardinals in the *English* Court endeavour'd to put an End to these Troubles by accommodating the Matter between the two Kings; but could not with two Years Labour draw any Thing to such a Head, as the *French* for their King's Liberty would perform; which put King *Edward* upon new Resolutions against *France*. Therefore looking upon himself as deluded by the *French*, he with a vast Fleet of eleven hundred Sail pass'd over from *Sandwich*, in Order to a new Invasion. Being arriv'd at *Calais*, he set forwards from thence with an Army of a hundred thousand Men divided into three great Bodies or Battalions; the first under the valiant *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, the second under the brave Prince of *Wales*, and the third led by himself. They march'd through *Artois* to the City of *Rheims* the Metropolis of *Champaign*, where the Kings of *France* were usually crown'd and anointed; but missing of this Place, they soon took the Cities of *Sens* and *Nevers* without Resistance. The Terror of these Armies soon put the Duke of *Burgundy* upon a Composition; and for a Sum of two hundred thousand Florens of Gold obtain'd that all *Burgundy* should be spar'd from Plunder and Devastations. The King kept his *Christmas* near *Rheims*, where he was inform'd that the *French* had landed many Men upon the Coasts of *Sussex*, who had committed great Barbarities, but had in a short Time retir'd. Upon this News he remov'd from thence and advanc'd towards the Walls of *Paris*; where he honour'd four hundred Esquires and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood. *Charles* the *Dauphine*, Regent of *France*, was then in the City with a powerful Army, but could not by any Means be drawn to hazard a Battel, as dreading the Examples of his Grandfather and Father. Ample Conditions were in a humble Manner offer'd to King *Edward*, but as yet he was inflexible and deaf to any other, than such as he himself like a Conqueror propos'd. Finding new Difficulties in the Siege of *Paris*, he retir'd into *Bretaign* to refresh his Army; but upon his Return, seeing the Fortifications increas'd, he turn'd his Anger into the very Bowels of *France*, wasting and ravaging as far as *Chartres* and *Orleans*, and still continu'd inexorable as to the *French* Proposals. Yet in a short Time an Accident from Heav'n chang'd his Mind, which was a prodigious Storm of Thunder, Hail and Rain, which kill'd six thousand of his Horses, and near a thousand of

A. D.

1359.

Reg. 33.

King Edward again invades France.

His Successes.

A. D.

1360.

Reg. 34.

He wastes into the Bowels of France.

of his Men; and this so astonish'd the King and his Men, that looking upon it as a Mark of the Divine Displeasure, he immediately prostrated himself upon the Ground, and made a solemn Vow to Almighty God, that he would give a final Peace to *France* upon honourable Conditions. This, and the Duke of *Lancaster's* Persuasions, so mollify'd him, that finally by the Mediation of the Pope's Legate, a Peace was concluded at *Bretaign* near *Chartres*, upon the eighth Day of *May*. Thus was the Kingdom of *France* deliver'd from its terrible Scourge by the Hands of Providence, when it was in a languishing, and almost expiring Condition.

A Peace concluded.

The Articles of it.

The French King releas'd.

The Substance of the Articles of Agreement was this: That the King of *England* should retain the whole Dukedom of *Gascony*, with the bordering Countries of *Xaintoign*, *Poitou*, *Peregort*, *Limosin*, *Quercie*, *Anyolesm*, *Rovergne*, &c. with all the Cities, Castles and Appendages, without any Dependency upon the King of *France*: That he should likewise retain the County of *Ponthieu*, the Towns, Counties and Lordships of *Calais*, *Guifnes*, *Monstruel*, *Hanves*, *Wale*, *Oye*, *St. Valary*, *Merk* and *Sangate*: And that he should receive from King *John* for a Ransom, a Sum of Money amounting to five hundred thousand Pounds, the fifth Part to be paid down, and the rest in two Years Time. For all this, the King of *England* should renounce all his Right and Title to the Crown of *France*, the Dukedom of *Normandy*, the Counties of *Tourain*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, and the Earldom of *Flanders*; and that he should at his own Expences set King *John* at Liberty in *Calais*, within three Weeks Time. For the Performance of Covenants, Hostages were given of many of the greatest Men in *France*, who were Sureties for the Ransom: The *Scots* were not to be assisted by the *French* King, nor the *Flemmings* by the *English*; and the King of *Navarre* and his Brother were comprehended in the Articles. The Treaty being solemnly ratify'd by both Kings, and Hostages given, King *Edward* honourably conducted King *John* to *Calais*, where he made a most magnificent Entertainment for him, being waited at the Table by King *Edward's* four Sons, and the chief Nobility of *England*. Here was King *John* set at full Liberty, after he had been a Prisoner above four Years; and both Kings departed in the most obliging Manner, with all the Demonstrations of hearty Love and Affection.

A. D. VII. The Wars being ended between the two chief Crowns in *Europe*,

1361. and *England* being in a profound Peace, King *Edward* was pleas'd to restore by
Reg. 35. his Letters Patents to the Priors-Aliens all their Houses, Lands and Estates,
Lands restor'd to the Priors-Aliens. which were taken from them twenty three Years before for the Maintenance of the *French* Wars: A rare Example of a just King; it being seldom known that Princes give up what they have once got into their Possession. In the same Year

a second Pestilence happen'd in *England*, which swept away many of the Nobility and Bishops, and among the rest *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, a Person of extraordinary Worth in all Respects, who fell much lamented by all Men, especially the poorer Sort, by whom he was call'd the *Good Duke*. He founded the Collegiate Church of *Leicester*, and also a noble Hospital there for a hundred Poor People, which last still continues. Shortly after his Death the Prince of *Wales*, now call'd the *Black Prince*, being in the one and thirtieth Year of his Age, with the Consent of the King his Father, marry'd the beautiful Lady *Joane*, Countess Dowager of *Kent*, Widow of the late Earl *Thomas Holland*.

A. D. In the following Year, not long after at a Royal Tournament held in *Smithfield* for five Days together, he was created Duke or rather Prince of *Aquitain*

1362. or *Gascony*, and was solemnly invested with that Dukedom by his Father, who
Reg. 36. now chang'd the Title of it into a Principality. In the same Year, in a Parliament was pass'd that remarkable Statute which ordains, That all Pleadings
All Pleadings ordain'd to be in English. and Judgments in the Courts of *Westminster*, should be for the future in *English*.

gliff, whereas before they were usually in the *French* Language. In the same Parliament the King declar'd himself arriv'd to the fiftieth Year of his Age, designing to keep it as a *Jubile*, and to shew Acts of Grace and Mercy to his People; and therefore granted his General and Special Pardon to all, without Fine or paying any Fees for the Seal; and he set at Liberty all Debtors to the Crown, and Prisoners for Criminal Matters. He also confirm'd *Magna Charta*, which during this Reign had been confirm'd above ten several Times. In this Parliament also, he declar'd his Second Son *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*; his Third Son, *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*; and his Fourth Son *Edmund*, Earl of *Cambridge*. So the King having pass'd several Statutes, and fix'd the Staple of Wool at *Calais*, he spent the rest of the Year in publick Pleasures and Diversions with his chief Nobility and *French* Hostages; taking a Progress with them through many Parts of *England*, and usually expending for his own Part a hundred Marks, and sometimes a hundred Pounds a Day.

New Promos.
ons.

In the Beginning of the following Year, Prince *Edward* having waited upon the King his Father, took shipping with his beloved Princess and all his Retinue, and arriv'd at his Government of *Gascony*; where he kept a noble Court for the Space of three Years, and govern'd the Country with great Love and Clemency. In the mean Time King *Edward's* Court was honour'd with the Presence of three Kings at the same Time, two of whom had formerly been Prisoners; *David* King of *Scotland*, who by the late Death of *Edward Baliol*, now obtain'd an indisputable Title to that Kingdom; *John* King of *France*, who came to transact the Remains of his Ransom, and the Delivery of his Hostages; and *Peter* King of *Cyprus*, who came over to desire Assistance against the common Enemies of Christendom. But none was so acceptable as King *John*, to meet whom King *Edward* sent many of his Nobility to *Dover*, from whence he was conducted to *Canterbury*, where he offer'd a rich Jewel at the Shrine of *Thomas Becket*. From thence he went to the Palace of *Eltham*, where he was most obligingly receiv'd by the King and Queen, and entertain'd with all Sorts of Diversions; and some Time after he was receiv'd by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* in the greatest State, by whom he was magnificently treated. But Sir *Henry Picard*, a Merchant Vintner and formerly Lord Mayor, exceeded all Men in a wonderful Entertainment he made at his own House for no less than four Kings at once, of *England*, *France*, *Scotland* and *Cyprus*, besides the King's Sons and most of the Nobility of *England*: A Thing never done by any private Subject of the Nation. King *John* had his chief Residence at the *Savoy*, then a magnificent Palace belonging to the Duke of *Lancaster*; but not long after, in the Beginning of the Spring, he was taken dangerously ill of a languishing Distemper, which put an End to his Life, on the eighth Day of *April*, to the great Grief of King *Edward*, his Queen, and the *French* Princes and Nobility. The King made him a noble Funeral at his own Expence, and caus'd his Body to be transported into *France*, where it was inter'd on the seventh of *May* at *St. Denis*. He was noted for this excellent Saying of his, *That if Faith and Truth should be banish'd from the rest of the World, yet they ought to be found in the Mouths of Kings*.

A. D.

1363.

Reg. 37.

The Black
Prince goes in-
to Gascony.

Four Kings en-
tertain'd by one
Man in Lon-
don.

A. D.

1364.

Reg. 38.

The Death of
John King of
France.

That King *Edward's* Fortune was not only available to himself, or his Lieutenants, but also to his Friends and Favourites, appear'd in the great Contest about the Title of *Breaign*, which about this Time was determin'd by the Death of the Lord *Charles de Blois*, Head of one Faction, who was slain in an Engagement against the Lord *John de Montfort* Head of the other Side; where the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *John Chandois*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, with other *Englishmen*, who join'd with *Montfort*, won great Honour and Renown. This Battle was fought at *Auray*, not far from *Vannes*; after which, *Montfort* having granted some Estates to the Widow of his Competitor, he did Homage to *Charles* the new King of *France*, and was accepted as Duke of *Breaign*, with Consent of the King of *England*, his main Supporter and Protector. The

The Battel of
Auray in Bre-
taign.

Lots

Loss was great on the Enemy's Side; for there were slain, besides the Earl of *Blois*, the Lord *John* his Brother, and six Lords, with many others of principal Note, *Walsingham* says about a thousand Men of Arms and Esquires; and there were taken Prisoners *John* and *Guy* the Earl's Sons, with nine other Lords, and of those whose Fame countervail'd many others, Sir *Bertram de Glouin* Marthal of *France*, under the victorious Banner of Sir *John Chandois*.

A. D. 1365.
Reg. 39. In the mean Space from what Parts of the World did not the *English* bring Testimonies of their Valour and Renown? For such of them as had warr'd under the King of *Cyprus* against the Infidels, and taken *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, return'd with great Riches in Cloaths of Gold, Velvits and precious Stones. About these Times also Sir *John Hawkwood*, a noble Warrior, pass'd over into *Italy*, where he bravely reviv'd Military Discipline long diffus'd in those Parts, and found such Entertainment from the *Italian* Princes, and got such Honour and Riches by his Valour, that his Fame remains to this Day, and his Statue among their most memorable Princes for Action and Bravery; tho' in Reality he went but a Taylor out of *England*, which in those Days could have furnish'd the whole World with brave Commanders and expert Warriors. And as the *English* Valour was seen one Way beyond the high *Alps*, so there fell out Occasions not long after, which made it known and conspicuous another Way, beyond the *Pyrenean* Mountains.

Sir John
Hawkwood's
Greatness.

The English
Valour.

A. D. 1366.
Reg. 40. **VIII.** We have now brought this mighty Monarch to the fortieth Year of his Reign, which had it been his last, we had left him the most glorious and triumphant Prince in the World, to whom Fortune had always shown her Smiles, and scarce ever was retrograde. But now these last ten Years represent us with little Turnings of the Scale, some Declensions from that wonderful Height of Glory, and with some Spots and Blemishes which Age and Frailty brought upon him. Yet still he wanted not Vigour and Resolution to perform many great Things, and particularly to reduce the exorbitant Pretences of the Pope in this Nation, who more than once positively demanded that infamous Tribute from *England* and *Ireland* that was first granted by King *John*. This being now again demanded, King *Edward* in a full Parliament order'd it to be debated by the Prelates, Lords and Commons seperately; and after a full Deliberation they declar'd, 'That neither *John*, nor any other King, could bring 'himself or his Kingdom to any such Subjection, without their Assent, as appear'd from the plainest Evidences; and if it were done, it was void, as being 'against their Consent and his Coronation Oath: Therefore they finally resolv'd, That if the Pope should by Process, or any other Way attempt to constrain the King or his Subjects to agree with any Claims in that Respect, they 'would resist him to the utmost of their Power. Thus by the Care of the King, and the Stout Opposition of the Parliament, this haughty Demand of the Bishop of *Rome* was quash'd for ever; for we do not find that it was ever reviv'd afterwards.

The Pope's Pretensions quash'd

Still the mighty Prince of *Wales* remain'd in his Government of *Gascony*, with a splendid Court and a noble Attendance, and without Imployment, till he was humbly solicited by *Peter* King of *Castile* to assist him, who for his Cruelties and Tyrannical Actions, had been driven out of his Kingdom by his natural Brother *Henry*; all which the Prince, by the particular Consent of his Father, chearfully undertook, upon Promise of large Remunerations. The Cause was much better than the Person: For this *Peter*, Son to *Alphonso* II. King of *Castile*, had prov'd intolerable to his Subjects, oppressing and destroying his Nobility to enrich himself, divorcing and then murdering his Wife, Sister to the present Queen of *France*, by the Instigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom he afterwards marry'd. Whereupon the State adhering to his Brother *Henry*, who tho' a Bastard by Birth was more legitimate by his Virtues, crown'd him King of *Spain* at *Burgos*, and forc'd

Peter of Castile
begs the Assistance of the
Black Prince.

Peter

Peter to abandon his Kingdom. The brave Black Prince, thirsting after Glory, and desirous to succour the Distressed, pass'd over the *Pyrenean* Mountains into *Spain* with a compleat Army of thirty thousand Men, having in his Company, besides most of the prime Commanders of the *English*, the Persons of two Kings, *Peter* King of *Castile*, and the King of *Majorca*, and *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, who some Time after *Peter's* Death was himself King of *Castile* and *Leon*. On the other Side the new King *Henry* for the Defence of his acquired Kingdom had gather'd together great Numbers, as well *French* as *Castilians*, and others both Christians and Saracens, not fewer than a hundred thousand Men. Upon the Borders of *Castile* near *Najara* a general Battel was fought between these two unequal Armies; where the Heroical Prince of *Wales*, now *Black* indeed with the amazing Terror he struck into his Enemies, obtained a compleat Victory, with the Death of many thousands on the other Side; and *Bertram de Glequin*, the *French* General, with many others were taken Prisoners. As soon as the Battel was over, King *Peter*, transported with the mighty Valour of the Prince, kneel'd down to give him Thanks with the Marks of Adoration; but the other running to embrace him would by no Means permit it: However bowing very low, he gave him Thanks, *That by his Valour and Assistance he had now regain'd his Crown*: To which the Prince with admirable Modesty reply'd, *Sir, return your Thanks to God Almighty, and give him all the Glory; for by Him alone, and not by Me, you have obtain'd the Victory*. The Fame of this Action however flew through all Parts of *Europe*, and the *Germans*, *Flemmings* and *English* in especial Manner acknowledged the Prince of *Wales* to be the Glory of Honour and Knighthood, and that such a Prince was worthy to govern the World, since he had achiev'd three such wonderful Enterprizes; First at *Cressy*, where by him the whole Power of *France* was broken, two Kings slain, and a third put to flight; next at *Poitiers*, where he again overcame the whole Power of *France*, and took its King Prisoner; and now in *Spain*, where at one single Blow he decided the Fate of a Kingdom; as tho' he had the Power to make and unmake Kings and Princes: For he never left *Peter*, 'till he had replac'd him upon his Throne at *Burgos*.

A. D.
1367.
Reg. 41.
The Black Prince consents

He obtains a glorious Victory at Najara.

His great Fame.

Peter proves ungrateful.

The Black Prince declines.

But notwithstanding all this Glory, the Prince prov'd a great Sufferer in a short Time, from the monstrous Fallhood and Ingratitude of King *Peter*; for tho' he had shown himself the most generous Man in the World to this wicked Prince, he was forc'd to return to *Bordeaux* without Money to pay his Army, which occasion'd extraordinary Mischiefs to himself, and to the *English* Dominions beyond Sea; as if God himself had been displeas'd for his succouring such a Tyrant. Therefore the Prince, who declar'd *Honour should be his Reward*, to pay off his Soldiers who had been deluded by *Peter*, coin'd his own Plate for Money; and when that prov'd insufficient, he laid upon his Subjects of *Gascony* and the neighbouring Provinces a new Tax, which provok'd them to a dangerous Revolt. However God's Vengeance found out *Peter*; for not long after his Bastard Brother *Henry* return'd with new Forces, and by the Assistance of *Glequin* and the *French*, he not only expell'd him from his Throne, but also murder'd him with his own Hands. Thus ended this great Expedition of the Black Prince, which almost put a Period to the Health and Happiness of his Life; for in this Journey he contracted an incurable Disposition, which some impute to an inveterate Poison, that produc'd dangerous Symptoms both upon his Body and Mind 'till the Day of his Death. We may here likewise in a manner conclude all the Happiness and good Success of King *Edward's* Reign, during the rest of which we scarce meet with any Thing but the untimely Death of his Sons, and his most beloved Queen, the Discontents and Factions of his Nobility and Subjects, with the Revolt and Loss of most of what he had gain'd by his Conquests in *France*.

Now

A. D.
1368.
Reg. 42.

*The French
King improves.*

Now began the Peace between *England* and *France* to dissolve it self by several Steps and Degrees. For while King *Edward* quietly enjoy'd himself in the noble Virtues and Actions of his Sons and Subjects, *Charles* King of *France* firman'd *The Wife*, warn'd by the numerous Calamities his Dominions had sustain'd from the *English* in open War, and most earnestly desiring to recover the Honour of his Nation, betook himself to other Arts and Methods; never venturing his own Person, but executing all his Designs by Deputies, in which the Service of *Bertram de Glequin*, afterwards Constable of *France*, was of extraordinary Benefit. Nor did he neglect in Time to find out proper Colours to paint over his Collusions and Contrivances for saving his Honour; insomuch that when it came to a publick Scrutiny, the Loss was plainly upon King *Edward's* Side, and the Cause of the Breach at least render'd doubtful. His Practices were notwithstanding palpable, and it must be acknowledg'd that King *Edward*, relying too much upon the Rules of Honour and Magnanimity, did not reap the just Effects of such mighty Victories; nor of a Peace which was so solemnly ratify'd, that in the World's Opinion it could not on one Side be infringing'd, without a manifest Invasion of all Obligations Divine and Human. The Prince of *Wales* by Letters advertis'd his Father not to trust to any specious Overtures of Amity and Alliance made by the *French*, because he found that they had entertain'd secret Practices in every Place against him. But the Prince was then judg'd to speak out of a restless Delight after War, and therefore prevail'd not; tho' the Effects soon discover'd that his Words were unquestionably true.

A. D.
1369.
Reg. 43.
*The French
King's Designs.*

For now King *Charles*, having by speedy Payments and other Methods recover'd all the *French* Hostages out of *England*, us'd all Means to abuse King *Edward's* Credulity, 'till he had advanc'd as far as Dissimulation could carry him. He courted the good old King with obliging Letters and Presents, while his Plots were ripening abroad, and the County of *Ponthieu*, King *Edward's* undoubted Inheritance was surpriz'd before he heard of it. And whereas the Prince of *Wales* in *Gascony* demanded a certain Tax upon Chimnies, the Earls of *Armignac* and *Cominges*, and other Lords subject to the Prince, hating the *English* Empire, repair'd to the *French* Court at *Paris*, there to pursue an Appeal from this Oppression made by the Prince, who was not so happy as to follow the Advice of Sir *Robert Knolls* and other wise Counsellors who dissuaded this Imposition. These Lords pretended that he was to answer before King *Charles* as his superior Lord, from whom he held by Homage and Fealty; and tho' King *Edward* and his Heirs were absolutely freed by the last Treaty from all Manner of Service for his Dominions in *France*, King *Charles* at length proceeded to summon the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*, to answer his Subjects Accusations. His Answer was like himself, *That he would come attended with sixty thousand Men*. The King of *England* complain'd of the Breach of Peace to the Pope and the Emperor, who made a Journey into *France* to reconcile the two Kings; before whom the *English* Ambassadors alledg'd, That the *French* were the first Infringers of the solemn Treaty by seizing of *Ponthieu* and several Parts of *Gascony*, without first demanding Restitution for any Injury committed, and inslited upon many other unfair Practices. The *French* on the other Side alledg'd That King *Edward* had not made that publick Renunciation to the Crown of *France* as the Treaty oblig'd him, nor did he withdraw his Troops out of *France* so soon as he ought; therefore the Breach was on the *English* Side, because the Soldiers were theirs. Thus both Sides had their plausible Pretences, but neither submitted to an Agreement.

His Pretensions

*A Breach with
France.*

Upon this King *Edward* call'd a Parliament, declar'd the Breach, desir'd Supplies, and obtain'd them; and further by their Advice he re-assum'd his Claim to the Crown of *France*, and alter'd his Seals accordingly. *John* Duke of *Lancaster* and *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* were sent over with a powerful Army to *Calais* to invade *France* on that Side; while the Prince of *Wales* was endeavouring

endeavouring to recover the revolted Towns on the other. But not much was effected, and the Duke after he had pierc'd as far as *Roan* return'd home. After whom *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was sent over with fresh Supplies, but he dy'd in his Expedition; leaving behind him the Character of One who had scarce his Equal for Loyalty and Courage. In *England* was nothing but Grief and Mourning for the Death of the excellent Queen *Philippa*, who had been Wife to King *Edward* for forty four Years, and had born him twelve Children. A little before her Death, the King being by, she in a solemn Speech acknowledg'd the great Happiness, Peace and Prosperity in which they had liv'd for so many Years, and concluded with making him three Requests: First, That he would be pleas'd to pay all her Debts; Secondly, That he would make good all her Charities and Donations to Colleges, Churches and Religious Houses; and Lastly, That he would give Orders that whenever he dy'd his Body might be bury'd by hers at *Westminster*. These being granted with the most tender Expressions, having recommended her self, him and her Children to God's Mercy, she quietly departed, to the exceeding Grief of all her Subjects, who highly lov'd her as a true Friend to the *English*, liberal to her Servants and charitable to the Poor. Among her many Acts of Piety, she founded *Queen's-College* in *Oxford*.

The Death of Queen Philippa.

Her Character.

Still the Wars were carry'd on in *France*, where Sir *Robert Knolls*, a Man renowned for Courage and Conduct, was made Commander of an Army, with which he terrify'd the Country as far as the *Loyre*, harrafs'd *Vermandois*, *Champaign*, *la Brie*, and the *Isle of France*, and burnt all round *Paris*; yet nothing could move the *French* King to send any Forces against them out of that City. But this Army having several Lords and great Men in it, who disdain'd to be commanded by him whom they accounted their Inferior, great Factions were rais'd, and the Expedition came to no great Effect. About the same Time the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earl of *Cambridge* were sent with Forces into *Gascony* to assist their Brother the Prince of *Wales*; who about this Time, hearing of the treacherous Revolt and Surrender of *Limoges*, he resolv'd to execute a severe Revenge upon the Place, and all such as were concern'd in the Betraying of it. After a Month's Siege he took the City by Storm, at which Time more than three thousand Men, Women and Children of the Inhabitants were put to the Sword; yet at length the great Bravery of three *French* Officers so affected his generous Breast, that he shew'd Mercy to the rest, tho' he wholly burnt and destroy'd the Place. This was the last Martial Act of this mighty Prince, with whom the good Fortune of *England*, as if it had been inherent to his Person, flourish'd in his Health, languish'd in his Sickneſs, and expir'd in his Death. He was now carry'd about in a Horse Litter; and being advis'd by his Physicians to return into *England* for his Health, he follow'd their Directions, and with his Princess, his Son *Richard* and others, he came for *England*, taking his final Leave of *Gascony*, which he left to the Management of his Brother *John* Duke of *Lancaster*.

A. D. 1370.

Reg. 44.

Sir Robert Knolls Acts in France.

The last Action of the Black Prince.

He returns into England.

The *French* in the mean Time won many Towns and Forts in *Gascony*, daily raising new Hopes after so long and continu'd Misfortunes. The unhappy Loss of that expert Commander Sir *John Chandois* was a mighty Advantage to them, whose whole Care rested upon their famous *Glequin*, a Man so skilful in good and evil Fortune, and who had so temper'd his Courage and Discretion, that he alone could bid his unfortunate Country rise once more and flourish. The Prince of *Wales* still declining in Health, upon his first Appearance before his Father, surrender'd the Dukedom of *Gascony* to be dispos'd according to his Pleasure: And while King *Edward* was at *Clarendon*, there repair'd to him the factious King of *Navarre*, whose Business was to make an Offer of an Alliance against the *French*; but tho' his Proposals were acceptable, yet his Cautions seem'd so defective, that after a solemn Entertainment, he return'd without any Conclusion. Not long after the Duke of *Lancaster* and his Brother the Earl of *Cambridge*

A. D.

1371.

Reg. 45.

He surrenders his Government

bridge return'd out of *Gascony*, with their Ladies *Constance* and *Isabella*, both Daughters to *Peter* late King of *Spain*, whom they marry'd; the Duke there-upon stiling himself King, and his Wife Queen of *Castile* and *Leon*. Nor was the *English* Name only increas'd in titular Honours, but also by real Actions; for about this Time, the *Flemmings*, who had provok'd the Nation, were defeated by the Earl of *Hereford*, in a sharp Sea-Fight, about twenty five of their Ships were taken, and all the Men slain.

The Flemmings defeated at Sea.

A. D. The Pleasure of this Victory was soon after sow'd with a terrible Loss at Sea: For the *French* having besieg'd the strong City of *Rochell* with the Assistance of *Henry* King of *Castile* by Sea, for the Relief of the *English*, the Earl of *Pembroke* was sent with forty Ships, Men, Victuals, Ammunition and Money to the Value of twenty thousand Marks for the Use of the War; but being suddenly attack'd by the *Spanish* Armado, consisting of many large Ships under the Command of Admiral *Buccanigra* and others, the *English* after a long and

The English worsted at Sea by the Spaniards.

bloody Conflict were utterly routed, the Earl himself taken Prisoner, and almost all the rest slain or taken. *Rochell* held out notwithstanding; to the Relief of which while King *Edward* in Person set Sail with an extraordinary Power, a violent Wind drove him bak into *England*, to his great Disappointment, and the useless Consumption of ninety thousand Pounds Sterling. Yet still he did not give over his Care for that strong Place, which the *English* with no small Courage made good against the Enemy. This Place persisting in all Loyalty, *John* Duke of *Bretaign*, who had marry'd the Lady *Mary* Daughter to King *Edward*, a great Lover of the *English*, resolv'd to venture his Fortune in their Cause; and coming over to *England*, he had Aid granted him, with which he warr'd against the *French* with various Success. Likewise the

The Duke of Lancaster's Acts in France.

brave Duke of *Lancaster*, with a powerful Army from *Calais*, march'd and ravag'd through the Body of the whole Kingdom of *France*, 'till he arriv'd at *Bordeaux*, and that without any considerable Opposition: So that tho' this Expedition seem'd very glorious for the *English*, yet it was of more Fame than real Advantage to their Affairs; for they lost many Men, and almost all their Horses in that long March, partly through the Diseases incident to Camps, but chiefly for Want of Forage and Provisions. Not long after the Duke drew out into the Field, and a Day was appointed between him and the Duke of *Anjou*, the *French* King's Brother, to have decided the Nations Contest in a set Battel, before the City of *Thoulouse* in *Languedoc*; but by an untimely and pernicious Sort of a Truce, to which King *Edward* consented upon the Account of his Son's Sickness, the hopeful Victory not only slip't away from the *English*, but likewise all Advantages of acting any Thing else in due Season. The *French* boasted themselves as of a Conquest, tho' what they gain'd was no more than the common Effects of Policy. *Glequin* in the mean Time made the best use of all Occasions, and did much Damage to the *English* Party in *Guienne* and *Bretaign*; but in *Bretaign* Sir *Robert Knolls* so bravely acquitted himself in the Behalf of King *Edward*'s Son-in-Law the Duke, that he only seem'd a fit Match for *Glequin*, as the other also had stopp'd the Current of his Fortunes.

A Truce.

A. D. The next Year the Duke of *Lancaster* return'd into *England*, after whose Departure almost all *Gascony* revolted, and fell to the *French*, who by the Advantage of King *Edward*'s Age, the Black Prince's Sickness, and the Success of their Policy, more than their Valour, were grown brave again. A Treaty of Peace was negotiated at *Bruges*, but all was Colour and Pretence; for at the same Time the *French* made secret Preparations for new Attempts. The chief Commissioner for the *English* in that Treaty was the Duke of *Lancaster*, and for the *French* the Duke of *Anjou*; and their Meeting produc'd nothing but a short Truce to breed more Evils to the *English*. Notwithstanding, much outward Jollity and Magnificence appear'd in *England*; for this Summer a certain Gentlewoman of no great Quality, call'd *Alice Peirce*, by her Beauty and other Artifices so much prevail'd upon the aged King, as to be his Mistress; and he having lately

The English Affairs decline in France.

lately given her the affected Title of *Lady of the Sun*, she gloriously attir'd rod singly in a Triumphant Chariot from the Tower of *London* through *Cheapside*, accompany'd with many Lords, Knights and Ladies, every Lady leading a Lord or a Knight by his Horse's Bridle, 'till they came into *Smithfield*, where began a solemn Justing or Tournament between many of the young *English* Noblemen.

The Cavalcade of Alice Peirce.

Forfart. Wa. Sup. Rot. Parl.

Among the Parties that suffer'd by the last hurtful Truce the Duke of *Bretaign* was chief. For he had obtain'd a great Assistance from his Father-in-Law King *Edward*, and was now with the Earls of *Cambridge*, *March*, *Warwick* and *Stafford*, and many other Gentlemen and Soldiers return'd into *Bretaign*, making themselves a hopeful Prospect for their main Enterprize, which was to establish the Duke, and by the Conveniency of this Country's Situation to annoy the common Enemy, and the better to recover the *English* Dominions in *Gascony*. But this Truce wrought more for *Glequin's* Advantage than he could do with his Arms; for the Duke of *Bretaign* had before driven him out of his Territories. But this Management was not now to be wonder'd at: For the Prince of *Wales* was in a dangerous Condition; Plots were set on Foot at home; the Duke of *Lancaster* had an Eye to the Succession; Domestick Affairs grew disturb'd; the King's Age was abus'd and mis-led by *Alice Peirce*, and his Treasure exhausted by others; all which were sufficiently known to the *French* who diligently made use of their Weaknesses. For the Cure of these a Parliament was call'd to *Westminster*, where the King's Wants were laid open, and a Supply desir'd; but the whole Body of the Assembly, weary with bearing these continual Burdens, instead of Contributions, exhibited great Complaints, charging the King's Officers with fraudulent Practices, and petition'd that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord Chamberlain *Latimer*, Dame *Alice Peirce*, and Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be remov'd from the Court. All this was done with such Heat and Vehemence, that the King, rather than not be supply'd, gave way to them, and remov'd all those Persons from his Presence. The Prince was thought to favour this Proceeding; for there seem'd no good Correspondence between him and his Brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, who now manag'd all under his aged Father, and whose Ambition might be dangerous to his young Son *Richard*, whom he was like to leave to his Mercy. The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth Year of his Reign, to gratifie his Subjects, granted another general Pardon, as another *Jubilee*; which was solemniz'd with great Magnificence. But this *Jubilee* was soon turn'd into a general Sorrow throughout the Nation by the Death of that Miracle of Mankind the incomparable Prince of *Wales*; a Prince the greatest for Magnanimity, Valour and Bravery, and the noblest for Humanity, Courtesie and Wisdom, that ever grac'd the *English* Name and Nation. With him dy'd the Hopes of all *English* Men, who receiv'd the News of his Death with unexpressible Affliction, and Sorrow was shewn even among his Enemies; and the *French* King himself in Memory of his Worth solemniz'd his Obsequies in a most noble manner at *Paris*, in the Presence of the greatest Part of his Prelates and Peers. He dy'd in the forty sixth Year of his Age, upon the eighth Day of *June*, in the Memory of which his Anniversary *Obit* was afterwards appointed to be held at *Windsor* upon that Day for ever; and the whole Body of the Parliament thought themselves honour'd in attending his Herse to *Canterbury*, where he was interr'd with the highest Solemnity imaginable. His Loss was so sensible an Affliction to his Father, the truest Judge of his Merits, that he seem'd not to live after him, nor could he continue much above a Year in this World.

The English Affairs still decline.

A. D. 1375. Reg. 49.

A. D. 1376. Reg. 50.

The Death of the Black Prince.

Forfart.

The Cause of this Domestick Mourning daily encreas'd with the Effects of his Loss, which in a short Time too much discover'd themselves. The King recall'd such Persons as by Petition of the Parliament had been remov'd, and *Peter de la Marc*, Speaker of the same Parliament, who had nobly express'd the Mind of the House in the foresaid Reformatations, at the Suit of *Alice Peirce*,

A. D. 1377. Reg. 51.

was condemn'd by the King to perpetual Imprisonment at *Nottingham*, tho' within two Years after, he with much Difficulty regain'd his Liberty. In the mean Time *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, got the Government of the Kingdom to be intrusted into his Hands by his Father. But *Richard*, the eldest Son of the late Prince of *Wales*, for preventing all Contests about the Succession to the Crown of *England*, was by his Grand-father first made Earl of *Chester*, and not long after Prince of *Wales*. And for a full Assurance and Security, King *Edward* caus'd all the Nobility of the Realm to take an Oath to accept and defend Prince *Richard*, as lawful Heir and King of *England*, after his Decease; nor durst his Uncles, tho' famous Warriors, contradict their Father's Act. Finally the good old King, to comfort himself in Honouring the living Image of his noblest Child, to give the Mind of his Grand-child a Sight of future Majesty, and to make his Uncles acquainted with the Respect due to his Person, he caus'd him to sit above all his Children in an open solemn Feast.

Richard, Son
to the Black
Prince, declar'd
Heir to the
Crown.

Doctor *Wicliff*
bro' out his
Opinions.

About this Time the famous Doctor *John Wicliff*, a Man of an acute Wit, profound Learning, and great Judgment, publicly maintain'd several material Points and Propositions in the University of *Oxford* against the Church of *Rome*; particularly against the Pope's Supremacy, the Infalibility of the Church, and Transubstantiation. The Pope being inform'd of these, and foreseeing how much his Authority might be call'd in Question, condemn'd twenty three of his Propositions as Heretical; whereupon the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *London*, having attack'd the Body of the said *Wicliff*, in the Presence of his great Favourers the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Lord *Peircy*, declar'd the Judgment of the Pope concerning his Doctrines, which had then taken deep root in the University, Court and Country; so that for a while all seem'd to be quiet. But upon some secret Incouragements he was not long silent. His Followers were in the Phrase of these dark Days call'd *Lolards*, implying a Sort of *Weeds*; tho' in reality they endeavour'd to extirpate all pernicious Weeds, which Time, Sloath and Fraud had introduc'd into the Church. The Duke of *Lancaster*, as some think out of private Resentments against *Courtney* Bishop of *London*, was so far engag'd in his Protection, that he and the Lord *Peircy* with great Difficulty escap'd the Fury of the *Londoners*, who would unquestionably have cut them in Pieces in Revenge of some disgraceful Words utter'd by the Duke against their Bishop. He notwithstanding dissuaded them from all Violence, and kept them from forcing his Palace of the *Savoy*; but still in a most opprobrious manner they defac'd his Armories in the open Market; a Dishonour not to be indur'd by one of the Royal Blood. By this Outrage the People let him see what he and the Lord *Peircy* were to have expected, if they could have seiz'd them, before they had gotten to *Kenington* to Prince *Richard*, who there remain'd with his Mother. The Duke for this was highly inrag'd, and would not desist from prosecuting his Revenge against the *Londoners*, 'till he had procur'd the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to be turn'd out of their Places, and others put in their Rooms.

The Duke of
Lancaster pro-
tect. him.

Which caus'd a
great Distur-
bance in Lon-
don.

King *Edward*'s
last Sickness.

One of the last publick Acts of the old King was the triumphant Celebration of St. *George*'s Feast at *Windsor*, where he himself had founded the Order of the Garter; and at this Solemnity he bestow'd upon his Grand-child Prince *Richard* the Dignity of Knighthood, the only Thing in all the Patrimony of Honour that could not descend to him. Not long after, weaken'd with innumerable Toils and Age, he was forc'd to relinquish the World, as the World did him, before his Breath left him. For first his Concubine packing up what she could get, even to the Rings of his Fingers, abandon'd him. Then his other Attendants, by her Example, seizing upon what they could find, fled away; and even his Counsellors forsook him in his last Agony, when he most needed their Advice, leaving his Chamber in a manner empty; which a poor Priest of the House observing, approach'd to the King's Bed-side, and finding him still breathing, call'd upon him to remember his Saviour, and ask Mercy

for

for his Sins, which none before would do, but every one flatter'd him with the Hopes of Life. This had made him negligent of those pious Cogitations fit for a dying Man; but being now excited by the Voice of this Priest, he shew'd all the Signs of Contrition, and with his last Breath express'd the Name of *Jesus*. Thus dy'd this mighty King at his Manor of *Sheen* now *Richmond*, on the twenty first Day of *June*, and sixty fifth Year of his Age, after a long, and for the most part glorious Reign of fifty Years, four Months and twenty seven Days. He left the World to the infinite Grief of his Subjects, and he was magnificently interr'd in the South-side of the Royal Chappel in *Westminster* Abby, by his beloved Consort *Philippa*, where his Tomb is still to be seen, and near it a prodigious Sword which the King is said to have us'd in his Conquest of *France*. His Death.

To say something of the Person of this admirable King, he was somewhat tall of Stature, strong and well proportion'd; of such a graceful and noble Aspect, that in his old Age it commanded a general Veneration, and it was reckon'd a good Omen to behold his Face, tho' only in a Dream. No Man was more mild and gentle, where there was Submission; nor more stern and inexorable, where there was Opposition. In common Conversation he was very humble and familiar, both to Subjects and Strangers, but with great Gravity and Discretion; and nothing mean or trivial could enter into his Thoughts, but all was great and magnificent. He admirably well knew his Business, and perform'd it; therefore he was better respected, and better serv'd than any of his Predecessors. He was a Father to Orphans and distressed Persons; generous in conferring Favours upon Men of true Merit; modest and humble in Prosperity, and never dejected in Adversity. He shew'd many noble Instances of Piety and Charity, and in all his mighty Victories, he ever took care to give all the Glory to God. Yet his Valour and Bravery was beyond Expression, and if we consider the greatest Part of this Reign, nothing can be imagin'd more glorious and triumphant, his Fame reaching to remote and barbarous Nations, all Foreigners envying the Happiness of his Subjects. Some Failures indeed happen'd in the latter End of his Reign; but it was when he had in a manner out-liv'd himself, as well as the best Wife, and best Son in the World. Tho' he was a Prince that highly valu'd his Prerogative, yet none of his Predecessors pass'd more or better Statutes for the Benefit and Liberty of his Subjects, or was more strict in punishing his Judges and Officers for Oppression, Bribery or Corruption. And as no King had more frequent and greater Taxes from his People, so they were satisfy'd they were laid out for the Honour and Defence of the Nation; and these were as willingly given, as they were worthily expended, 'till towards the latter End of his Reign, when he was too much in the Possession of others. In short, *Walsingham* tells us, That God had never rais'd up a King in *England*, so valiant, generous and fortunate as himself. For Monuments of his Charity and Munificence he founded *Eastminster* an Abby near the Tower of *London*, a Nunnery at *Debtford*, *Kings-Hall* in *Cambridge* since part of *Trinity Colledge*, an Hospital for the Poor at *Calais*, and *St. Stephen's Chappel* at *Westminster* nobly endow'd; and also augmented the Chappel at *Windsor* with the Provisions for Churchmen, and twenty four poor Knights. His other Buildings were great and numerous, as the Castle of *Windsor*, which he re-edify'd and enlarg'd, the Castle of *Queenborough*, the Fortifications at *Calais* and many other Places. His Person and Character.

Thus we are arriv'd at the End of this great and mighty King's Reign, which began a new Scene of Miseries and Calamities. We find how he came to the Throne and how he left it; in both which we have Considerations of great Importance. His mounting over his Father's Head into the Throne, tho' it might not be his Crime, yet it went not without a Punishment, and that in a high Degree. For tho' he left behind him three Sons of extraordinary Figure and Ability, yet he had not one to sit on his Seat, but left it unguarded to a

Child of eleven Years of Age, expos'd to the Ambition of Uncles who over-power'd him; to a factious and discontented Nation at home, and to broken and distracted Inheritances abroad; Himself having seen all his great Acquisitions, gain'd with such vast Treasure and Bloodshed, quite torn from him, and nothing remaining but the single Town of *Calais*. The fatal Divisions of his Posterity were so pernicious to the whole Kingdom, as well as to themselves, that if the Dead know any Thing of the Actions of the Living, he needed no other Torment than the dismal Vision of those murder'd Princes of his Blood, whose Ghosts may be said to have jostled each other where-ever they met.

S E C T. IV.

The Reign of King RICHARD the Second.

Containing 22 Years, 2 Months, and 8 Days.

A. D. I. **K**ING *Edward* the Third was immediately succeeded by his Grand-son the Prince of *Wales*, *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, then but in the Eleventh Year of his Age; not only by Hereditary Right, but also the universal Wishes and Desires of the People, who had an extraordinary Love and Respect for him, for the sake of his incomparable Father Prince *Edward*, whose Fame and Memory was infinitely dear to the Nation: And upon this ancient Stock of Merit he longer maintain'd himself in the Peoples Affections, than by any worthy Actions of his own. Shortly after King *Edward's* Decease, this young Prince made a publick and splendid Entry into the City of *London*, attended by his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaster*; which happily produc'd a Reconciliation between that Duke and the Citizens of *London* not long after. Then upon *Thursday* the sixteenth of *July* the Ceremony of his Coronation was perform'd in the Abby-Church in *Westminster* with the utmost Pomp and Magnificence; and the Oath which he took before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the rest of the Lords, was somewhat larger than what we find taken by former Kings, consisting of these Articles: *'First that he would permit the Church to enjoy all her Liberties; That he would reverence her Ministers, and maintain the true Faith; That he would restrain Violence, and all Oppression, in all Sorts of Men; That he would cause good Laws to be every where observ'd, especially those of St. Edward, King and Confessor; and would also cause all evil Laws or Customs to be abrogated: Lastly, That he would be no Respector of Persons, but would give right Judgment between Man and Man, and would chiefly observe Mercy in all his Decrees or Judgments, as God should shew Mercy to him.* Which Form of the Coronation Oath, with some small Alterations, has been administer'd to all succeeding Kings and Queens ever since that Time. Then the Arch-Bishop leading the King to the four Sides of the Scaffolds, shew'd him to the People, and according to the ancient Custom ask'd them, *If they would be subject to this Prince as their lawful Ruler, and be obedient to his Commands?* In this Coronation *John* of *Gaunt*, King of *Leon* and *Castile* and Duke of *Lancaster*, made the noblest Figure of any other; and claim'd the Right of being Steward of *England*, to carry the King's principal Sword, and to be his Carver that Day. And here we may observe that Sir *John Dimmock*, in Right of the Manor of *Scrivelsby* in *Lincolnshire*, was first admitted to serve as Champion to defend the King's Title against all Opposers; but how long before this Custom of a Champion had been in use, we do not find. Then the King created his Uncle

King Richard's
Coronation.

His Oath.

Uncle, the Lord *Thomas of Woodstock*, Earl of *Buckingham*, with a Pension of a thousand Marks; the Lord *Guischard D'Angolesme*, the King's Governor, Earl of *Huntington*, with the like Pension; *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*; and *Henry Lord Percy*, Lord-Marshal, Earl of *Northumberland*. New Promotions.

Fugitive War. The Kingdom being engag'd in a War with *France* at the Death of the late King, the *French* took Advantage of the unsettled Times, and before the Coronation landed at *Rye* with a considerable Fleet, and burnt that Town; whereupon immediately after the Solemnity, the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Buckingham* were sent to *Dover*, and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Southampton* with considerable Forces to defend those Parts. It seems there was no Fleet then ready to take the Seas, for on the twenty first of *August* following, the *French* with a great Number of Gallies landed in the Isle of *Wight*, burnt several Towns there, and indeed took the whole Isle, except the Castle of *Caresbrook*; which being bravely defended by Sir *Hugh Tyrrell* the Governor, they were repuls'd with considerable Loss. But he being unable to secure the rest of the Country, the Inhabitants of the Isle were oblig'd to pay a thousand Marks to the *French*, to save the rest of it from Plunder and Burning. After which they landed in other Places, and burnt the Towns of *Hastings*, *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth* and *Plimouth*, all along that Coast, yet with various Success; for at *Winchelsey* they found the Place valiantly defended by the Abbot of *Battle*, and the neighbouring Gentry; but in *Sussex* the Prior of *Lewes* meeting them with some new-raisd Men of the Country Militia, the *French* not only routed them, but kill'd about a hundred of the *English*, and carry'd the Prior and two Knights Prisoners into *France*, but not without a considerable Loss on their Side: So unsafe was *England* at this Time, when it had neither a Fleet to defend it by Sea, nor regular Troops to oppose the Enemy by Land. Nor were the Civil Affairs at this Time much better manag'd; for the King being unfit to govern himself, his Uncles, the Duke of *Lancaster* and Earl of *Cambridge*, with divers other Noblemen, were appointed his Protectors and Governors; who tho' at first they took some Care of his Education, yet by degrees they gave him his own Will, and suffer'd those about his Person, who by loose Principles and ill Examples corrupted his good Nature; and giving him false Ideas of Glory, made him think it consisted in a riotous Way of Living, and in conferring extravagant Gifts and Honours upon Friends and Favourites. By which Means the Court became too much a School of Licentiousness; but as yet the King's Vices were not thought dangerous to the publick Peace, being interpreted as the Sallies or Over-boylings of Youth, which would be remedy'd by Age and Experience. The French gain Advantages in England.

War. The Weaknesses of the present Government soon began to be discover'd by an outrageous Accident this Year, arising first from a *Spanish* Nobleman, call'd the Earl of *Denia*, who having been taken Prisoner in the late War in *Spain* by *Robert Haule* and *John Shakel* two valiant Esquires, found so much Favour as to have his Liberty, upon leaving his eldest Son for a Pledge, and upon Promise of paying his Ransom as soon as he return'd home. This being neglected, and his Son remaining a Prisoner till his Father's Death, without being redeem'd; the Duke of *Lancaster*, desirous of having this young Earl in his own Hands, in Order to a Design he had upon *Spain*, procur'd the King to command these Gentlemen to deliver up their Prisoner to the Duke; which they looking upon as an arbitrary and unjust Proceeding, refus'd, and convey'd him out of the Way; for which they were committed close Prisoners to the Tower for Contempt. But finding Means to escape from thence, and to take Sanctuary in *Westminster* Abby, the Duke in a Rage sent Sir *Alan Buxall* Constable of the Tower, with fifty armed Men, to take these Gentlemen out of the Sanctuary by Force; and coming upon them in the Time of Divine Service, they seiz'd *Shakel* and carry'd him back to the Tower. But as for *Haule*, he made so brave a Defence with a short Fauchion, that they could not take him; till at length King Richard's bad Education.

A. D.

1378.

Reg. 1.

An outrageous
Action committed
by the Duke
of Lancaster.

length traversing his Ground about the Choir, they got so much Advantage, that one of them broke his Skull, while another ran him through with a Sword; and at the same Time murder'd a Servant of his that stood by him, as also a Monk who interceded for his Life. This horrid Action was so highly resented by the Clergy, that the Arch-Bishop and five other Bishops solemnly excommunicated all that were concern'd in it; yet still the Duke's Power was so great, that we don't find any Temporal Punishment inflicted on the Actors of these publick Murders, which shews with what great Partiality Justice was administer'd during the King's Minority.

John Philpot's
A^{cts}.

While the publick Affairs were in a declining Condition, and all Enemies had the Liberty of the *English* Seas to range in, the worthy *John Philpot*, an Alderman of *London*, set out a considerable Fleet at his own private Charge; and going in Person, was in a short Time rewarded by a Prize of fifteen *Spanish* Vessels richly laden, which abundantly repair'd all his Expences. And not long after being by the Envy of some call'd to an Account before the King's Council for his Presumption, he made so noble a Defence, that he was dismiss'd with Applause, and without further Trouble. But the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Arundel* had not so good Fortune with the Fleet they shortly after convey'd to *Normandy*, to assist the King of *Navarre*, who was then in War with the *French* King his Brother-in-Law. For a great Part of their Fleet falling in with a stronger Party of *Spaniards*, many *English* Gentlemen and others lost their Lives, or were taken Prisoners; yet the Earls themselves arriv'd safe in the Harbour of *Cherburgh*, which together with the Town and Castle adjoining, was deliver'd to them by Way of Mortgage by the King of *Navarre*; and it afterwards prov'd very prejudicial to the *French*, in that Part of *Normandy*.

The *English*
Fleet suffers.

The Earl of
Northumber-
land's A^{cts}. a-
gainst the Scots

About the same Time the *Scots* breaking in upon that Part of *Scotland* under the *English* Dominion, burnt the Town of *Roxburgh*; but the Earl of *Northumberland* in Revenge enter'd *Scotland* with ten thousand Men, and for three Days made a Ravage principally in the Lands of the Earl of *Marche*, who had burnt the Place. Yet not long after, the *Scots* took the Castle of *Berwick* by Surprise, and kill'd Sir *Robert Boynton* the Governor; but the Earl of *Northumberland* gathering new Forces, in nine Days Time retook it by Storm, and put all the *Scots* to the Sword, except one that discover'd the Contrivance and the *Scots* Designs: And thus by the Valour of the Earl, and his Son the Lord *Percy*, this important Place was recover'd with more Honour and Difficulty than it was surpriz'd.

A. D.

1379.

Reg. 2.

Advantages
gain'd in
France.

Nor was the Spirit of the *English*, which now began to re-kindle, unactive in other Places; for Sir *Robert Rous* had several Ways molested the *French*, and taken *Oliver*, Brother to the renowned *Glequin*, Prisoner; so Sir *John de Harlestone*, Governor of *Cherburgh* after him, flew and took many *Frenchmen* in an Ingagement. These were but the forerunning Drops of greater approaching Showers: For Sir *Hugh Calverly* and Sir *Thomas Percy*, made Admirals of the narrow Seas, took many rich Prizes, and perform'd many other worthy Actions, bringing home the acceptable News of the great Dislike that the Inhabitants of *Bretaign* had conceiv'd against the *French* King and his severe Government in those Parts. In the same Year, the Lord *John Montfort*, whom the *French* had expell'd, being invited home by his Barons, return'd into his Dukedom of *Bretaign*, accompany'd with the valiant Knights *Calverly* and *Percy*, where he with his Friends and Followers were receiv'd with extraordinary Honour. But not long after, Sir *John of Arundell*, Brother to the Earl of *Arundell*, being sent into *Bretaign* to assist the Duke, was with several others drown'd in the Sea. Our Author imputes it as the just Effect of God's Vengeance against the said Sir *John* and his Family, for their numerous Vices and Outrages, practis'd by him and them before they left *England*, for which they were loaden with the bitter Imprecations of the People. These Employments, with fresh Designs on foot, found need of pecuniary Supplies; whereupon, in a

Parliament

Parliament held at *London*, it was agreed, That for a Supply of the King's Necessities, the common People should be spared, and the Burden wholly laid upon the richer Sort. The Rates of the Tax were these; Arch-Bishops, Dukes, Earls and Bishops at ten Marks each, Miter'd Abbots at as much, besides forty Pence for every Monk under their Subjection. In short, says *Walsingham*, there was no Religious Person, Man or Woman, Justiciary, Sheriff, Knight, Esquire, Parson, Vicar or Chauntry Priest free from this Tax, rated according to the Value of their annual Revenues. About the same Time *John Skakel*, who had been committed to the Tower for not delivering up his Hostage the young Earl of *Denia*, was now by a Reward from the King willing to comply, and put him into the King's Hands. Which being done, the Discovery of the Prisoner struck all Men with Admiration: For tho' the young Earl might have been treated according to his Quality, had he discover'd himself, yet he faithfully kept his Word, and appear'd in no other Habit than that of a meer Servant to his Keeper, under which unsuspected Disguise he had lain conceal'd in the Tower, from the Time of the Dispute about him: A noble Example of true Honour, which cannot be pass'd by without Injury to his Virtue.

A generous Act

After sufficient Supplies granted, in the following Year, the King's Uncle the Earl of *Buckingham*, with *Calverly*, *Percy*, *Knolls*, *Windsor*, and other valiant Knights, with competent Forces, were sent to assist the Duke of *Bretaign*. But because the *French* Gallies infested the narrow Seas, they landed at *Calais*, and from thence they march'd through the Body of *France*, ravaging the Countries and burning the Towns, without any great Resistance from the *French*, till they all safely arriv'd in the Province of *Bretaign*. About these Times were many Civil Contests in the Kingdom of *France*: For the Duke of *Burgundy*, younger Brother to King *Charles* lately deceas'd, being made Guardian of the Person and Dominions of his Nephew *Charles* then in Minority, had his elder Brother the Duke of *Anjou* for his mortal Enemy. And their bloody Contests happen'd fortunately for the *English* Succours in the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, out of which as Duke *John* had been expell'd for adhering to his Father-in-Law the late King *Edward*, so the *English* did their utmost to support him in his Cause. In these Extremities the *French* were reliev'd by their ancient Diverſion: For the *Scots* entring about that Time with Fire and Sword into *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, drove away much Cattle, slew the Inhabitants, rifled the Booths and Houses of *Perith* in the Time of a great Fair, killed and took many Men, and dispers'd the rest. The Earl of *Northumberland* preparing for a bloody Revenge, not without Wonder was commanded to desist by Letters from the King, or rather some evil Counsellors about him. But how coldly soever the publick Affairs were pursu'd, the Want of Money for Supplies was still alledg'd and pretended. And therefore in a Parliament held at *Northampton* great Supplies were propos'd, and that the Clergy should pay a Third Part of the Tax, as having in Possession one Third of the Nation's Revenues. But at length it was finally agreed that every Person in the Kingdom, of all Conditions, Males and Females, of the Age of fifteen Years, except Beggars, should pay twelve Pence a Head; and the richer People in every Town were to contribute to the Assistance of those that were less able.

A severe Tax laid.

This extraordinary Poll-Tax was in a short Time made use of as a principal Occasion for a very dangerous Insurrection, throughout many Parts of the Nation. For some of the King's Officers had complain'd that the Money was not duly collected, therefore one *John Ley* and three of his Associates obtain'd a Commission to inspect and review the late Levy, agreeing to pay the King a considerable Sum for the Advantage of it. On which Pretence they committed horrible Oppressions, Exactions and Insolencies in many Parts, especially in *Kent*, *Essex*, *Norfolk* and the adjacent Counties; with which the common People, being highly incens'd, join'd with the *Villains* or *Bondmen*, first begun a Mutiny, and afterwards broke out into open Rebellion. For some of the Tax-Gatherers

A. D.

1381.

Reg. 4.

Which occasions a dangerous Rebellion.

Gatherers had been so insolent as to turn up the Coats of certain young Girls, to see if they were of full Age to pay; which so provok'd one call'd from his Trade *Wat Tyler*, of *Debtford* in *Kent*, whose Daughter had been thus us'd, that he not only beat out the Collector's Brains with his Hammer, but to avoid Punishment, drew together the Rabble, and soon incens'd them into a most desperate Rebellion. Then great Multitudes being gather'd together, they broke open the Jail at *Maidstone*, where one *John Ball*, a factious Priest then a Prisoner, having gain'd his Liberty, march'd along with them, and growing vastly numerous, he at *Black-Heath* made a seditious Discourse to them, taking for his Subject this known vulgar Proverb, '*When Adam delv'd, and Eve span, who was then a Gentleman?*' From whence he inferr'd, according to the usual Topicks of most Rebellions, that the Inequality of Mankind was contrary to the Will of God, who if he had pleas'd to have created Slaves or Bondmen, would have appointed who should have been Servants, and who Lords and Masters. This dangerous Doctrine was highly applauded by the Vulgar, who thus animated by their Multitudes, and holding Correspondence with others like themselves in *Essex* and other Counties, took up Arms, and stopping all Passengers they forc'd them to swear Fidelity to King *Richard* and the Commons, and never to own any King whose Name was *John*, which they did in Hatred to the Duke of *Lancaster*. In a short Time the *Essex* and *Kentish* Men being join'd at *Black-Heath*, made up a Body of near a hundred thousand Men, chiefly consisting of *Villains*, Bond-Tenants, Country Clowns, Debtors, and Criminals, all headed by *Wat Tyler*. Their Pretences were Liberty, and a Reformation of evil Laws and Customs; in Order to which they cut off the Heads of all the Lawyers they could find, alledging, *That the People could never enjoy true Liberty, while they were suffer'd to live in the Nation.*

Wat Tyler is
Ring-leader.

The Rebels in
vast Numbers
enter London.

They commit
many horrid
Outrages.

The King amaz'd at this extraordinary Meeting, sent to know the Occasion of it; and his Messengers were told, *That they met to speak with the King about certain Matters, and that he must come to them, and hear what they had to desire.* Some about the King persuaded him to go immediately, but the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Treasurer *Hales*, earnestly dissuaded him from it, urging him to think of suppressing, rather than treating with such an unruly Multitude. Upon Notice of which they threaten'd to cut off the Heads of these Counsellors; and forthwith marching into *Southwark*, they pull'd down Houses, and broke the King's Prisons, and set all the Prisoners at Liberty, who join'd with them. The Bridge-Gate was at first shut against them, but by Threatnings and the Assistance of some of the same Temper in the City, the Gates were open'd, and they had free Passage into the City, where they declar'd *That they came only to search for Traitors to the Kingdom*, and at that Time paid for what they call'd for, which gave them a Reputation among the common Sort, and increas'd their Numbers. The next Day, being the thirteenth of *June*, they march'd through the City to the *Savoy*, then the Duke of *Lancaster's* Palace, which they burnt and beat down, destroying all the rich Furniture, throwing his Gold and Jewels into the *Thames*, as likewise all his Plate, first breaking it into small Pieces. Here they by Proclamation made it Capital for any Man to retain the least Thing for his own Use, to shew the People they were not sway'd by Avarice; and when one of their Companions was discover'd to thrust a Piece of Plate into his Bosom, they immediately threw him into the Fire, declaring, *That they did not come like Thieves, to enrich themselves by Plunder.* From the *Savoy* they came back to the Temple, the Abode of the Lawyers, and without harkning to Intreaties burnt their Lodgings, Books, Papers, and all the Records that were there kept. From thence they rang'd to *Clerkenwell*, where they destroy'd all the Goods in the Hospital of *St. John*, and set Fire to that magnificent Building. After which they divided themselves into three Bodies, one of which being headed by another Captain, call'd *Jack Straw*, went to *Heybury* Mannor, be-

longing

longing to the Master of St. *John's* Hospital, where they were busied in destroying and plundering all the Goods belonging to it, and demolishing a noble House that stood there. A second Body of them, who were most of *Essex*, and the neighbouring Parts, lodg'd themselves upon *Mile-End* Green; and a third about St. *Catharine's*, and *Tower-Hill*.

The next Day the King went with several Noblemen to those at *Mile-End*, who were about sixty thousand, where he told them *He was their King*, demanding, *What they would have*. Their Answer was, *They desir'd he would make them, their Heirs and Lands free for ever, so that they might not be call'd or reputed Bond-men*. The King granted their Desire, on Condition they would return home, and leave two or three of each Parish to stay for their Charters of Freedom, seal'd with the Great-Seal; which being dispatch'd with the utmost Expedition, and all their Pardons sign'd, most of the *Essex* Men return'd home to their own Habitations. Yet all this did not satisfy the insolent *Wat Tyler*, who had plac'd himself and his *Kentish* Rabble about *Tower-Hill*; where the Terror of his rude Multitude was so great, that the Gates of the *Tower* were open'd to them without Resistance, from whence they hurry'd away the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer *Hales* and some others, and impiously cut off their Heads upon *Tower-Hill*. After which they rang'd into the City, and cut off the Heads of many *Englishmen*, to whom they had any Aversion; and among the rest they dispatch'd a famous Merchant nam'd *Richard Lyons*, whose Head they set upon a Lance: And their Hatred to the *Flemmings* was so implacable, that they drew thirteen of them out of the Church of the *Augustin Friars*, and seventeen more out of other Churches, and cut off their Heads in the Streets with infernal Shouts and hideous Outcries.

The King
Treats with
them.

They commit
new Outrages.

In the following Day, proceeding in the same outrageous manner, the King sent to let them know that their Companions at *Mile-End*, upon receiving Charters of Freedom were return'd home in Peace, offering them the like Charters, if they would accept of them. To which *Wat Tyler* reply'd, *He would embrace Peace, if he lik'd the Conditions*; designing to have delay'd the King and Council, so that in that Night he might destroy both King and Nobility, and plunder and burn the City, as it appear'd afterwards. Three Charters being sent to him without satisfying him, the King at last sent a Knight to him, who told him that he should come and treat with him about the Articles to be inserted in their Charter; and when the Messenger desir'd him to make haste, he bad him *Tell the King his Master he would come when he saw his own Time*, and so follow'd on very slowly on Horseback for the greater State. Upon his approaching the King in the Streets, the same Knight being sent again to receive Proposals from him, he was highly offended because he came to him mounted, and told him, *It became him to alight from his Horse in his Presence*, and drew out his Dagger to strike him: Upon which the King coming up, caus'd his Messenger to alight. Here *Tyler's* Demands were so bold and exorbitant, that the King, tho' never more ready to comply, began to demur; which caus'd the other to behave himself with an Insolence not to be endur'd by any Sovereign. Whereupon the valiant *John Philpot*, fir'd with Indignation, told his Majesty, *That if he would command the Lord Mayor to Arrest the Traitor, he would lose his Life if it did not succeed*: To which the King consented, and gave such a Command to *William Walworth*, then Lord Mayor, who waiting an Opportunity, and observing *Tyler* to play with his Dagger as if he design'd some fatal Stroke, and then to lay one of his Hands upon the King's Bridle, he instantly executed his Arrest, by giving him a Blow on the Head with his Dagger, which being seconded by *Philpot's* Sword in his Body, he fell down dead at the King's Horse's Feet, with more Honour than he deserv'd. The Multitude seeing this, began furiously to cry out, *Our Captain is murder'd, let's revenge his Death!* But the King with a Courage and Ingenuity beyond his Years, clapp'd Spurs to his Horse, and riding to the Head of them, cry'd aloud,

The King meets
Wat Tyler in
London Streets

Wat Tyler
slain at the
Head of his
Party.

Never grieve for the Death of a Traitor, I will be your Captain and Leader, follow me into the Fields, and you shall have all your Desires. Upon which Words, in amaze they follow'd him towards St. George's Fields, 'till Sir Robert Knolls with a Thousand armed Men rais'd by the Mayor, came upon them out of the City, which so terrify'd this Headless Multitude, that they flung down their Arms and begg'd for Mercy; which the King granted freely, but proclaim'd that no Citizen should have any Correspondence with them, nor suffer them to come within the Liberties. When some about the King ask'd leave to serve the Rebels as they had serv'd others, and to cut off a Hundred or two of their Heads, he mercifully forbid it, lest the Innocent might suffer with the Guilty, for many had been drawn in by Fear, and such fair Pretences as they thought good and loyal; so that he sent them the like Charters he had granted to those of *Essex*, and other Counties.

The Rebels submit.

Insurrections in other Counties.

They are suppressed.

The Designs of the late Rebels.

The King's Grants revoked.

This Spirit of Insurrection and Rebellion was not confin'd to *London*, but ^{was} furiously spread it self through several Parts of the Nation. In *Suffolk* about fifty Thousand arose under the Conduct of *John Straw* a wicked Priest, who besides many other Barbarities cut off the Head of Sir *John Cavendish*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and set it upon the Pillory at *St. Edmund's Bury*. In *Norfolk* vast Numbers of the same sort of People arose under the Conduct of *John Littister*, a Dier of *Norwich*, who compell'd the Lord *Scales*, Sir *William Morley*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and other Men of Quality to remain with them, and for their own Security to comply with their Actions. Great Numbers also appear'd about *St. Albans*, under the Command of a common Chandler, who committed unheard of Outrages and Cruelties; and others again rose in several Parts of *Essex*. *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich* prov'd very serviceable in suppressing the Rebels of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Buckingham* and Lord *Piercy* did the same in *Essex*, but in both Places with considerable Bloodshed. However in a short Time all Insurrections were quell'd, and the Multitudes dispers'd; and the King appointed Sir *Robert Tresilian* his Chief Justice, and some others to try and punish the Ring-leaders of this dangerous Rebellion. Many were executed at several Places, of whom *John Straw* and *John Ball* the Priest had been most notorious; and by the Confessions of these two it appear'd what desperate Designs had been laid towards the Ruin and Subversion of the Nation. Particularly, That when they assembled at *Black-Heath*, and sent to the King to come to them, they design'd to have slain all the Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen that came with him, and to have carry'd the King with them from Place to Place, that the Mob might with greater Assurance come in to their Assistance when they should see him, as it were the Promoter of their Insurrections: That when their Numbers were sufficient in all Counties, they were to have kill'd such Lords, Knights and others as were most able to resist them, especially the *Hospitallers*: At last they were to have kill'd the King, and all the Bishops, Monks, and Rectors of Churches possess'd of any Lands and real Estates, only sparing the *Mendicant* Friars, who were sufficient to perform Divine Service throughout the Nation: After all, when there had been none more powerful and knowing than themselves, they would make such Laws as they pleas'd, by which the People were to be govern'd; and they intended to have created new Kings, as *Wat Tyler* in *Kent*, and one in each County. In Consideration therefore of this great Escape, and the Worth of particular Persons, the King knighted *William Wakworth* Lord Mayor, *John Philpot*, *Nicholas Brembre*, and *Robert Laund* Aldermen; and gave to the first a hundred Pounds *per Annum* Land, and to the other three forty Pounds *per An.* to them and their Heirs for ever: And, as some write, the Dagger was now added to the Arms of the City of *London*. And lest the mischievous Multitude should to the King's Dishonour and common Hurt of the Church and Kingdom, enjoy any Benefit by their intolerable Outrages, the King by the Advice of his Council sent revocatory Letters into all Parts, by which he declar'd, 'That no Man should

'enjoy

enjoy any Freedom or Advantage by virtue of any extorted Grants, and Charters, during the late Insurrections: All which was likewise declar'd and ratify'd in a Parliament held at *Westminster* not long after.

In the same Year of these Tumults and Insurrections, the *English* Valour began again to display it self in distant Countries, chiefly to gratifie the private Ends of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, who claim'd the Crown of *Castile* and *Leon* in *Spain*, in right of *Constance* his Wife. For *John* King of *Portugal* had a defensive War against *John* then Possessor of the Crown of *Castile*, who also challeng'd the Crown of *Portugal*, in right of *Beatrix* his Wife, the only Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*, which this other *John*, a natural Son of *Ferdinand's*, had by Faction usurp'd. To the Assistance of the King of *Portugal* were sent the King's Uncle, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, with many Knights, and others experienc'd in Arms. These arriving in *Portugal*, most valiantly defended that Country for about two Years, and were the principal Cause of giving the *Spaniards* a signal Overthrow, in which they lost ten thousand Men in Battel. But at length the two Kings by a publick Agreement, bore the Charges of conveying home the *English* in Common, that their Countries might be freed from a Power of which they were both equally jealous. In this Expedition *Edward*, Son to the King's Uncle the Earl of *Cambridge*, marry'd the Daughter of *John* King of *Portugal*; but afterwards, the Earl not thinking it fit to leave his Son behind him as suspecting the Faith of the *Portuguese*, nor the other to venture his Daughter with the Earl, they ever remain'd disjoin'd in Persons, however united in Ceremony. In the mean Time the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Occasion of the Expedition, at breaking out of the Insurrections was upon the Borders of *Scotland*, about settling a two Years Truce with the *Scots*, which he concluded with what Expedition he could before the *Scots* had full Intelligence of the Troubles in *England*. The *Scots*, tho' they were sorry that this Truce had hinder'd them from great Advantages in *England*, understanding that some *English* Peers had form'd Designs against the Duke, freely offer'd him twenty thousand Men to defend his Honour; but he loyally refusing the Offer, they gave him liberty to go and come into their Nation at his Liberty, with all the Marks of Civility and Hospitality.

The English
Aids in Por-
tugal.

The Duke of
Lancaster
makes a Truce
with the Scots.

II. King *Richard* being now in the sixteenth Year of his Age, and the Nation in quiet, he marry'd the Lady *Anne*, Daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the Fourth, and Sister to *Wenceslaus* the present Emperor and King of *Bohemia*. This Princess arriving at *Dover*, was receiv'd with great Solemnity by a splendid Concourse of Nobility, and was marry'd to the King on the fourteenth Day of *January*; and the Nuptials being celebrated with extraordinary Magnificence, she was solemnly crown'd Queen by *William Courtney*, lately made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. She was a Princess of great Virtue and Goodness, which was all the King had with her; for instead of a great Portion in Money which he was then offer'd with the Duke of *Milan's* Daughter, he gave the Emperor ten thousand Marks for his Alliance, which never prov'd of any Advantage to him. Not long after, a Parliament met at *Westminster*, where many useful Things were enacted concerning the Excess of Apparel, the Transportation of Corn, and other Matters: But to what Purpose, says *Walsingham*, are Acts of Parliament, when after they are pass'd, they take no Effect? For, adds he, the King and his private Council did usually change or abolish all Things which had been establish'd by the whole Nobility and Commons of *England*. Nevertheless it was then provided, that such as had done any Thing in their own Defence against the Rebels, without the Ordinary Forms of Law, should sustain no Damage, but be as much indemnify'd as if they had enjoy'd their particular Pardons; and that all Releases, Poffinments, and other Acts done during these *Hurling Times*, as they were call'd, by way of Constraint or Necessity, should be utterly void. With the special Approbation of this Parliament

A. D.

1382.

Reg. 5.

King Richard
marries Anne
Sister to the
Emperor.

A Parliament
call'd.

ment Sir *Richard Scroop* was made Chancellor of the Realm, and Sir *Hugh Segrave* Treasurer: But it was not long after before this worthy Chancellor, denying to pass such exorbitant Grants under the Great-Seal, as the King in his youthful Humour had imprudently given to some greedy Courtiers, fell into the King's undeserved Displeasure. He alledg'd several Reasons for his Denial; as that the King was greatly in Debt, and therefore such Bounties ought rather to be employ'd in discharging some of the Creditors; That these Courtiers, knowing that he was so much involv'd, were not true Friends to his Majesty, regarding their private Gains before his Profit, or the publick Wants; That the same Courtiers had formerly receiv'd such Gifts from his Majesty, as were answerable to their Services; and that himself, if he should seal these Grants made in the King's Minority, would receive no Thanks when he should come to riper Years. After all these Allegations, he was order'd more than once to send the Seal to the King; and going in Person he surrender'd it with these Words, *That he would always be loyal and faithful to his Majesty, but would never bear any Office under him as long as he liv'd.* By this Act the King highly disgust'd the great Men and others of the Kingdom; and gave the first Occasion of Dislike to his Government, or rather to his chief Ministers, who then manag'd all Affairs, and continually prevail'd upon the King's Youth, and Faintness of his Temper.

*The King dis-
obliges the No-
bility and the
Church.*

A. D.

1383.

Reg. 1.

*The Duke of
Spencer Bishop
of Norwich.*

*The King's Re-
creation.*

About these Times, *Henry Spenser*, the Martial Bishop of *Norwich*, being drawn on by Pope *Urban* to preach up the *Crusado*, and to serve as General against *Clement*, whom several Cardinals and Prelates had also elected Pope, obtain'd a Fifteenth from the Parliament for that purpose; and having gather'd a considerable Force, he pass'd over into *Flanders* to support the Cause of *Urban* against the Anti-Pope *Clement*. Most of the Nobility were great Opposers of this Expedition, yet still the Bishop for a while proceeded with great Success, took *Gravelin*, *Burburgh*, *Newport*, *Dunkirk*, and several other Places, and gain'd also a Victory at Sea against thirty thousand of *Clement's* Associates; yet at length he was forc'd to return before he expected, being destitute of those further Succours promis'd him from *England*. And what prov'd harder to him, the King, upon Pretence that he had not exactly obey'd his Orders and Commands, for a while seiz'd upon all his Temporalties. In the mean Time the King himself with his young Queen spent all the Summer in Jollity and youthful Recreations, going on Progress to the great Abbies about the Kingdom, with an excessive Retinue of *Bohemians*; and lying at the Abby of *St. Edmund's Bury* no less than ten Days, it prov'd a heavy Burden, being both of them presented there, as well as at all the other Monasteries they visited, with large Gifts, which the Queen pour'd forth upon her *Bohemian* Countrymen. And as this was an Indication of excessive Faintness and Prodigality in the King, so it extremely diminish'd the Esteem his Subjects hitherto had of him.

A. D.

1384.

Reg. 2.

*The Duke of
Lancaster's
first Expedition
into Scotland.*

*How account
of Treason.*

In the Beginning of the following Year, the Duke of *Lancaster* return'd from his Embassy in *France*, where he could only procure a Truce of half a Year's Continuance. At his Return, he and his brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, advanc'd with a very great Force towards *Scotland*, to revenge the Breach of a Truce; but staid so long upon the Borders, till all Provisions being consumed, the Inhabitants receiv'd more Injury from the *English* Army than by the Invasion of the *Scots*. Yet afterwards he enter'd *Scotland*, but by means of his Delays, the *Scots* had sufficient Time to secure their Goods and Persons; so that meeting with nothing but Hunger and Cold, after the Loss of many Men and Horses, the Duke return'd with Dishonour. Soon after his Return he was encounter'd with a more dangerous Enemy; a *Carmelite* Friar, had at a Parliament held at *Salisbury*, made a Discovery in Writing to the King, of a Design that the Duke had to destroy his Majesty, and usurp the Crown: But the King advising about it only with some of his Chaplains, and the Duke coming in sud-

denly

denly upon them, they counsell'd the King to show the Duke his Accusation in Writing; upon the Sight of which, he boldly deny'd all, and so seemingly well clear'd himself, that the Friar was committed Prisoner to the Custody of the Lord *John Holland*, and the Evening before the appointed Time of Hearing the Cause, he was found murder'd after a most barbarous and unheard of Manner. The next Morning the Friar's Body was dragg'd about the Streets, as a Traitor at a Horse's Tail, to remove all Suspicion of the Murther; and the Earl of *Buckingham* furiously rush'd into the King's Chamber, declaring with a terrible Oath, *That he would kill any Person living who durst lay Treason to his Brother's Charge, not excepting the King himself.* But what tended much to the Duke's Innocency, was, that the Lord *Zouch* was likewise accus'd of the same Treason by the same Friar; and being sick was forc'd to be brought thither in a Litter, and examin'd before the Lords, where he solemnly deny'd the whole Accusation upon Oath, and that he ever heard or thought of such a Design: Upon which he was acquitted, and permitted to return home; and afterwards became an utter Enemy to all *Carmelite* Friars. Not long after this Escape, the Duke's Enemies, who highly wish'd for his Death, so represented him to the King, that it was agreed he should be suddenly arrested, and brought before chief Justice *Tresilian*, who had boldly undertaken to give Sentence against him, tho' the Law gave him the Privilege of his Peers. But the Duke being forewarn'd of these Contrivances, hasten'd to his Castle at *Pomfret*, and there stood upon his Guard; upon which the Princess *Joan* the King's Mother, dreading the fatal Effects of such a Rupture, took infinite Pains by Riding, notwithstanding her Years and Corpulency, between the King and the Duke, to pacifie and reconcile them; and at length brought them to such Terms, that all Appearance of Displeasure on one Side, and Distrust on the other, was for that Time remov'd.

He is clear'd.

After new Suspensions he is reconcil'd to the King.

This Storm being over, the Duke went again into *France* in mighty State, to treat about a Peace; and tho' he staid a considerable Time with many Noblemen in his Company, yet he only obtain'd three Months Truce, after the Expence of fifty thousand Marks. During his Absence, a great Favourite of his call'd *John of Northampton*, alias *Comberton*, once Mayor of *London*, was summon'd before the King and Nobility, and try'd for some late seditious Practices in *London*, and formally convicted. Sentence being ready to be given against him in the King's Presence, he alledg'd *That Judgment ought not to pass upon him in the Absence of his Lord the Duke of Lancaster, which at the same Time render'd him suspected;* but the Judge told the Criminal, *That he must acquit himself by Duel, or else by the Laws of the Land must be taken, hang'd and quarter'd;* to which making no Answer, he was condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, sent to *Tintagel* Castle in *Cornwall*, and had his Goods seiz'd for the King's Use. Shortly after, a new Parliament being call'd, News was brought of the Surprize of the Castle of *Berwick* by the *Scots*, being sold by the Deputy-Governor to the Earl of *Northumberland*; for which the Earl, tho' absent, was accus'd; and, by the Procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster* his Enemy, found guilty of Treason without his Appearance. But Circumstances being consider'd, the King pardon'd him, but much against the Duke's Inclinations; which was also the Occasion of a fresh Contest between these two great Men. As soon as the Earl was pardon'd and restor'd, he himself rais'd a considerable Army, and march'd to the Siege of that Castle in the Depth of Winter; but finding he could not then take it by Force, he recover'd it the same Way it was lost, obtaining it by the Sum of two thousand Marks paid to the Garrison; and by that dear-bought Experience learnt to take greater Care of that considerable Fortrefs.

He goes into France.

Berwick Castle lost to the Scots.

but recover'd again.

The King and Court liv'd in great State, Pleasure and Security, 'till the Beginning of the next *June*, when News arriv'd of a formidable Invasion from *France*; and that *John de Vienne*, their Admiral, was sail'd from

A. D.
1385.
Reg. 5.

France joins
with Scotland.

A bad Acci-
dent near York

from thence with a vast Fleet, and had transported a numerous Army into *Scotland*, to join with the *Scots*, and enter *England* that Way. Upon which the King immediately prepar'd an Army to march into *Scotland*, and sent the Duke of *Lancaster* with a considerable Force to secure the Borders. In the Beginning of *July* the King went in Person to *Leicester*, and his beloved Queen with him; where he was attended by the Flower of the *English* Militia, as Earls, Barons, Knights and others, to a prodigious Number, who made noble Preparations for them, which extremely pleas'd the King. But upon his Arrival at *York*, that Satisfaction was much abated by an unfortunate Accident near that City: For a Quarrel arising between the Lord *John Holland* the King's Half-Brother, and the eldest Son of the Earl of *Stafford*; the former kill'd the latter upon the Road, as he was going to the Queen, whose menial Servant he was. At which the King was so highly incens'd at the Loss of one bred up with himself, that he commanded his Brother to be seiz'd, and his Goods to be confiscated; but this young Lord, finding the Tide run so high against him, avoided the Storm by taking Sanctuary at *Beverly*. The Princess *Joan*, Mother both to the King and this Nobleman, hearing this ill News, immediately sent Messengers to the King to intercede for her Son, and obtain his Pardon; but the King was so inrag'd, that he absolutely deny'd her Request; with which she was so sensibly afflicted, that it cast her into a Fit of Sickness, which in four or five Days prov'd her Death. Her Body being embalm'd was preserv'd till the King's Return from *Scotland*, when it was solemnly interr'd in the Church of the *Friars Minors* at *Stanford*; after which the King's Fury against his Brother gradually diminish'd.

King Richard
enters Scotland

but to little
Effect.

About the Beginning of *August* the King enter'd *Scotland* with his mighty Army, but to little Effect; for either he could not find the *Scots*, or could not follow them into their Woods, Bogs and Fastnesses, whither they and their Cattle were retired. So finding the Country vacant, he burnt the City of *Edinburgh*, and several other Places, and destroy'd many Woods and Groves. But when the Duke of *Lancaster* urg'd him to imitate his noble Grand-father King *Edward*, in carrying his Arms beyond the *Firths*, and in totally reducing that Kingdom, the King was so far from complying, that suspecting the Duke gave him this Advice only to ruin him and his Army with long Marches and Famine, he return'd him very sharp and opprobrious Language upon that Subject, and tho' the Duke's Answers were temper'd with great Duty and Modesty, yet they had so little Effect, that the Lords found it very difficult to reconcile the King and him. The Season being far advanc'd, King *Richard* return'd into *England*, and in full Time; for during these Transactions in *Scotland*, the *Scotch* and *French* Forces slipping past the *English*, enter'd the *West-Marches*, burnt *Penrith*, plunder'd the Country, took many Prisoners, and endanger'd *Carlisle*. But hearing of the Return of the *English* Army, they retir'd into their own Country; but carry'd more out of *England*, than King *Richard* with his dreadful Army could do out of *Scotland*, tho' he had the Plunder of the Capital City of the Kingdom: Upon such unequal Terms must a Richer Nation make War upon a Poorer as warlike as themselves. All this Time the *French* King was providing a mighty Fleet and Army at *Stuis* in *Ilanders* to invade *England*, but was hinder'd in the Attempt by the *Flemmings*, who tired with the Heaviness of the *French* Yoke, had taken up Arms and surpriz'd the strong Town of *Dam*; which tho' it was recover'd in no long Time, yet by this Diversion the *French* King was forc'd to defer his intended Invasion till the next Year.

A Parliament.

Several new
Promotions.

In the mean Time the King held a Parliament at *Westminster*, in which was granted large Supplies towards an Expedition to be made by the Duke of *Lancaster* into *Spain*, under the Title of King of *Castile* and *Leon*. In which Parliament also the King's Uncle *Edward* Earl of *Cambridge* was created Duke of *York*, and had a Grant from the King of a thousand Pounds *per Annum* to sup-
port

port his Dignity; and also *Thomas* Earl of *Buckingham*, the King's other Uncle, was created Duke of *Glocester*, with the like Gift or Settlement to support his Dignity. At the same Time *Michael de la Pole* was made Earl of *Suffolk*, with a suitable Pension, which occasion'd some Discontent, tho' his Family had well deserv'd of the Crown in the last Reign. But what rais'd the greatest Envy was the Advance of *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who, without any Thing to recommend him but a beautiful Body, was now by an unusual Title created Marquess of *Dublin*, and had a Grant of all the Revenues of *Ireland*, except some Royalties reserv'd to the Crown, upon paying the annual Sum of five thousand Marks. The King's extraordinary Fondness to this handsome Favourite, was the Occasion of great Scandal, both to One and the Other. To conclude this Year, the famous *John Wickliff*, after he had made great Numbers of Profelytes, dy'd of a Palsie, to the great Joy of the Monkish Writers of those Times; who boldly ascrib'd his Death to the Judgement of God, and that as a Punishment for his Heretical Sermons, the Use of his Tongue was taken from him. He was bury'd at his own Parish-Church at *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*, where his Bones rested in Peace, 'till forty one Years after, by a Decree of the Council of *Constance*, they were dug up and burnt as those of a Heretick.

Dr. Wickliff's
Death.

The Time was now come when King *Richard* should see himself deliver'd from those Fears and Jealousies which the Greatness of his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaster* had rais'd in his Mind. And upon *Easter* Day the Duke, as King of *Castile*, with the Princess *Constance* his Wife, came to take Leave of the King, who bestow'd on him a Crown of Gold, and the Queen gave another to the Dutches his Wife; and at the same Time the King commanded all about him to stile and honour him as a King. On the ninth of *July* he set Sail for *Spain*, with a select Army of near twenty thousand Men, in which several brave Noblemen were chief Officers; and took with him his Wife, eldest Daughter and Heiress to the late *Peter* King of *Castile*, and his two Daughters. And this Titular King now obtain'd so much Favour from Pope *Urban*, that out of the Hatred he bore to *Henry* the present Possessor of *Castile*, who deny'd his Authority, he granted the like Indulgence or Remission of Sins to all such as should assist him in his Expedition, as had been granted to the Bishop of *Norwich*, when he made War in *Flanders*. But this Indulgence, tho' solemnly publish'd at the Cathedral of *St. Paul's*, did the Duke little Service; for the frequent Dispensations and Abuses of these Indulgences, had render'd them so contemptible, that few would contribute any Thing to this pretended *Crusado*. However the Duke proceeded with Fame and Success for a long Time; and first landing in *Bretaign*, reliev'd *Brest* besieg'd by the Duke of that Country, tho' with the Loss of some Men of Quality. Then landing at the *Groyne*, he proceeded with great Terror and Valour, took *Compostella* and *Villeclope*, with several other Places, subdu'd the greatest Part of *Gallicia*, and marry'd his eldest Daughter *Philippa* to *John* King of *Portugal*. Yet after all this, before the End of the next Year, the *English* Army was so wasted by the Diseases of that Country, that not being able to act any thing more of Note, the Duke was oblig'd to enter into a Treaty with *John* King of *Castile* the Son of *Henry* the Bastard, and to quit all his Right to that Kingdom, upon certain Conditions and Articles. So that this Expedition into *Spain*, tho' it much display'd the Valour of the *English* Nation, yet it prov'd much more to the Honour than the Advantage of *England*, which was extreamly weaken'd, by being depriv'd of so many brave Soldiers, when the Nation had so much need of them against the common Enemy the *French*.

A. D.

1386.

Reg. 2.

The Duke of
Lancaster goes
into Spain with
a brave Army.

His Acts and
Success.

For at this Time the *French* threaten'd a more terrible Invasion than ever was known before; but the King fearing that *Calais* might be first in Danger, immediately sent for its Security *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, Son to the Earl of *Norumberland*, and By-nam'd *Hotspur*, a young Gentleman, whom our Author

The French make vast Preparations against England.

says was the Pattern of all Virtue and Martial Bravery. But in a short Time, after he had in some Degree answer'd this Character in *France*, he return'd home to defend his Native Country, which was this Summer under frequent Alarms and great Consternation from the formidable Preparations of the *French* King, who had gather'd a vast Navy and a prodigious Army at *Sluis* for that Design. And the better to secure the Soldiers at their first Landing, the *French* had fram'd a wonderful Wooden Wall, three Miles in Compass, no less than twenty Foot high, with a great Number of Turrets, with which they were to have suddenly inclos'd their Camp. But it fortunately happen'd, that the Lord *Beauchamp*, Commander in *Calais*, took three of their Ships laden with Part of this extraordinary Inclosure, which the King caus'd to be set round *Winchelsea* to secure that Town; and also took another Ship full of great Guns, and other Instruments of War. Tho' this was a great Discouragement, yet the *French* King, having most of his Nobility with him, resolv'd to pursue his Enterprize; but Providence, which had fav'd *France* in the last Reign, seem'd to have fav'd *England* in this: For the Wind kept contrary from the Middle of *August* to the Middle of *November*; and at length chopping about, so far flatter'd the *French*, that they set out the Fleet to Sea; but being seven or eight Leagues from the Shore, it not only turn'd about to its former Quarter, but drove them back with such a violent Fury upon the Coast of *Flanders*, that it destroy'd several of their Ships. Upon which Accident the King of *France* resolv'd to defer the Expedition till the next Spring; but before that Time, *England* being put into a better Posture of Defence, the Design became ineffectual.

but to no Effect.

All agree that the Kingdom had never a greater Escape and Deliverance, as well for the Want of its best Soldiers, as for many other Reasons; and we are assur'd That the World never saw a greater and more glorious Fleet together; for it consisted of near thirteen hundred Sail of Vessels of all Sorts: And as for Land Forces, besides fifteen Dukes, twenty six Earls, and two hundred Barons, there were a hundred thousand Soldiers. At this great Disappointment, the *French* Nobility were highly disgusted, but much more the common People, by reason of so vast a Sum of Money being rais'd for nothing; for the present Charge was found to surpass the Ransom of King *John* in the last Reign.

Great Discontents in Parliament against the King's Favourites.

This Deliverance was so much the more signal, because in the Time of the greatest Danger, violent Discontents and Murmurings arose among the Commons as well as Nobility against the King's Favourites; particularly *De la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, who had been made Lord-Chancellor of *England*; and *Robert de Vere*, who was now advanc'd to the unheard of Honour of Duke of *Ireland*, with a Grant of the Profits and Government of the whole Kingdom, only reserving to the King the Superior Dominion. These Discontents appearing in a Parliament held at *Westminster*, and the Commons being ready to impeach the Chancellor of several Crimes, the King retir'd after he had once appear'd, and trifled away his Time at *Eltham*, during a great Part of the Session. Whereupon the Nobility and Commons by joint Consent, dispatch'd a Message to him, declaring *That the Chancellor and Treasurer ought to be remov'd from their Offices, because they were not for the Advantage of himself and Kingdom.* At which the King being highly offended, commanded them to mention no such Matter, but immediately proceed to the Business for which they were summon'd; declaring, *That he would not for their Sakes, or at their Instance, remove the meanest Scullion Boy in his Kitchen.* But what yet more irrag'd them against the Chancellor was, That he, in the Name of the King, had desired of the Commons extraordinary Supplies for the Necessities of the King's Household, as well as the publick Wars; therefore by joint Assent the Lords and Commons return'd this Answer to the King, *That they neither could nor would proceed in any Business of Parliament, or dispatch the least Article, till the King came in Person amongst them, and remov'd the Chancellor from his Office.* Upon which the King appointed them that they should order forty Knights

Knights of the most substantial and wisest of the Commons to come to him, and declare the Opinions of the rest; but a strong Rumour arising that these Knights would be in danger of their Lives, the Project was altogether ineffectual. After this the whole Parliament by common Consent deputed the King's Uncle the Duke of *Glocester*, and *Thomas de Arundel* Bishop of *Ely*, to go to the King at *Eltham*, and deliver to him the Sense of the whole Assembly; which they did in a set formal Speech, in which they declar'd to his Majesty, *That they had it establish'd by ancient Constitution, That the King ought to call a Parliament once every Year, upon many Accounts; That if the King through his ungovernable Will did estrange and withdraw himself from his Parliament for the Space of forty Days, the Members were at liberty to return to their own Habitations without further Proceedings.* Upon this the King imprudently answer'd, *That now he perceiv'd that his People and the Commons intended to make Insurrections against him; and in such a Case nothing seem'd more proper than to call in his Cousin the King of France, to receive Advice and Assistance from him, and even to submit himself to him, rather than truckle to his own Subjects.* To which these Lords return'd a long and severe Answer, and particularly declar'd to him, *That they had an ancient Constitution, not very long since put in Execution, That if the King, through evil Council, Obstinacy, Contempt of his Subjects, or by any other irregular Courses, should alienate himself from his People, and refuse to govern by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and should precipitate himself into wild Designs, and abandon himself to his arbitrary Will; that from that Time it should be lawful for his People, by their full and free Consent, to depose that King from his Throne, and set upon it another of the Royal Family.*

They send a bold Message to the King.

These and the like Speeches had such an Effect upon the King, that within three Days he came to the Parliament, where *De la Pole* was impeach'd of several high Crimes and Misdemeanors by the Commons, which are too long to be here specify'd; and which were so fully prov'd, that the Earl having nothing to reply, the King blushing and shaking his Head, said, *Alas, alas, Michael, see what thou hast done?* And when his Majesty desir'd a Supply, the Commons answer'd, *That he did not need any Taxes of his Subjects, while he might so easily furnish himself from him who was his just Debtor:* Yet upon the King's yielding to have him turn'd out of all Offices, they granted him a Supply and a Tax upon several Commodities. They also granted that the new Duke of *Ireland* should have the thirty thousand Marks, which was to be receiv'd of the Heirs of *Charles of Blois*, provided he would go into *Ireland* before *Easter*, and use the Money towards the Recovery of those Dominions the King had given him in that Island; so passionately did the Parliament desire his Absence, that they would rather want so much Treasure, than endure him in *England* to influence the King. At the same Time *Arundel* Bishop of *Ely* was made Lord Chancellor, *Gilbert* Bishop of *Hereford* made Treasurer, and *John de Waltham* Keeper of the Privy-Seal. Furthermore, the Parliament observing, that by the great Corruption of the King's Officers, the publick Revenue was vainly consum'd, the King insufferably defrauded, the common People by continual Burthens miserably impoverish'd, the Rents and Profits of the great Men much impair'd, and by all this that the King's Officers became unmeasurably rich; they therefore chose eleven Lords, and gave them Leave and Power to inspect, treat and determine all Affairs, Causes and Complaints arising from Matters of this Nature since the Death of King *Edward* the Third, 'till this present Time. Then the Parliament broke up, and the King made this Protestation, *That for any Thing that was done in that Parliament, he design'd it not to the Prejudice of himself or his Crown.* The Reason of this Protestation soon appear'd to the whole Nation, for the King was so dissatisfy'd at the Treatment of his Favourites, that he afterwards revok'd and abrogated all

The King complies with the Parliament.

The Parliament makes many Regulations.

the Proceedings of this Parliament. He was so far from parting with the Earl of *Suffolk* and the Duke of *Ireland*, that he receiv'd them into much greater Favour and Confidence than ever; and at *Christmasts* following, admitted the former to sit down with him at his Table, not in the usual Habit of a Peer, but in the Robes of a Prince. And our Authors agree, That these Favourites had so transcending an Influence, that during the Sessions of this Parliament, they with the King's own Consent had form'd a Design of inviting the Duke of *Glocester* and other leading Men to a Supper at the House of a certain Citizen of *London*, where they were all to have been murder'd; by whose Death they not only hop'd to be reveng'd on their Enemies, but also to set the King free from all future Restraints: But this Conspiracy was defeated by means of the timely Notice that was given to the Duke of *Glocester*, who prevented the rest from accepting the Invitation. This was first effected by the Industry and Courage of Sir *Richard Exton*, the Mayor of *London*; who being ask'd by the King to give his Consent, or at least Connivance to this Action, declar'd, *He would never imbrue his Hands in innocent Blood.* So that the Persons against whom this Design was form'd, by this means became more popular and beloved, while their Enemies grew more and more odious to the Body of the People.

A. D. 1387. Reg. 10. These Favourites, and some others, not long after hearing that *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Nottingham* Marshal of *England* had engag'd with a great Fleet of *French*, *Flemmings* and *Spaniards*, and had taken above a hundred Ships with nineteen thousand Tun of Wine, besides the Admiral of *Flanders* and other Men of Note, they openly degraded the Victory, and said, *That the Vanquish'd were only Merchants, whose Amity would have been more advantageous to the Nation than all that they had gain'd.* Yet still the Earls proceeding in their Expedition, sail'd to the Coast of *Bretaign*, and landed near *Brest*, where they not only reliev'd the Place, but attacking two Forts lately built for the Defence of the Court, they took and garrison'd the one, and burnt and destroy'd the other; and then return'd home with the great Applause of all Men except the Duke of *Ireland*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and some Courtiers, who not being inclin'd to Martial Actions themselves, envy'd the worthy Exploits of others. Yet these had so much Influence over the King, that tho' the Earl of *Nottingham* was Lord Marshal, and had been brought up with him, he was so far from congratulating or thanking him, that he receiv'd him with the greatest Coldness, and scarce took any Notice of him. After this Earl, the brave Lord *Piercy*, *Henry Hotspur*, was sent to Sea; who tho' he was poorly provided of Men, and not much countenanc'd at Court, which envy'd the great Reputation he gain'd at the Recovery of *Berwick*, yet he undertook the Employment; and having guarded the Seas the rest of the Year, and behaved himself gallantly against the *French*, he return'd in Safety, much to the Disappointment of his Enemies at Court. By such Means and Practices as these, King *Richard*, from being highly respected and lov'd, came to be generally hated and despis'd by the Nobility and People; for these Favourites had so corrupted his natural Temper by Luxury and Effeminacy, that not only Military Affairs, but the Princely Exercises of Hawking and Hunting were thought too rough and tiresome for their tender Bodies.

The Kingdom
endanger'd by
Favourites.

As to the Duke of *Ireland*, he became so insolent, that presuming on his Power with the King, he openly divorc'd his Wife *Philippa*, tho' Grand-Daughter to King *Edward* the Third, and a Lady of no small Beauty and irreproachable Virtue; and in her stead prefer'd to his Bed one *Lancerona*, a *Bohemian* of the meanest Extract who waited upon the Queen. Tho' the King took no Notice of this Affront offer'd to his Cousin-German, yet her Uncle the Duke of *Glocester* highly resent'd it, and only waited for an Opportunity of Revenge; which the other perceiving, he resolv'd to strike first. And now the Time being come for the Duke of *Ireland* to depart, to amuse the People the

the King went down with him into *Wales*, pretending to see him take Shipping there; but the true Reason was, that being remote from the Nobility, they might the more securely consult how to circumvent and destroy the Duke of *Glocester*, with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby* and *Nottingham*, and others of the contrary Party. Here the Earl of *Suffolk* and chief Justice *Tresilian* join'd with the utmost Zeal; and having form'd their Design and agreed upon the Execution, the King came to *Nottingham*, bringing the Duke of *Ireland* and the rest of the Cabal along with him; to which Place they summon'd divers Citizens of *London*, the Sheriffs of every County, and all the Judges of *England*. They advis'd with the Sheriffs about what Forces they could raise for the King's Service against the Lords, and commanded them, *That they should not suffer any to be return'd as Members for the next Parliament, but such as the King and his Council should nominate.* To which the Sheriffs reply'd, *That the Commons generally favour'd the said Lords, so that it was not in their Power to raise an Army in that Case; and as for Parliament Men, they could not hinder the People from keeping to their ancient Custom of free Elections.* But the Answers of the Judges were more agreeable to the Court than those of the Sheriffs; and the better to colour these Proceedings with a Form of Law, several Questions were propounded to the Judges, touching the late Provisions, or Act of Parliament, giving the eleven Lords Power to inspect and punish Miscarriages in the King's Ministers. But the main Question was, Whether by the Law of the Land the King might not disannul the Decrees of the last Parliament: They jointly answer'd *He might, because he was above the Law*; confessing also, *That they themselves had in that Parliament given their Judgment that Things were according to Law, which now they acknowledg'd to be contrary to it.* But when they were order'd to sign their Opinions in Writing, Sir *Robert Belknap*, chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, stood out against the rest; but being highly threaten'd by the Duke of *Ireland* and Earl of *Suffolk*, he at last consented, and having put his Seal to it, he broke forth into these Words: *Now I want nothing but a Hurdle and a Halter to bring me to the Death I deserve: If I had refus'd it, I had suffer'd by your Hands; and now I have gratify'd the King and you, I deserve to die for betraying the Nobility of the Kingdom.* The King having the Lawyers of his Side, endeavour'd to raise Forces in several Parts of the Land, but with no great Effect; and after a long Progress, he return'd to *London*, where he was receiv'd with great Pomp and Splendor, and where his Friends were most numerous.

They form a pernicious Design at Nottingham.

The Judges join with them.

The Duke of *Glocester* and the Lords of his Party finding the Designs of the Courtiers against them, first endeavour'd to vindicate, and then to defend themselves against their Artifices. And the Duke offer'd to purge himself by Oath before the Bishop of *London*, *That he had no Design against the King's Person or Dignity*; with which the Bishop acquainted the King, and was like to have obtain'd Credit, 'till the Earl of *Suffolk* violently incens'd his Majesty against the Duke. For which the Bishop took the liberty to tell him openly, *That it became him to be wholly silent, since he stood condemn'd in Parliament, and liv'd only by the King's Grace and Favour.* But finding the King so much at the Earl's Disposal as to command him out of his Presence, he inform'd the Duke how much the King was influenc'd by his wicked Counsellors, and advis'd him to obviate the Destruction prepar'd for him. Whereupon the Duke immediately sent for the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and *Derby*, Eldest Son to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who all resolv'd to raise an Army and stand upon their Guard, and so treat with the King concerning the publick Affairs, and *that immoderate Favour shown to them who were Traitors both to him and the Publick.* But the King endeavour'd to have surpriz'd them singly, before they had join'd their Forces; but failing in the Design, the Confederate Lords march'd towards *London* to *Haringay-Park* near *Highgate*, where at their

The Duke of Glocester and others oppose them.

They take up Arms, and march towards London.

Ren-

Rendezvous they muster'd above forty thousand Men. This broke all the King's Measures, and prevented a Voyage he had design'd for *France*; where, as *Walsingham* assures us, he was to have deliver'd up *Calais* and other important Places to the *French* King, which by the fatal Counsel of his Flatterers he was to have sold to that Prince, on Condition he would assist him to subdue his rebellious Nobility. The King was now in great Confusion, and held several Consultations with his Favourites; and being one Time willing to divert himself by the rambling Discourse of a crack'd-brain Knight call'd Sir *Hugh de Linn*, kept by the Charity of the Courtiers, he jocularly ask'd him, *What he should do with the Lords at Haringay-Park?* To which Sir *Hugh* answer'd very gravely, *Let us march out, Sir, and kill every Man of them; and then, by God's Eyes, you'll have bravely destroy'd the most faithful Subjects in your Kingdom.*

*They appear
before the King,*

*and are seem-
ingly reconcil'd.*

This was thought by some to contain a dangerous Truth, but was not duely follow'd; however the most peaceable Men procur'd that the Lords should repair safely to *Westminster*, and there be heard. Upon their near Approach, they were advertis'd by the Bishop of *Ely* and others who had sworn and engag'd for their safe Conduct, that at the *Muse* near *Charing-Cross*, a thousand armed Men under Sir *Thomas Trivet* and Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, lay in Ambush to intercept them. The King clear'd himself upon Oath from this Design; and being seated in his Royal Robes in *Westminster-Hall*, with many of his Prelates and Peers about him, the Lords presented themselves before him upon their Knees; and being demanded of the Bishop of *Ely* the Lord Chancellor, *Why they were assembled in warlike manner contrary to the Laws*, their joint Answer was, *That they were assembled for the Good of the King and Kingdom, and to root out such Traitors as were Enemies to both*; naming the Duke of *Ireland*, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, chief Justice *Tresilian*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, whom they averr'd to be no less, and thereupon flung down their Gloves, in Token that they were ready to prove them so by Combate. The King, knowing that they were out of the Way, told these Lords, *That at the next Parliament, all Parties should receive according to their Deserts*; and then with a loftier Air he demanded of them, *How they durst presume to levy Forces against their Sovereign? Could they think to terrifie him by their Presumption? Had not he Soldiers sufficient to have destroy'd them like Cattle? Therefore in that Respect he esteem'd of them no more than the meanest Scullion in his Kitchen.* After these and other high Words, he took up the Duke his Uncle from the Ground, and bad all the rest rise; and after some more kind Discourse, and drinking with the King, they took their Leaves. Two Days after, to appease the Lords and satisfy the People, he caus'd a Proclamation to be publish'd in *London*, seemingly in Excuse and Vindication of the the Duke of *Glocester* and his Associates; but more to amuse them, and to preserve his beloved Favourites from the Storm that threaten'd 'em.

*They defeat the
King's Forces.*

But notwithstanding all the King's Promises, the Lords knowing his fleeting and variable Temper, and the vast Influence of his Favourites, thought it safest not to separate themselves, but with a vigilant Eye to observe their Motions; which prov'd much to their Advantage: For the Duke of *Ireland* and others, not daring to hazard the Justice of a Parliament, with the King's Privy, had rais'd considerable Forces in *Wales* and *Cheshire*. To prevent this, *Henry* Earl of *Derby* and others march'd with a great Part of their Army, and met the Duke near *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*, who at the first Charge cowardly fled away, and left a brave Commander call'd *Molineaux* to be slain in the Field, and an easy Victory to the Earl of *Derby*. The Duke fled into *Holland*, where meeting with cold Entertainment, he went to *Utrecht*, and after two or three Years wandering as a Traitor, he dy'd at *Lovain* in *Brabant*. Amongst his Baggage was taken a considerable Sum of Gold, and, what was of greater Moment, the King's

King's Letters, ordering him to come to *London*, and promising him to live and die with him against all Opposers. This Defeat confounded the whole Cabal of the Favourites; the Earl of *Suffolk* in Disguise fled to *Calais*, where his own Brother, being Governor of the Castle, not only refus'd to harbour him, but seiz'd and deliver'd him into the Hands of the Lord *Beauchamp*, who commanded the Town, who return'd him back Prisoner to the King in *England*, where he was set at large. The King betook himself to the Tower of *London*, and there made Provision for his Winter-Quarters: And what added to his present Confusion, about the same Time an Envoy from the *French* King was taken with Letters, in which he sent a safe Conduct to King *Richard*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and some others, to come to *Boloign*; where he would be ready to receive them according to his Royal Dignity and Character; and then he was likewise to take Possession of *Calais*, and other strong Places, for which *Walsingham* says he had already made King *Richard* Part of Payment.

The King retires to the Tower of London.

The Confederate Lords finding that such considerable Territories were in danger of being lost abroad, as well as fresh Extravagancies acted at home, in the Beginning of the Year march'd from *Oxford* to *London* with an Army of forty thousand Men; at whose Arrival the Mayor and Aldermen deliver'd up the Keys of the City, while the Citizens furnish'd them with all necessary Provisions. Then causing all suspicious Places to be search'd, the Lords took up their Head Quarters in the Suburbs, protesting that they would not depart without a personal Conference with the King, which at length he granted, when he saw he could no longer withstand it. Having first permitted the Duke of *Glocester* and the other Lords to search the Tower, where he then lodg'd, they waited upon him there; and after some few cold Compliments, they laid before him the Confederation against their Lives at *Nottingham*; his late Letters to the Duke of *Ireland*, contrary to his Royal Word and Agreement made at *Westminster*, together with his dishonourable Treaty for delivering up *Calais* to the *French*, and other Matters. The King heard them with a formal Patience and a dejected Countenance, and with Tears running down his Cheeks; which warm Drops, and the Consideration of the King's Youth and easie Nature, mollify'd the Lords and caus'd them to relent. But to end all Contests, it was at last positively agreed That he should meet them the next Day at *Westminster*, there to treat of the weighty and necessary Affairs of the Realm. Yet as soon as they were gone, some false Friends suggested to him That his Going would be neither safe for his Person, nor consonant to his Dignity; whereupon the King chang'd his Mind, and began to retract his Promise; which Mutability so inrag'd the Lords, then flush'd with Success and Power, that they sent him this peremptory Message, *That if he thus trifled with them, and would not come according to Appointment, they would take other Measures, and proceed to the Election of another Prince.* This so terrify'd the King, that he did not only meet them, but also consented to the perpetual Banishment of these Favourites, namely, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Bishop of *Chichester*, the King's Confessor, the Lords *Zouch* and *Beaumont*, and several Knights; together with certain Ladies, who were not only useless and chargeable to the Court, but likewise scandalous and infamous in their Conversations; such were the Lady *Mohun*, the Lady *de Molyns*, and the Lady *Poynings*. Several others were at the same Time taken into close Custody, as Sir *Simon Burley*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, Sir *William Elenham*, Sir *John Beauchamp*, and several of the Clergy. As for the Judges, *Fulthorp*, *Belknap*, *Holt*, *Burgh*, *Cury* and *Lacton*, they were arrested as they sat upon the Bench; but *Tresilian* at present made his Escape, tho' he was not long after discover'd and sent to the Tower.

A. D.

1388.

Reg. 11.

The confederate Lords attend him there.

The King is forc'd to comply.

Many brought to Punishment.

The Parliament began at *Candlemass*, in which the confederate Lords justify'd their former Proceedings, and had twenty thousand Pounds given them out of a Tax upon Leather and Wool, in Consideration of their Labour and Expences,

A Parliament meets call'd the Unmerciful Parliament.

Expences, for the Honour, Profit and Safety of the King and Kingdom. After which they proceeded to draw up many Articles of Impeachment against the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and chief Justice *Tresilian*; in which they were accus'd of High-Treason, as well as other Crimes too numerous to mention here. *Tresilian*, lying in Disguise at a House near the Parliament to discover daily Passages, was betray'd by one of his Servants; and after much ignominious Usage, was drawn through the City and hang'd at *Tyburn*. Sir *Nicholas Brambre's* Turn was next, who being Companion to *Tresilian* in his Actions, exactly follow'd him in his Fortunes. Then Sir *John Salisbury*, and Sir *James Berners*, two young Knights, Sir *John Beauchamp* Steward of the King's Household, and *John Blake* Esquire, were likewise sacrific'd to the publick Revenge. But the Death of Sir *Simon Burly*, the King's Chamberlain, was thought less justifiable than all the rest, who only met with the Favour of being beheaded. The Bishop of *Chichester* was likewise condemn'd, and all the Judges, for signing the dangerous Paper at *Nottingham*; but at length they found so much Mercy as to be banish'd into *Ireland*, where they had some Allowance for their Subsistence. The Duke of *Ireland*, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Earl of *Suffolk* and others had their Estates confiscated to the King's Use by Act of Parliament. After which an Act of Indemnity was pass'd for the Pardon of all other Persons concern'd on either Side, during the late Insurrections: And it was likewise declar'd by the Parliament, *That considering the tender Age of the King, and the Innocency of his Royal Person, nothing should be accounted any Fault or Dishonesty in his Person in any manner, nor should turn to his personal Prejudice by any Contrivance or Interpretation whatsoever.* Last of all the Parliament petition'd the King, that for nourishing of greater Love, Peace and Tranquility in his Kingdom, he would be pleas'd to renew his Coronation Oath, and that the Prelates might renew their Fealty, and the Lords Temporal their Homage, notwithstanding it had been done formerly. To all which the King assented, and perform'd it with the utmost Pomp and Ceremony in the Abby Church at *Westminster*, after publick Mass and Sermon, and with the solemn Execrations of the Arch-Bishop against all Infringers whatsoever. On the next Day, being the fourth of *June*, the Parliament ended; which, says *Knighton*, was call'd the *Unmerciful* Parliament; since by the rigid and severe Proceedings against the Favourites, they so far alienated the King's Affections from his Uncle the Duke of *Glocester*, and the rest of the Lords of his Party, that he never forgave them as long as he liv'd.

The King renews his Coronation Oath.

Actions against Scotland.

During these intestine Struggles in the Nation, the *Scots* found Opportunity to invade the Northern Parts of *England* under the Conduct of Sir *William Douglass* a brave young Knight, a Parallel and Rival in the Honour of Arms to the famous *Henry Hotspur* Lord *Piercy*, whom *Hotspur* fighting Hand to Hand, slew in Battel. But the Earl of *Dunbar* coming up with a great Number of *Scots*, took *Hotspur* and his Brother Prisoners, and kill'd many of the *English*, but not without great Loss to his own Men. About the same Time the Earl of *Arundel* again put out to Sea, and burnt, sunk or took fourscore *French* Ships, and likewise seiz'd and plunder'd the Isles of *Rea* and *Oleron*, together with some other smaller Islands in those Parts. This occasion'd a Meeting between the *English* and *French* Envoys at *Calais* the next Year about concluding a Peace: And tho', because the *French* insisted upon having the *Scots* and *Spaniards* included, the Conclusion was deferr'd; yet shortly after it was resolv'd upon for three Years, and the *Scots* also included.

A Peace with Scotland and France.

A. D.
1289.
Reg. 13.

III. The Affairs of *England* were for a Time in a quiet and peaceable Posture; when in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, by the Advice of some of his Courtiers, summoning a full Council, he demanded of them *How old they took him to be?* They answer'd him *Somewhat above twenty one Years* At which he

he reply'd, *Then I am of full Age, and capable to manage my own Inheritance; and certainly I ought not to be in a worse Condition than any of my Subjects; for every common Heir at that Age enjoys his Estate, and takes it into his own Hands.* The Lords keeping a profound Silence, the King thus proceeded, *'Tis well known, That for many Years I have liv'd under your Tuition, and We thank you for the Pains you have taken; but having attain'd to a full Age, We are resolv'd to continue no longer in Ward, but to take the Government of the Realm into Our own Hands, and to appoint and remove such Officers and Ministers as We think fit.* Accordingly he forthwith commanded the Arch-Bishop of York, then Lord-Chancellor, to resign the Seal; which being done, the King took it and retir'd, but soon after return'd and gave it to William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester. He likewise turn'd out the Bishop of Hereford from the Office of Treasurer, and put another of less Quality in his Room; and chang'd several chief Ministers of State, partly to shew his Authority, and partly to manifest his Displeasure; particularly he remov'd his Uncle the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Warwick and others from his Privy-Council, and admitted others more agreeable to his Disposition. And indeed the King, tho' he was of Age, yet still shew'd himself a Minor in the Art of Governing; making so unhappy a Choice of new Ministers and Favourites, as in a short Time brought the Kingdom into great Confusion. Shortly after this Change, some Detractors had so prevail'd upon the King, as to make him believe that the Duke of Gloucester was forming some Design against him; but upon Examination, the Falshood and Malice of it soon appear'd; and the King blush'd at his own Credulity against so near and eminent a Relation: And tho' divers of the Inventers of these Reports were present when the Duke would have question'd them, yet the King charg'd him, as he lov'd him, not to stir any further in the Matter.

The King declares himself of Age.

He takes the Government upon himself.

His unhappy Management.

While the King was under the Apprehensions of one Rival, another more formidable arriv'd in England, which was the Duke of Lancaster from his Spanish Expedition, who had marry'd his Daughter Philippa to the King of Portugal, and had made a Peace with the King of Castile, for which he receiv'd an immense Sum for the first Payment, and for the Second, the King of Castile sent him forty seven Mules laden with Gold. This great Warrior was graciously receiv'd, and he happily reconcil'd the King and some of the Nobility: But whether the King found the Keeping of Gascony an unprofitable Burthen, or the Absence of this Uncle worth the purchasing at any Rate, in the following Year in a Parliament he invest'd him with that famous Dukedom, by delivering him the Cap of State and Ducal Rod. The Duke went over shortly after to take Possession of his new Government; and his valiant Son Henry of Bullingbroke Earl of Derby, unwilling to spend his Time in Idleness, and eager after Glory and Fame, sail'd to the Wars in Prussia, where in several Actions against the Lithuanians, he gain'd extraordinary Honour; which being afterwards compar'd with King Richard's Softness, made a Way for him into the Hearts and Affections of the English Nation. However the King employ'd his Time in the Appearances of War and in feign'd Combates; of which a short Account may give the Reader some Idea of the Romantick Humour of this Age. The King appointed Royal Jufts and Tournaments to be perform'd in Smithfield, and to begin on Sunday after Michaelmas's Day; which was proclaim'd in all the Courts of Christendom by certain Heralds sent for that Purpose. Upon which Notice great Numbers of Noblemen and Knights from France, Germany and the Low-Countries came over to London; particularly William Earl of Ostravant, and Valerian Earl of St. Paul, who had marry'd the King's Sister. The Solemnity began from the Tower of London with a noble Cavalcade of sixty Ladies richly adorn'd, who riding upon fine Palfreys, led every one their Knight by a Chain of Silver by her Side, garnish'd with white Harts and golden Crowns, having their Courfers led before by as many Esquires of Honour; and in this

The Duke of Lancaster returns from Spain.

A. D.

1390.

Reg. 13.

He is sent into Gascony.

A famous Tournament.

pompous Manner they pass'd through *Cheap-side* to *Smithfield*. The Jufts continu'd for many Days, in which the King himself perform'd his part, and the Nights concluded with Musick, Dancings and softer Entertainments; and during this Time the King and Queen lodg'd at the Bishop's Palace by *St. Paul's Church*, and kept a most magnificent House for all Strangers and others.

Laws against
the Papal In-
croachments.

A. D.

1391.

Reg. 14.

A new Parliam-
ent.

The Pope now understood that the *English* State began again to be sensible of the *Romish* Incroachments; and as in a former Parliament they had pass'd an Act to prevent all Collations of Bishopricks and Dignities by the Pope, with Banishment to all such as accepted the Collations, and Death to all that brought any Excommunications from *Rome* to hinder the Execution of the Act; so in the present Parliament another severe Act was made against all such as should go to the Pope to procure any such Provisions. A Proclamation was also publish'd at *London*, That all benefic'd Persons then in the Court of *Rome*, should return by a prefix'd Day, or lose their Livings. The Pope himself, alarm'd with so great a Thunder-clap, sent with all speed into *England* to persuade this easie King, that such Statutes as were made in Prejudice of those who follow'd the Court of *Rome*, and such other Clauses as tended to the Damage of that See, should be abolish'd. To which the King answer'd *That the Pope's Nuncio must wait 'till the next Parliament*; at which Parliament the King, as also the Duke of *Lancaster* who was by that Time return'd, seem'd to have some Respect to his Holiness, whose Nuncio was there present; but the Commons would by no means give their Consents, That such *Rome-Rangers*, as they were call'd, should without due Punishment pursue their usual Courses any longer than 'till the next Parliament. At the same Time, to furnish the Duke of *Lancaster* into *France*, to treat of a Peace, and to promote the King's intended Invasion of *Scotland*, large Supplies were given both by the Clergy and Laity. Hereupon *Henry Hotspur*, who had long since ransom'd himself, was recall'd from his Charge at *Calais*, and made Commander of the Marches against *Scotland*; and was succeeded by the Earl of *Nottingham* in the Government of *Calais*. The Duke of *Lancaster's* chargeable Employment in *France* produc'd no other Fruits than one Year's short Truce.

The Splendor
of the King's
Court.

A. D.

1392.

Reg. 15.

London de-
priv'd of all
her Privileges.

However this gave King *Richard* leisure to live according to his Inclination, which was to keep the greatest and noblest Court of any King in *Europe*; and his Subjects led by his Example, abandoning all Thoughts of Frugality, gave themselves over to Luxury. Great was the Excess of Diet, the Pomp and Grandeur of his Court, in Apparel inimitable, in Number of Servants exceeding all Belief; ten thousand Men fed daily on his Bread, the Queen had three hundred Women belonging to her Service, and three hundred was the Number that belong'd to the Kitchen. In his private Family he knew not how to deny any Thing, and the Easiness of obtaining Favours debas'd the Value of them; his Expences were innumerable, so that his ordinary Revenues not sufficing, he was forc'd to use extraordinary Means. His immoderate Affection to his Servants, his Uncles Power, and the Peoples Hatred, being not sufficient to undo him, his own immense Prodigality in Time effected it, without which he could not easily have been ruin'd. Being under Necessities, and perhaps willing to try whether he might rely upon a greater Sum, he desir'd to borrow of the City of *London* a thousand Pound, an inconsiderable Sum for such a King and so rich a City; yet he was not only refus'd, but when an *Italian* Merchant freely offer'd to lend the Money, he was for his Officiousness barbarously beaten and almost slain. This, and a Tumult rais'd not long after by a Baker, so inrag'd the King that he committed the Mayor close Prisoner, seiz'd the Liberties of the City into his own Hands, annull'd all their Privileges, and commanded that for the future no Mayor should be elected, but he would appoint one that should be call'd *Keeper* of the City; and more than this, he remov'd the Terms and Courts of Judicature to the City of *York*. But the Duke of *Glocester* and others were not wanting to intercede with the King on Behalf of the *Londoners*.

ners, of whom the principal were brought before him to *Windsor*, and submitted themselves and Fortunes to his Mercy; with whom he seem'd so well satisfy'd that three Days after he came to *London*, where he was met with the most imaginable Pomp and Magnificence. And to make their Peace, they presented the King with a Crown of Gold of great Value, and another of the same Metal to the Queen, together with many other noble Gifts; by which means they got their Privileges to be restor'd, and confirm'd to them, with the Election of a Mayor, and all Things as formerly. But after all their chargeable Presents, and their Submissions, the King forc'd them to pay ten thousand Pound by way of Fine, or else they must have ventur'd the Effects of his new Displeasure; which severe Usage lost him the Affections of the Citizens ever after. It was the following Year before the King remov'd his Courts of Judicature from the City of *York* to *London*. In this Year a Parliament was held at *Winchester*, in which were granted to the King a *Tenth* by the Clergy, and a *Fifteenth* by the Laity for the Expences of the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, who were then going over into *France* to treat about a Peace. But their expensive Journey prov'd of no great Effect, and a final Peace could not be then concluded, by reason that the King of *France* had been seiz'd with an unaccountable sort of Frenzy.

But is restor'd
with great Ex-
pence.

A. D.
1393.
Reg. 17.

The following Year was remarkable for the Death of several illustrious Persons, particularly Queen *Anne*, who to the King's great Grief deceas'd at his Manor of *Sheen*. Her Death was such a sensible Affliction to him, that he not only ever after hated the Place, but also defac'd it by pulling down the Pinnacles, and demolishing the Apartment where she dy'd. She had the Character of a beautiful, charitable and good humour'd Lady, but too much given to her Pleasures, of which she is said to have repented on her Death-Bed: We are told that she first taught the *English* Ladies the modest Custom of riding on Side-Saddles, whereas before they rode astride like Men. About this Time dy'd the Dutches of *Lancaster*, the Countess of *Derby*, and not long after the Dutches of *York*; as if Fortune had conspir'd to make almost all the Princes of the Blood accompany the King in his Widowership. These Afflictions did not alter the King's Resolution of passing over personally into *Ireland*; nor did they divert the Duke of *Lancaster* from going to his Dukedom of *Gascony*. In *Ireland* the wilder sort had much broken in upon the *English* Establishments, and done great Damage to the good Subjects of *England*; so that tho' in the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, *Ireland* annually yielded thirty thousand Pounds into the King's Exchequer, now it was so out of Order, that it cost the King thirty thousand Marks a Year for its Defence. To reduce the Rebellious he himself led a brave Army against 'em, attended by the Duke of *Glocester*, with the Earls of *Marche*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*. The Terror of his Preparations, and the shining Presence of a King, which of all Things was most grateful to the *Irish*, had such good Effects, that many of their chief Men were compell'd to submit.

The Death of
Queen Anne,

and several o-
thers.

The King goes
into Ireland.

A. D.
1395.
Reg. 19.

To supply the King's Wants occasion'd by this *Irish* Expedition, the King's Uncle the Duke of *York*, as *Custos* or Warden of *England*, call'd a Parliament at *London*, where the Duke of *Glocester* also repair'd to declare the King's Occasions, and had liberal Supplies granted. But before the King could perform much more in *Ireland*, the Bishops and Clergy were so alarm'd with the bold and numerous Accusations which the *Wickliffites* or *Lollards* had made against their Body, that they sent the Arch-Bishop of *York* and the Bishop of *London* to the King, begging of him to hasten his Return, to defend and succour the true Faith, and Holy Church, that were both in danger of being ruin'd by the Hereticks, who were contriving how to take away the Possessions of the Church, and overthrow all Canonical Sanctions. The King greatly surpriz'd at the News, leaving the Earl of *Marche* his Lieutenant in *Ireland*, hasten'd into *England*, where he safely arriv'd in the Beginning of May. Upon his

The Wicklif-
fites prosecuted.

The King's
Fondness to the
Duke of Ire-
land.

Arrival he severely reprimanded some of the Nobility and Gentry, who were the chief Favourers of these *Lollards*, causing Sir *Richard Story* publickly to abjure their Principles, openly declaring, *That if he ever found him to relapse, he should suffer Death without Mercy.* And now the King, in Memory of his former great Favourite the Duke of *Ireland*, who dy'd at *Lovain* in great Misery, order'd his Body to be embalm'd and brought into *England*. His Love arose to that Fondness, that he commanded his Cyphers Coffin to be open'd, that he might view and handle the Body of his Friend, and openly express his Affection. The Body was carry'd to the Priory of *Colne* in *Essex*, where a magnificent Funeral was made for it; the King in Person, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Countess Dowager of *Oxford*, Mother to the Deceas'd, being the chief Mourners; and several Bishops and Abbots attended, but very few of the Nobility would appear, as having not yet digested their Resentments against him.

A. D. 1396. Reg. 19. 20. All this Time the Duke of *Lancaster* continu'd in *Gascony*, where he endeavour'd to gain the Peoples Affections by his extraordinary Munificence; but when his Hopes were at the highest, he receiv'd a Command from King *Richard* to return, in order to go with him into *France* to finish a Treaty then on Foot; all which he readily obey'd. The King being then at *Langly* in *Hartfordshire*, the Duke was there entertain'd with more Honour, as it was believ'd,

The Duke of
Lancaster re-
pairs to Lin-
coln.

than real Affection. Having leave to depart for a Time, he repair'd to the City of *Lincoln*, where he had a Palace, and there marry'd the Lady *Catharine Swinford*, Widow to Sir *Thomas Swinford*, his old Mistress, by whom he had four Children during the Life of his Dutcheß. But this Match highly discontented the Duke of *Glocester* and others, who judg'd it a great Dishonour to the Royal Family. However the Duke, in the next Parliament procur'd an Act to Legitimate all the Children he had by this Lady, and surnam'd them *Beaufort*; and one of them was by the King's Favour created Earl of *Somerset*.

The King in
France marries
Isabel the
French King's
Daughter.

All things being prepar'd, the King accompany'd by his two Uncles of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, at a most magnificent and expensive Interview between him and *Charles* King of *France*, between *Calais* and *Ardres*, espous'd the Princess *Isabel*, Daughter to that King. The young Lady was then no more than seven or eight Years of Age, but King *Richard* receiv'd her with many Compliments and great Solemnity, and a Truce was thereupon concluded for thirty Years. Her Person was committed to the Dutcheß of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, and other great Ladies, who conducted her to *Calais*; from whence, after a short Stay, the King and all the glorious Company came over into *England*, where the young Queen was crown'd with great Solemnity at *Westminster* by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. The King lost his rich Tents, and a great Part of his Equipage at Sea; and our Author tells us, That this Journey and Interview, besides innumerable Presents made, cost the King three hundred thousand Marks, which was more than all the Portion he receiv'd with his Queen. And the Duke of *Glocester* was neither satisfy'd with the Truce or the Match, and took the liberty to say, *That it had been more proper to recover by Arms what the King's Father and Grand-father had lost in France, than to enter into new Alliances with that Crown, which had always better Success in Treaties than Wars with England.*

A. D. 1397. Reg. 20. 21. IV. In the twentieth Year of this Reign all Things seem'd to be in a peaceable and quiet Condition in *England*; and the King found a Parliament that was ready to comply with his Desires, and grant whatever he demanded. Yet all this did not satisfy the King's Occasions; for upon certain Rumours spread abroad, That he either was now, or else very shortly to be chosen Emperor, he thereupon began to take greater State upon him, and a higher way of Living than ever before: To maintain which he fleec'd his Subjects, and borrow'd

The King's Ex-
travagancies.

Wain
Fruit
Faint
&c.

row'd large Sums of Mony; so that there was no Prelate, Man of Quality, or Citizen of any Estate in the Kingdom, but were oblig'd to lend the King Mony, tho' much against their Wills; which was one of the main Things that turn'd the Trading Part of the Nation against him. When he had thus far compass'd his Designs, he resolv'd to proceed, and remove such as either had or might oppose him. And seeing his Uncle the Duke of *Glocester* stood most in his Way, he design'd to begin with him, and destroy him first, not by Law, but by secret Contrivances. What mov'd the King to act so ungenerously, is variously reported: *Froisart* and *Polydore Virgil* with Probability relate, That the Duke carrying himself with too great Pride and Moroseness towards the King, he sometimes complain'd to his two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York* of their Brother's haughty and disobliging Carriage towards him. They, to excuse him and pacifie the King, alledg'd, *That tho' their Brother was more hot and vehement than became him, yet they durst assure his Majesty that his Heart was dutiful and loyal; and that this Vehemency proceeded from a zealous Regard he had to the Honour and Revenues of his Majesty;* with which the King seem'd satisfy'd at present. But however, these Dukes not knowing how much they might be involv'd in that Displeasure which they perceiv'd he retain'd against their Brother, thought fit to retire from Court; and by that means gave the Duke of *Glocester*'s Enemies the greater Opportunities to incense the King against him. At length many Designs were laid to the Duke's Charge, and many Things whisper'd against him, who had given but too much occasion for disadvantageous Reports; so that the King being under great Apprehensions, resolv'd to secure him by a Stratagem, which he thus effected. The Duke being at his Manor of *Pleshy* in *Essex*, the King from a Hunting Seat came in a Summer's Evening to give him a Visit, where he was receiv'd with all due Respect by him and his Dutcheffs. After a short Refreshment, he commanded the Duke to order some of his Horses to be Saddled, to bear him Company that Night to *London* upon an extraordinary Council; upon which the Duke with only five or six Attendants, immediately mounted and accompany'd him towards *London*, while the other entertain'd him with the most familiar and obliging Discourse. Coming near *Stratford*, where an Ambush was laid to apprehend him, the King suddenly clapp'd Spurs to his fleet Horse, and left the Duke to be unexpectedly seiz'd by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and a great Number of Horsemen; who hurry'd the unfortunate Prince to a Vessel prepar'd for him on the *Thames* and carry'd him over to *Calais*, where he was kept close Prisoner, and never return'd after.

The King's Designs against the Duke of Glocester.

The Duke of Glocester seiz'd and carry'd to Calais.

The King being now resolv'd to finish his intended Projects, proceeded after the like manner with the rest of the Duke's Party; and to that End he sent for the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel* to Court, where he treated them with gracious Words and Promises, but in their Return arrested them for Treason and sent them to the *Tower*, as he did not long after the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *John Cheney*, with several others of the same Faction. The Nation being much alarm'd at these uncommon Proceedings, the King by a Declaration set forth, *That the Lords lately apprehended were not thus treated for former Offences, but for certain new Treasons, which should be prov'd in due Time;* tho', as *Walsingham* says, the Event declar'd the contrary. After this he call'd a grand Council of Peers at *Nottingham*, in which several Lords were accus'd, and left to answer in the next Parliament to meet at *Westminster* in the middle of *September*: In the Election of which Parliament our Historians tell us, That the King by certain indirect Practices, and Management of the Sheriffs of the Counties, whom he had made for his Purpose, caus'd them to return such Members of Parliament, as he had before nominated: Which is the first Example of any King's making use of an arbitrary Power in this Kind, and which prov'd one grand Step to his Ruin. In this Parliament the King had a great Guard of *Cheshire* Men to secure his Person; and the Lords attended also

Others seiz'd.

The King makes a Parliament of his own.

which advances his Prerogative.

also with no small Numbers about him. The Bishop of *Exeter*, then Lord Chancellor, open'd the Session with an Oration upon a Text of Scripture, and declar'd the Royal Power to be the only real Power, and that those who endeavour'd to destroy or diminish it, deserv'd the severest Punishments. Then Sir *John Busby*, a Creature of the King's, being by him nominated Speaker, the Parliament proceeded to reverse all the Proceedings in that of the eleventh Year of this Reign; and first of all that Commission which had empower'd eleven Lords to inspect the publick Revenues of the Nation, declaring it obtain'd traiterously, by Constraint, and against the Royal Crown and Dignity. Next they annull'd all the Pardons granted to the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* and others, as being obtain'd by Constraint, and against the King's Will; not considering, says our Author, that the recalling such Pardons struck at the King's Safety; for since Mercy is the Strength of the Royal Throne, whoever takes that away destroys its main Foundation. In Sum this Parliament revers'd every Thing of moment enacted nine Years before by that which was call'd the *Unmerciful Parliament*; such uncertain Things have these general Assemblies been, when manag'd either by Court Intrigues, or popular Factions.

Many of the Nobility condemn'd by it.

The Consequences of these Proceedings were first the Impeachment and Condemnation of *Thomas Arundel* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, chiefly for being traiterously concern'd in the above-nam'd Commission for inspecting the publick Revenues; for which he was banish'd the Kingdom, and had all his Temporalities confiscated. Next the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* were impeach'd and condemn'd of High-Treason that had pass'd nine and ten Years before, and for which they had been pardon'd. The former was behead'd on *Tower-Hill*, where his Behaviour was extraordinary; and seeing his Son-in-Law the Earl of *Nottingham*, and his Nephew the Earl of *Kent* present with all the Marks of Satisfaction, he calmly told them, *That it became them at least to have been absent from such a Sight; but the Time would shortly come, when as many should admire at their Misfortune, as they now did at his.* *Froisart* says that the King was present at the Execution, and *Walsingham* affirms, that he was often hunted with an Apparition or Imagination of his Ghost; for he no sooner clos'd his Eyes to Sleep, but he fancy'd *Arundel* stood by him. The Earl of *Warwick* pleading guilty, obtain'd a more merciful Sentence, being condemn'd to a perpetual Imprisonment in the Isle of *Man*. But the Duke of *Glocester*, being too popular and formidable to be brought to a publick Trial, was not long before by the King's Order secretly smother'd by Pillows and Feather-Beds at *Calais*, where it was reported he dy'd of an Apoplexy; after which he was attainted of High-Treason, and had all his Lands and Possessions confiscated to the King's Use. This was the unfortunate End of a Man majestick, valiant and brave, but of a restless and turbulent Temper, which being blown up by his Greatness, brought him into many unjustifiable Actions, which at length produc'd his Ruin. After this the King to strengthen his Party, and to kindle new Lights in the Room of such as he had extinguish'd, made his Cousin *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, Duke of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Rutland* Duke of *Albermarl*, the Earl of *Kent* Duke of *Surrey*, the Earl of *Huntington* Duke of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Nottingham* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Somerset* Marquess of *Dorset*, the Lord *Spenser* Earl of *Glocester*, the Lord *Neville* Earl of *Westmorland*, *William Scrope* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worcester*. Among these, to maintain their Dignities, the King made a Distribution of the greater Part of the Lands of the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, hoping to have bound them by a double Obligation of Duty and Affection; not considering that such purchas'd Friends are seldom well satisfy'd, or true in Time of Need.

The Duke of Glocester murder'd.

His Character.

New Advancements.

A. D.

1398.

Reg. 21.

This Parliament was so highly serviceable to the Court Designs, that contrary to the usual Methods of these Times, it was only prorogu'd, and sum-
mon'd to meet at *Shrewsbury*, as a Place more proper than *Westminster*. Here the

the bold Assertions and Opinions that the Judges had made at *Nottingham*, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, for which they suffer'd, were now confirm'd to be good in Law; and the whole Proceedings of the Parliament held in the same Year, at once declar'd to be null and void, as being done contrary to the Will and Liberty of the King, and the Dignity of his Crown. The Judges also at this Time gave their Opinion, That when the King had propos'd Articles to be handled in Parliament, it was Treason to propose others 'till they were dispatch'd. Under a Pretence of Dispatch of Affairs the King by an unpresided Action obtain'd that the Authority of this Parliament should be delegated to a select Number of Lords and Commons appointed by himself; by which Act the whole Power of the Kingdom was now devolv'd upon the King, twelve Peers, and six Commoners. Then he granted a general Pardon to all except fifty Persons, whom he would not have nam'd, but reserv'd them for a Curb to his Nobility, to keep them still in Danger of being nam'd one of the fifty, if they displeas'd him. Lastly, to add the greater Strength and Reverence to the Acts and Proceedings of this Parliament, the King shortly after procur'd the Pope's Bull, containing great Execrations upon all that should presume to break or oppose them, which was solemnly publish'd at *St. Paul's Cross*, and other Places throughout *England*. Furthermore to gratify the *Cheshire Men*, who had chiefly assist'd him and his late Favourites, he honour'd that County with the Name and Dignity of a Principality, and added to the rest of his own Titles that of *Prince of Chester*, and to his Coat of Arms the suppos'd Bearing of *Edward the Confessor*.

Many dangerous Proceedings.

For the present all Things seem'd to concur with the King's Designs; the Heads of the Party that so long oppos'd him were cut off, and the Nobility either terrify'd or brib'd by Honours or Estates; the Commons were unable to express their Resentments otherwise than in Sighs and Murmurs, and the King's great Officers of State, and his very Parliaments were now modell'd according to his Pleasure; so that no King since the Conquest had been more absolute than he was at present. Yet notwithstanding all his Power and Grandeur, in a short Time by small Accidents and unlikely Instruments, he was more plung'd and embroil'd than ever, and without Resistance reduc'd to a short and speedy Overthrow. The Occasions of this great Revolution proceeded first from a Quarrel that arose between the Dukes of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, the former accusing the latter of certain Words spoken to him against the King's Person and Government. The Substance of the Words was, *That King Richard had no Regard to the Peers of the Land, but as much as he could endeavour'd to destroy them by banishing some and putting others to Death: That he never troubled his Thoughts with considering how his Dominions were diminish'd by his Carelessness; and that all Things ran to Ruin, both in the Time of Peace and War.* The Duke of *Norfolk* being accus'd, deny'd that he ever spoke such Words, and challenging his Adversary, *Coventry* was appointed by the King for the Place of Combate. Where both appearing in great Pomp, and the King being present with a mighty Train, as the two Combatants stood ready to engage, the King, under the Pretence of preventing deadly Feuds between two such Families, or rather to be freed from an Enemy tho' with the Loss of a Friend, banish'd the Duke of *Norfolk* for ever, and the Duke of *Hereford* for ten Years, and then for six. The former dy'd in a short Time miserable and unlamented at *Venice*; and 'tis observable that Sentence was pronounc'd against him on the same Day Twelve-Month that the Duke of *Glocester* had been murder'd by his Order at *Calais*; so just is the Divine Vengeance at some Times, not only in punishing Villanies, but in causing the Punishment to be attended with such Circumstances as may render it more conspicuous to the World.

The ill State of the Nation.

A Quarrel between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk.

Both are banish'd by the King.

The following Year is introduc'd by our Historian with strange and unusual Prodigies; as of a deep River's stopping its Course near *Bedford*, and remaining dry for three Miles without any visible Cause, and of all the Laurels withering

A. D.
1322.
Reg. 22.

thering throughout the Nation, and then re-flourishing contrary to Expectation. These were look'd upon as very ominous in those Times; and the first Consequence of them, as it was thought, was the Death of the great Duke of Lancaster, who deceas'd about *Candlemas*; a Prince active and courageous, and who had made a noble Figure in the World. He had the Character of a Man prudent and wary in his Actions, an Approver of safe Councils on good Reasons, rather than fortunate Exploits with Hazards; one that was neither too negligent or ambitious of Glory, and therefore deported himself towards the King his Nephew with a Respect decent enough for a moderate Prince, but not so much as the insatiable Desire of Arbitrary Power, join'd with the depraved Manners of the Court, might require. His brave Son, *Henry Duke of Hereford*, unjustly banish'd, ought to have inherited not only his Title, but also his vast Estate; but the King, being jealous of so great a Power in a near Relation he had so highly exasperated, took care to prevent it by seizing all his Possessions, and pronouncing his Banishment perpetual. This was done by a Meeting at *Westminster* of those few Lords and Commons, who had the Authority of a Parliament conferr'd upon them. And these proceeded to a more severe and unjust Action against one *Henry Bonet* Clerk, who for regularly procuring Letters Patents from the King in favour of the exil'd Duke, was adjudg'd as a Traitor to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd: Only by being the King's Chaplain, he found Favour to escape with Life, and so suffer'd perpetual Banishment.

The Death of the Duke of Lancaster.

His Character.

His Son Henry unjustly banish'd by the King.

The Publick in a dangerous Condition.

By these and the like arbitrary Acts, the Laws and Liberties of *England*, were reduc'd to a dangerous and languishing Condition; for the King having dispatch'd the Duke of *Glocester*, and the rest of the Noblemen who oppos'd him, and being now freed from his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaster* by Death, and his Son by Banishment, had the Liberty to act at Pleasure. His only remaining Uncle the Duke of *York*, being an easie and quiet Prince, more addicted to Pleasures than Business, and much govern'd by his Son the Duke of *Albermarl*, was so far from opposing, that he seem'd rather to countenance the King's late Actions, by voting with the present standing Committee of Parliament. So that the King now looking upon himself as *Hors-du-page*, and free from all Control, abandon'd himself to soft Ease and the destructive Charms of Pleasure; by whose fatal Example many of the Nobility deliver'd themselves up to Sloth and Luxury, which introduc'd Cowardice and Effeminacy, and destroy'd both Manhood and Reputation. The publick Affairs both at home and abroad were in a Condition answerable to such Managers, who had been long byass'd more by private Respects than publick Advantages; which caus'd the Nation to decline both in Honour and Riches; so that all Things being out of Order, the Commonwealth seem'd hastning into inevitable Ruin. The Northern Counties, through frequent Devastations and unfaithful Truces, were impoverish'd by the *Scots*, who had gain'd several important Posts, and depopulated those Parts with their continual Inroads. On the Seas the Merchants Ships were frequently surpriz'd by the *French*; and the King's Hereditary Dominions in *France* reduc'd to a narrow Compass, and many strong Places lost by Negligence or sold by Treachery. The Profits and Revenues of the Crown, and even of the whole Kingdom, were farm'd out to certain Favourites, who unmercifully rack'd and oppress'd the King's Subjects. Great Sums of Money were by new invented Methods, rather extorted than borrow'd from all Sorts of People, of which no Advantage accru'd to the Kingdom; only the King's private Pleasures were extravagantly maintain'd, and unworthy Favourites advanc'd. To add to all, Seventeen whole Counties, which ten Years before had join'd with the Duke of *Glocester*, notwithstanding the general Pardon, were now held guilty of High-Treason: For which they were forc'd to compound for a large Sum of Money, to take new Oaths of Allegiance, and the richest among them to sign and seal to a Blank, in which the appointed Officers might insert what Sum they

they pleas'd; which was sufficient to ruin whole Counties, as well as Families. In sum, the unfortunate King was not only furrounded, but in a manner besieged by ignorant Ministers and sordid Flatterers, who kept him from all Relief of good Counsel, and render'd him so universally hated, that great Numbers design'd to rebel at the first Opportunity; being resolv'd rather to run the Hazard of a short and speedy Ruin, than languish under the Torment of a tedious Slavery.

The King generally hated.

In the midst of these uneasie and unsettled Times the King imprudently resolv'd upon an Expedition into *Ireland*, to revenge the Death of his Lieutenant the Earl of *Marche*, the nearest Heir to the Crown, who had been slain in an Engagement with the wild *Irish*: In Order to which, he rais'd a numerous Army, but not without a vast Charge, and grievous Oppression of his Subjects, not only in levying Money by illegal Methods, but taking up Carriages, Victuals and other Necessaries without paying for them; which rash and unadvis'd Practices render'd himself and his Government still more and more uneasie to the Nation. About *Whitsontide* he took Shipping for *Ireland*, accompany'd with the Dukes of *Albermarl* and *Exeter*, the Sons of the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Lancaster*, and divers other Noblemen; but his Forces mostly consisted of *Cheeshire* Men, on whom he chiefly confided. He also carry'd over with him his chief Relicks, with his Plate and jewels of the Crown that were in his Treasure; as if he had design'd to have taken a final Leave both of his Kingdom and Dignity in *England*. At his going off, he committed a new Error in Politicks, which was his proclaiming the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Friends Traitors, and ordering their Estates to be seiz'd, only for not attending him in this Expedition, when their Presence was requir'd in the North against the *Scots*; which caus'd the Earl in a short Time to be one of the First that revolted from him. In the mean Time the King landed at *Waterford*, and immediately after his Arrival, march'd from *Dublin* against the *Irish* of *Ulster*, and got many little Victories in several Engagements he had with them; in all which, the King is said to have behav'd himself with great Courage and Resolution. And these petty *Irish* Princes were so terrify'd with the Force of his Arms, that they sent Envoys to him to petition for Pardon, and to sue for Peace, which at length they obtain'd, tho' with some Difficulty.

He makes an Expedition into Ireland,

But these inconsiderable Triumphs cost King *Richard* no less than his Kingdom: For while he was thus engag'd and absent from his discontented Nation, *Henry* the new Duke of *Lancaster* being invited over by many of the Nobility and Gentry, and likewise excited by the exil'd Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, resolv'd to try his Fortunes in the Kingdom of *England*. Wherefore after he had dispatch'd some of his choice Friends over to make the best Preparations for his Arrival, he address'd himself to the *French* King with a Compliment, that he design'd a Visit to his Kinsman the Duke of *Bretaign*, therefore desir'd his Letters of safe Conduct; which being granted, he there privately levy'd a few Soldiers, and hiring three Ships of the Duke of *Bretaign*, he put to Sea with them for *England*, accompany'd with the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and his Nephew, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington* and Sir *Thomas Ramstone* Knights, with some other Gentlemen, his whole Retinue not consisting of above eighty Persons: So that it is hard to judge which was more wonderful, that he durst attempt, or that he should succeed with so small a Number. However the Duke was too wise and cautious to push Things beyond all Possibility of a Retreat; and therefore did not immediately land, but lay cruising up and down, sometimes appearing on one Coast and sometimes on another, that he might the better discover the Inclinations of the People towards him, and what Forces were ready to receive or resist him. But at last being satisfy'd with what he observ'd, he landed without Opposition about the Beginning of *July* at *Raven-spurre* in *Yorkshire*, with no more than twenty Lances, tho' he might have had a greater Force from the Duke of *Bretaign*; so much did he confide in the Justice

which occasioned his Fall.

Henry the banish'd Duke of Lancaster invited into England.

He lands with a few Men in Yorkshire.

itice of his Cause, and the Favour of the People. Yet he did not then make any Pretensions to the Crown, but only gave out that he came to regain the Dukedom of *Lancaster*, and the rest of his lawful Inheritance, which all the Nation knew was wrongfully detain'd from him, and so hop'd that they were the more ready to pity and favour him in a Cause wherein he had receiv'd such palpable Injury from the King.

Many Lords
join with him.

His Arrival being known, the Lords *Willoughby*, *Rofs*, *Darby* and *Beaumont* immediately repair'd to him, and shortly after the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, with great Numbers of the Gentry and common People. Upon which, the King's Lieutenant and Uncle the Duke of *York*, summon'd the Bishop of *Chester*, the Lord Chancellor *Scrope*, the Earl of *Wiltshire* Lord Treasurer, Sir *John Busby*, Sir *Henry Green*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *John Russel*, chief Counsellors and Confidants to King *Richard*, to advise how to act in this dangerous Exigency. Among whom it was ignorantly or treacherously concluded to abandon the City of *London*, and appoint the general Rendezvous to be at *St. Albans*. But when the common People were call'd out of several Counties to that Place, they openly declar'd. *That they would not act any Thing to the Prejudice of the Duke, who they knew was unjustly banish'd his Country, and illegally kept from his Inheritance.* This was like a Thunder-clap to the Earl of *Wiltshire* and the other Favourites, who were conscious that the Peoples Hatred was greater against them, than the King's Person, because they had farm'd the Publick Revenues, and us'd intollerable Exortions; therefore, suddenly leaving the Duke of *York*, they fled to *Bristol*; which gave so great a Discouragement to him, that not daring to venture an improbable Resistance, he gave over the Cause, and laid down his Arms. Upon which the rest of the Nobility either openly declar'd for the Duke, or held secret Correspondence with him, resolving to swim down with his mighty Stream, rather than pretend to stem an impetuous Torrent that bore away all before it. For nothing could increase faster than the Duke's Forces in his March; insomuch that they were soon grown to sixty thousand strong, with which he resolv'd to push on his good Fortune, and hasten to *London*. There he found a Reception suitable to the usual Joy that discontented and turbulent People shew in Alterations; he was receiv'd in Triumph without Victory, and with all the Testimonies of Zeal and Affection, which flattering Crouds could pay their lawful Sovereign. Pageants and rich Presents entertain'd him, with all the Acclamations and extravagant Praises that could be invented, and as many opprobrious Reflections cast on the Conduct of King *Richard*. From *London* he hasten'd to *Bristol*, to pursue the fugitive Favourites; and finding the Castle fortify'd against him, he so briskly attack'd it, that in four Days Time he forc'd it to surrender upon Discretion. And taking therein the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Sir *John Busby*, and Sir *Henry Green*, he the next Day sacrific'd them to the importunate Rage of the incens'd People, by cutting off all their Heads without Mercy.

His Forces
easily increas'd.

He marches to
London.

and from thence
to Bristol.

King Richard
is advis'd.

He return. into
England.

During these Successes, there was no News of King *Richard*; who either was hinder'd by contrary Winds, or acted according to the Humour of some weak Spirits, who contain remote Dangers, but are astonish'd at their near Approach. However at length, securing the Sons of the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, he resolv'd for *England*; but the Duke of *Albermarl* persuad'd him to stay till his Preparations were ready, which fatal Council, as it was his ill Destiny to follow, so it prov'd his Ruin: Yet he immediately sent over the Earl of *Salisbury* to raise an Army in *Wales* and *Cheeshire* against his Return, which he strictly promis'd should be within six Days at furthest. The Earl was very successful in his Levies, and soon got together no less than forty thousand Men; but the King much failing in his Time of Appearance to head them, they with great Discontent return'd home. At length, in eighteen Days time, the King attended by the Dukes of *Albermarl*, *Exeter* and *Surrey*, the Bishops of *Lon-*

don, Exeter and Carlisle, and some others of the Nobility, landed at *Milford Haven* with a considerable Number of his *Cheshire* Army, and march'd to *Carmarthen*, where he staid to consult how to proceed; but when he understood that the Earl of *Salisbury's* Forces were disbanded, that most of his strong Places as well as *London* had declar'd for the Duke of *Lancaster*, that most of the Nobility and Gentry had espous'd his Cause, and that his principal Favourites had lost their Heads, he was so far from retaining the Magnanimity of a King, that he almost ceas'd to be a Man, and abandon'd himself to Despair; being perplex'd and confounded with Uncertainties, and destitute both of Resolution and good Counsel in such amazing Difficulties. For while some advis'd him to march bravely forwards, as being sure of many who out of Duty, or Affection, or for Pay, would follow his Standard; others perswaded him to return into *Ireland*, and go over to his Father-in-Law of *France*, and stay 'till the Storm was over, and 'till a more convenient and favourable Season. But the King rejecting both Counsels, took a middle Course, and resolv'd to stay in *Wales*, and expect the Event of this Defection; while the Soldiers he had brought over with him, endeavour'd to encourage him to Battel, vowing to live and die with him. But this could not raise his drooping Spirits, for in the Night he stole away from his Forces, and with some of his Nobility went *Incognito* cross the Country to the Castle of *Conway*; where the Lord *Thomas Piercy*, Steward of his Household, openly in the Hall before all the King's Servants, broke his white Staff of Office, and repair'd to the Duke of *Lancaster*; and most of the Royal Retinue by his Example dispers'd and thifted every one for himself. Such uncertain Attendants are the common sort of Courtiers, who like Flies, upon the first Storm, leave the Body that has nourish'd them.

Being under
great Perplexi-
tions.

he abandons his
Army.

Wasing-
ham's
Lanc.

The poor unfortunate King being thus abandon'd, had no Hopes left but in a Parly; in Order to which, the ejected Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* repair'd to him to *Conway* Castle. The Sum of the King's Proposals was, *That if he and eight Persons, whom he would name, might have an honourable Allowance, and the Assurance of a quiet private Life, he would resign his Crown.* To which the Earl of *Northumberland* gave his Oath; which so satisfy'd the King, that he immediately departed in their Company to the Castle of *Flint*, where he put himself into the Duke of *Lancaster's* Hands, and red with him that Night to the Castle of *Chester*. This is *Walsingham's* Account; but others say that *Northumberland* deluded the King with more plausible Proposals than the fore-mention'd, and by a sort of Stratagem got him into his Possession and convey'd him to the Duke of *Lancaster* at *Flint* Castle; where the King having din'd, the Duke appear'd before him, to whom the King said, *Cousin of Lancaster, you are welcome.* The other answer'd, *I am come sooner than you appointed me, because the Fame of your People is, that for these twenty one Years you have govern'd ill and rigorously, for which they are highly dissatisfy'd; but if Heav'n pleases, I will help to govern them better for the future.* To which the King return'd no other Answer but, *Fair Cousin, since it pleases you, it pleases Us also.* Soon after the Duke, with the miserable King in his Possession, and a great Part of his Army, march'd directly towards *London*, where he was receiv'd with infinite Acclamations, and the other with as many Reproaches. Before he enter'd the City, the Recorder, with many Knights and Esquires, met him, and desir'd in behalf of the Commons of *London*, that he would cut off the Head of King *Richard*, and of all that were taken with him: But the Duke would by no means harken to such a Piece of Villany, but told them, *That such an Act would prove an everlasting Reproach to him and his Adherents; but he would carry him along with them to the Tower of London, and then leave him to the Judgment of the Parliament.* And here it is observable that the King having surrender'd himself the twentieth of *August*, but seven and forty Days after the Duke's Arrival in *England*, the Duke might well assume the noted Motto of *Julius*

He falls into
the Hands of
the Duke of
Lancaster.

who carries him
to London.

The Duke's
great Success.

Cæsar; for considering his Marches from *Ravenspur* in the North up to *London*, and from thence to *Bristol*, and so through all *Wales* to *Chester*, a Person can scarce travel over so much Ground in the Space that he conquer'd it. And so indulgent was Fortune to him, that all the King's Jewels and Treasure which were deposited in *Holt* Castle, amounting to seven hundred thousand Pounds, with all his Horses and Baggage now fell into his Hands.

A Parliament
call'd in King
Richard's
Name.

The King being secur'd in the Tower, the Duke of *Lancaster* lost no Time, for he had already at *Chester* caus'd Writs to be issu'd out in King *Richard's* Name for the summoning a Parliament to be held at *Westminster* on the last Day of *September*; and in the mean Time he consulted with his Friends how to compleat those Designs which beyond his Hopes had been favour'd by Providence. In this Matter the Duke of *York* was now become his chief Director; and after divers Debates he propos'd it as very expedient, That King *Richard* should both voluntarily *Resign* the Crown, and likewise be solemnly *Depos'd* by all the Estates of the Realm; for otherwise his *Resignation* would be imputed only to his Fear, and his *Deprivation* only to their Force, of which the one is always apt to move Pity, and the other to excite Envy: *But if both concurr'd, and his Desires agreed with his own Deserts, as being willing to relinquish what he was adjudged worthy to forfeit, then it would appear that he neither was expell'd his Kingdom by meer Constraint, nor left it without a just Cause.* This Advice was generally approv'd, and accordingly pursu'd; and a solemn *Resignation* was render'd to the King on *Michaelmas-Day*, which he first read with his own Mouth, and then sign'd it with his own Hand. The Form was very full and expressive, and in it was declar'd, *That his Resignation was purely, voluntarily, simply and absolutely*; and more than that, *That he judg'd himself to have been insufficient and unfit for the Rule and Government of his Kingdoms, and by his notorious Demerits had deserv'd to be Depos'd.* After this he declar'd his Desire that the Duke of *Lancaster* might succeed him in his Kingdoms, and in Token of his Will and Intention, he openly pull'd off his Signet Ring, and put it upon the Duke's Finger. The next Day at the meeting of the Parliament, the Arch-Bishop of *York* and the Bishop of *Hereford* publickly declar'd the King's *Cession* and *Renunciation*, with the Inscription of the King's Hand, and the Delivery of his Signet; all which was unanimously approv'd and admitted by the whole Body.

He formally
resigns the
Crown.

After which
Articles are
exhibited a-
gainst him.

But all this was not thought sufficient; therefore to remove all Doubts and Scruples, thirty three Articles of his Crimes and Failings were drawn up and openly read in the Parliament; of all which, it was said that he had confess'd himself guilty. These Articles were very long and aggravating, and may be seen at length in Doctor *Brady's* and Mr. *Tyrrell's* Histories, where they take up above eight Pages in *Folio*. In the Beginning of them was plac'd his Abuse of the publick Treasure, and dishonourable Waste of the Crown Lands, by which he became intollerably grievous to his Subjects. The particular and unhappy Causes of the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Lancaster*, of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Arundel*, fill'd up several Articles. In the rest he was charg'd with Dissimulation, Falshood, Loss of Honour in the World, Rapines, Extortions, Denial of Justice, Rasures and Embezzelling of Records, dishonourable Shifts, wicked Actions of State, Cruelty, Covetousness, Subordinations, Lasciviousness, Treason to the Rights of the Crown, Perjuries; and in short with all sorts of unkingly Vices, and with absolute Tyranny it self. And indeed there was nothing so improbable that could then be objected, but would have gone for current and undeniable with Affections so thoroughly prepar'd. These Articles being read, all the Estates of the Realm unanimously consented *ex abundanti* to proceed to the *Deposition* of King *Richard*, for the greater Security and Tranquility of the People: And accordingly they appointed certain Commissioners, the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, the Abbot of *Glastonbury*, the Earl of *Glocester*, the Lord *Berkly*, Sir *Thomas Erpyngham*, Sir *Thomas Grey*, and

and *William Thirnyng* Justice, to pronounce a solemn Sentence of Deposition He is solemnly depos'd. against King *Richard* from all Royal Dignity, Majesty and Honour, in the Name of all the Estates of *England*. Which being done, they constituted certain Persons to be their Proctors or Agents to go to King *Richard* and resign the Homage and Fealty that before had been made to him, and give him Notice of what had been done touching his *Deposition*, and *Renunciation*.

Upon this, the Royal Throne being now reputed vacant, *Henry Duke of Lancaster* rising from his Seat, and standing so as he might be seen by the People, after he had cross'd himself and solemnly invocated the Name of *Christ*, in a Form of Words laid Claim to the vacant Crown of *England*, as being truly and lineally descended from King *Henry* the Third. Upon which Claim, and his showing King *Richard's* Signet, all the Estates unanimously consented that the said Duke *Henry* should reign over them; and both the Arch-Bishops of the Kingdom solemnly plac'd him in the Royal Throne, with the general Acclamations and Applauses of the People. Then to compleat the Solemnity, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* made a short Sermon or Discourse upon the Words of *Samuel*, *A Man should reign over the People*; from whence he took an Occasion to describe the Happiness of that Kingdom which was govern'd by a Man, and the Infelicity of that govern'd by a Child, whether in Age or Discretion; and whereas they had dangerously felt the Evils of the latter under King *Richard*, so they hop'd abundantly to enjoy the Blessings of the former from King *Henry*. After which the new Monarch arose from his Throne, and with an affable Countenance and a gracious Smile declar'd, *That none would think that he intended by Way of Conquest to disinherit any Man, certain evil Members only excepted*. On the same Day he made a splendid Entertainment for the Nobility and Gentry, who were there in great Numbers. As for King *Richard* then in the Tower, when all Homage and Fealty was resign'd to him by *William Thirnyng* in the Name of the rest, he only answer'd, *That he look'd not after such Things, but after all he hop'd That his Cousin would be his good Lord and Friend*. Thus was King *Richard* depos'd upon *Tuesday* the Thirtieth Day of *September*, after a dishonourable and unfortunate Reign of twenty two Years, two Months and eight Days, being then in the Strength and Vigour of his Age, and not above thirty three Years old.

Henry Duke of Lancaster plac'd in his Throne.

King Richard submits.

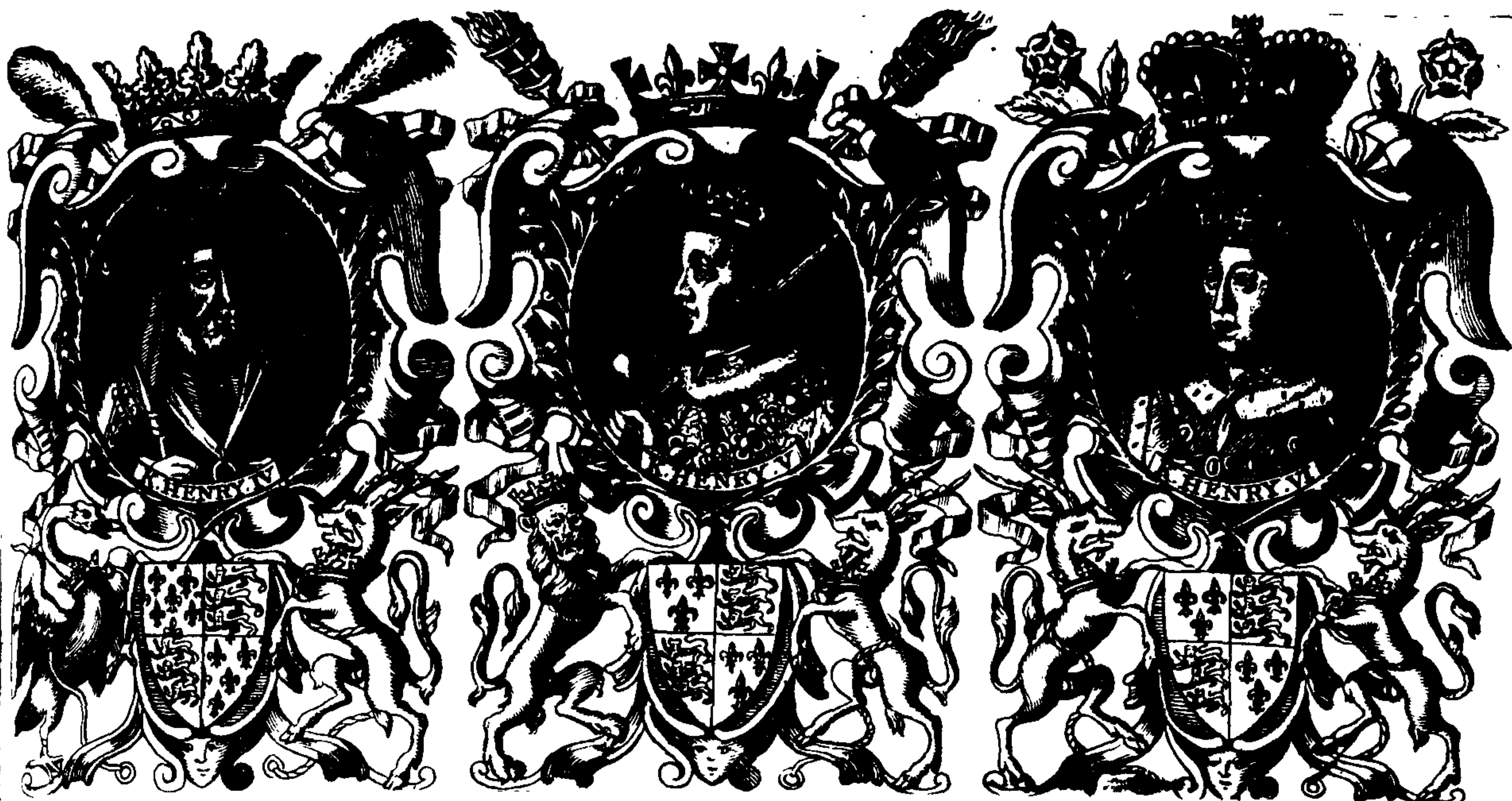
Here ended the Reign, tho' not the Life of King *Richard* the Second; a Prince who as to his Person was the most amiable and handsom that ever reign'd since the Conquest, agreeable to the Son of so beautiful a Father and Mother; and he might have prov'd an excellent Prince had his Education been answerable to his natural Disposition. For there appear'd in him many good Inclinations, which might have grown to perfect Virtues, if they had not been blasted by corrupt Flatterers in his Youth. These taught him Luxury, Vice and the Desire of Power, so that in a short Time, by his being still govern'd by them, he lost all the Esteem and Affection the Nation had once for him; and this occasion'd great Hardships, and very unjustifiable Usage from his Subjects to him, besides the Ruin of his most beloved Friends. He acted as one of a revengeful Spirit, and was guilty of many Breaches of Faith; for which he more than once receiv'd his Punishment from the Hands of those who had not the most Right to inflict it. As to his Temper, he was rather profuse than liberal in his Gifts and Expences, keeping greater State and Hospitality than any of his Predecessors; and tho' we find no publick Act of Charity done by him, yet his rebuilding of *Westminster-Hall* in that noble manner it now stands, sufficiently shews that he lov'd to appear great and magnificent in whatsoever he undertook: But his Grandeur was one great Step to his Ruin. His Reign in general, in several Respects resembled that of King *Edward* the Second, his Great-grand-father; for both adher'd to the Advices of Favourites, and both equally neglected the Councils of the ancient Nobility:

His Person and Character.

A Comparison between him Edward II.

bility: But with this Difference, that *Edward* was passionately fond of the Person of his Favourite, and would endanger his Crown to preserve him; whereas *Richard* so little regarded the Person of his, that he would not hazard his Throne in his Defence. *Edward* seem'd of a more easie and flexible Temper, being always govern'd by them he lov'd; but *Richard* of a more dissolute and wilful Inclination, ever loving those whom he could best rule; so that such only were his Favourites, as would be subservient to his Will. The former was ruin'd more by the Faults of others, and the latter more by those of his own; so that *Edward's* Case was more pitiable, and *Richard's* more blameable. *Richard* assum'd a more absolute Power than *Edward*, or indeed any of his Predecessors, and more than that obtain'd it; and his Fall did not only show a great and wonderful Revolution, but also most signally manifested that the most absolute Princes are ever most liable to be ruin'd, especially in those Kingdoms where there is, or rather ought to be any Concurrence in the Legislature.





C H A P. IV.

The Royal House of Lancaster: From the Deposition of King Richard the Second, to the Deposition of Henry the Sixth, and the Beginning of the Royal House of York.

Containing the Space of about 61 Years.

S E C T. I.

The Reign of King HENRY the Fourth.

Containing 13 Years, 5 Months, and 21 Days.

KING *Richard II.* being thus formally depriv'd and depos'd, was in his Life-Time succeeded by *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, from his Birth-Place in *Lincolnshire* surnam'd *Bullingbrook*, a Person of great Note and Renown, and now about thirty three Years of Age; every Way qualify'd for his high Office, only he wanted an unquestionable Title: For besides King *Richard* himself, who proceeded from *Edward* the Eldest Son of *Edward III.* the Earl of *Marche* was then living, who descended from *Lionel* his Third Son, while his own Descent was from his Fourth Son *John*. However being so well supported on all Sides, he immediately call'd a Parliament in his own Name, who met in six Days Time, and consisted of the same Members that King *Richard* had summon'd not long before. In this Parliament, which met on the sixth Day of *October*, King *Henry* being seated on his Royal Throne in *Westminster-Hall* before the full Assembly, and a numerous Concourse of others, *Arundel Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, in a formal Oration first declar'd the Cause of their Summons, and that King *Richard's* former Summons was of no Force or Effect, by reason of the Acceptation of the Renunciation made by him, before King *Henry* had issu'd out his Writs for this Parliament.

A. D.
1399.
Reg. 1.

A Parliament call'd.

the Arch-Bi-
shop's Speech.

Parliament. Then he proceeded to shew *That this honourable Kingdom of England, and the most abounding with Riches, had been long govern'd by Children, and the Counsels of young Persons, so that it was reduc'd to a State of Desolation highly to be lamented, had not the Goodness of Almighty God sent a knowing and discreet Man for the Government of the Nation, who by the Assistance of Heav'n would be rul'd and advis'd by the Sages and Ancients of his Kingdom, for the mutual Succour and Comfort of himself and his whole People.* Adding further, *That Men ought especially to consider how this honourable Kingdom could so long subsist under such miserable Waste and Destruction, which if it had been under good and regular Government, and wise and sufficient Counsel, it would have been the most considerable in the World for Riches and other Advantages.* Then having declar'd how ready the present King Henry was to be advis'd by the wisest of the Nation, he again insist'd upon the Excellencies of the *English Empire, That no Kingdom in the World could support it self without the Assistance of others, so honourably, gloriously and compleatly as this:* And then shew'd, *That in the Government of every Kingdom three Things were especially required, Justice, Observation of Laws, and Liberty for all to live according to their Ranks and Degrees; and that it was the King's Will, by the Help of God, to make good these three Particulars.* He further declar'd, *That it was also his Majesty's special Will, That the Holy Church should enjoy all her Liberties and Franchises; that all the good Statutes enacted in the Time of his noble Progenitors should be firmly observ'd, and that all the Nobility, Commons, and all others, should enjoy all their Liberties and Franchises, according to the Grants made by his foresaid Progenitors. And that no Man ought to censure any Thing done this Parliament, for the King was resolv'd in his Faith and Conscience to do equal Justice to all Parties, according to the Will, Assistance and Grace of God afforded to him.*

King Henry's
Coronation.

After this, and the Dispatch of some formal Matters, the Parliament by Consent was prorogu'd 'till the Day after the King's Coronation, which was appointed on the thirteenth of *October*, on the same Day Twelve-Month that he had been banish'd by King *Richard*. His Coronation was extraordinary solemn and magnificent, and he was anointed with a peculiar Oyl which a Religious Man had given to *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*, with a certain Prophecy, That all Kings anointed with That should be Champions of the Church. This Oyl coming into the Hands of King *Richard*, as he was looking among his Jewels, then going into *Ireland*, he was desirous to be anointed with it, but the Arch-Bishop prevented him by assuring him, That it was not lawful to be anointed more than once. Upon his Return into *Wales*, the Arch-Bishop got it into his own Possession, and reserv'd it to the Coronation of King *Henry*, who was the first King of the Realm that was anointed with it. Immediately after his Coronation this wise Prince us'd all Precautions to establish and perpetuate his Power and Authority; and particularly provided for the Indemnities of all such as join'd with him before King *Richard* was depos'd, and caus'd all the Acts made by the Parliament of the 21st of the late Reign to be revok'd and annull'd for ever. By which his Uncle the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earl of *Arundel* and several others were freed from the Infamy of that Corruption in Blood which follows executed Traitors. At the same Time the Statutes made in the eleventh Year of *Richard* the Second were reviv'd and confirm'd to be kept according to their full Intent and Purport, as being for the Good and common Profit of the kingdom. And whereas the Articles of those Times exhibited against Treasonable Practices, usually extended so far as to give the Prince too unlimited a Power over his Peers and People, this King therefore reduc'd the Case of Treasons to a more certain Head, utterly abolishing all such Cases as were establish'd in the late Reign. The Substance of the Statute upon that Occasion is, 'Whereas in a Parliament holden by the late King *Richard*

Several Estab-
lishments.

diver

‘divers Penalties of Treason were ordain’d in such a Manner, that no Man could know how to behave himself, to act, or to speak, for fear of such Penalties; it is enacted by the King, Lords and Commons, That for the future no Treason shall be adjudg’d otherwise than it was ordain’d by the Statute in the Reign of his noble Grand-Father King *Edward* the Third of glorious Memory. By which the Net was broken, the perilous Estate of Subjects reliev’d, the People gratify’d, and the King secur’d in their Affections. But for a farther Security, in this Parliament, after he had made the Earl of *Northumberland* Constable of *England*, the Earl of *Westmorland* Lord Marshal, Sir *John Serle* Chancellor, *John Newbury* Treasurer, and Sir *Richard Clifford* Lord Privy-Seal, he created his eldest Son *Henry*, then about thirteen Years of Age, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Chester*, and shortly after Duke of *Gascony*; and the Crown by Parliament was entail’d upon him and the Heirs of his Body, to the Exclusion of all others that could claim any Right of Sovereignty in the Nation.

The Crown entail’d upon Henry’s Heirs.

After some exemplary Punishments of some of the late King’s evil Counsellors, in the latter End of this Parliament, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* charg’d all present, upon their Allegiance, *That what was then spoken or propounded should be kept secret from all Mankind*; and then it was demanded, for the Security of the King, and all the Estates of the Nation, what should be done with the deposed King *Richard*. To which Question all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal unanimously answer’d to this Effect, *That he ought to be put under safe and secure Guard, in a Place where there was no Concourse of People, and be kept by sure and sufficient Persons, after the most secret Manner, without any one who had been formerly Servant to him*. Only *Thomas Merks*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, a Person of great Learning and Spirit, dissented from the common Opinion; and, according to Sir *John Hayward*, in a long and remarkable Speech bravely stood up for the Power and Authority of the Kings of *England*, and by several Arguments drawn from the Constitution of the Nation, from History and Scripture, evinc’d *That neither King Richard could be legally depos’d by his Subjects, nor the Duke of Lancaster legally succeed him, tho’ he had been depriv’d never so justly*: And further display’d the innumerable Mischiefs that usually attended and followed such unjustifiable Proceedings. But his Arguments were then look’d upon as only the Opinion of a single Man, and he was so far from being encourag’d, that he was order’d to be arrested by the Marshal, and committed to Prison in the Abby of *St. Albans*; tho’ afterwards without further Censure he was set at Liberty. During this Session of Parliament, the Arch-Bishop had convok’d a Synod in *St. Paul’s Church*, to whom the King sent the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, who declar’d to the Clergy, *That they were not sent to them to require any Money from them, but to acquaint them with his Majesty’s Resolution to confirm all their Privileges and Immunities, and to join with them, as they should desire him, in the Punishment of all Hereticks and Oppugners of the establish’d Religion; for all which he only crav’d their Supplications to God for the Safety of him and his Posterity, and the Prosperity of the Kingdom*; which all there present solemnly and religiously promis’d.

A Consultation about King Richard.

A Synod meets.

All these Provisions King *Henry* made at home for his Honour and Security; and being sensible that his Actions might be severely censur’d in Foreign Parts, he sent wise Ambassadors to *Rome*, *France*, *Spain* and *Germany*, to give Reasons for his extraordinary Proceedings. To *Rome*, he sent the Bishop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheney*, Knight, and *John Cheney*, Esquire; to *France*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Lord *Thomas Percy* and *William Heron*; to *Spain*, the Bishop of *St. Asaph* and Sir *William Par*; and to *Germany*, the Bishop of *Bangor* and others: All whom were arm’d with full Instructions for the Justification of their new advanc’d Sovereign. In *France* they found the greatest Difficulty in giving Satisfaction, because the *French King’s* Daughter by this

King Henry vindicates himself to foreign Princes.

The French are
dissatisfied.

Revolution lost the Benefit of her Marriage with King *Richard*; therefore this News was taken very heinously, and a War was immediately threaten'd, or at least design'd, but King *Charles* relapsing into his old Disease of Frenzy, and King *Richard* dying not long after, all Thoughts of that kind expired. But the Inhabitants of *Gascony* were not so easily appeas'd, but stood vigorously for their Countryman King *Richard*; and those of *Bordeaux* openly declar'd *That since the World began, there was never a more cruel, unreasonable and impious Fact; that the good Prince was betray'd by faithless Men, and all Law violated.* Yet still the *French* were deceiv'd in their Hopes of converting these popular Heats to their Advantage; for partly by the Wisdom of the chief Magistrates, and partly by the Peoples comparing the Severity of the *French* Government with the Lenity of the *English*, they were kept firm. Much Labour and many fair Promises were us'd by *Lewis* Duke of *Bourbon* to draw the *Gascoignes* to revolt; but his Designs were soon defeated by the Arrival of *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worcester* with competent Numbers of Men, sent thither to withstand the *French* Practices, and restore the Peoples Affections.

A. D.

1400.

Reg. $\frac{1}{2}$.

A great Con-
spiracy against
King Henry.

King *Henry* was scarce establish'd in his new gain'd Sovereignty, before a private Body of Enemies were forming his Destruction under the very Protection of his own Wings. The depos'd *Richard* was still alive, and tho' great Numbers in the Kingdom approv'd of his Downfall, yet many others did not; for some mov'd by Nearness of Blood and Friendship, some by Conscience and Honour, others transported with Envy and Disappointments, and not a few with the Remembrance of former Benefits, or the Hopes of future Advantages upon a Change, much desir'd to set *Richard* upon the *English* Throne again. The Manner of this Conspiracy is variously related by Authors; but it is commonly agreed that the chief Parties concern'd were such as had their Lives spar'd in the last Parliament, but had been stripp'd of a considerable Part of their Honours; as *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, and *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*; the two first Half-Brothers to King *Richard*, and the last his Cousin-German, all three in the late Reign having been Dukes, of *Exeter*, *Surry* and *Albermarl*. Besides these were *John Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas Lord Spencer*, late Earl of *Glocester*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Bernard Brokas*, Sir *John Shelley*, and *John Magdalen*, a Chaplain to King *Richard*, and much resembling him in Person. But one of the principal Instigators in this Design was the Abbot of *Westminster*, an entire Friend to King *Richard*, and one who had taken a particular Prejudice against King *Henry*, because formerly when he was Earl of *Darby* he publicly deliver'd a dangerous Truth, *That the King of England had too little, and the Clergy too much.* The above-nam'd Persons and some others being assembled in a Private and convenient Place, the Earl of *Huntington* in a Speech declar'd *That King Henry by violently invading, and fraudulently mounting the Throne of his sole Sovereign, was both a Tyrant and Usurper, and such a One as it was lawful for any Man, by any Means to destroy, without Respect to his good or evil Qualifications; since it was lawful for no Man under his Pretences to assume Sovereign Power. Therefore the Examples of the best Commonwealths did not only permit such an Action, but also honour'd the Actors with Statues and Titles, and rewarded them with the Wealth and Riches of the suppressed Tyrant.* And because Policy was as necessary as Force, it was propos'd and approv'd that solemn Jufts and Tournaments should be held at *Oxford* in *Christmass* Holy-Days between the Earl of *Huntington* and twenty more on his Part, and the Earl of *Salisbury* and as many more on his, to which King *Henry* should be invited; and when he was intent upon the Spectacle, he should be suddenly surpriz'd by such a Number as at that Time might be assembled without Suspicion. Upon this they all took a solemn Oath of Secrecy; and an Indenture *Sextipartite* was likewise made between the Lords, wherein

The Manner
of it.

wherein they mutually bound themselves to each other, to do their utmost for the Ruin of the present, and the Delivery of the former King. They likewise concluded what Forces should be rais'd, where and by whom they should be order'd and plac'd, as likewise to whose Trust the Execution of this Exploit should be committed.

In Pursuance of this Design, the Earl of *Huntington* acquainted King *Henry* with the design'd Tournament between him and the Earl of *Salisbury*, and begg'd of him to honour them with his Presence, and that he would be pleas'd to be their Judge in case any Difference should arise; to which he graciously promis'd to consent. In the mean Time every Conspirator provided himself with what Number of Men he could procure, under the Pretence of Magnificency; and at the Time appointed enter'd the City of *Oxford*, where the King and Court was expected the next Day. The Earl of *Rutland* was only wanting, who having sent his Men before, went to visit his Father the old Duke of *York*, who liv'd in a Country House upon that Road; where being at Dinner, the Duke accidentally espy'd a Label of the Indenture hanging out of his Son's Bosom; and justly supposing it something extraordinary, he forc'd it from him. Viewing the Contents, the six Seals, and his Son's Name, he was so incens'd, that rising immediately from the Table, he gave order for his Horse to be made ready; reproaching his Son *for that having been false to King Richard, and now prov'd a Traitor to King Henry; That he was very sagacious in finding out Inventions to ruin his Father, who in the last Parliament had been bound with him Body for Body; therefore since he had so little Value for his Father's Head, he would have as little for his*: Upon which he immediately took Horse for *Windsor*. The Earl finding that his Father was not to be withdrawn from his Resolution, that all was discover'd, and his Life in the greatest Danger, with the utmost Expedition rode to *Windsor* another Way; and being arriv'd before his Father, upon Pretence of an extraordinary Accident, he procur'd the Castle Gates to be lock'd up. Then taking the Keyes with him, he threw himself at the King's Feet, and crav'd his Mercy. The King in a great Surprise demanded his Offence; which when he fully heard, he promis'd him his Pardon, provided his whole Relation prov'd exactly true. Shortly after the Duke of *York* being admitted into the Castle, without further Ceremony, put the Conspirators Contract into the King's Hands; who finding by that all *Rutland's* Account to be true, deferr'd his Journey to *Oxford*, resolving at *Windsor* to expect the Conspirators new Resolutions. He also sent express Messengers to the Lord High-Constable the Earl of *Northumberland*, and to the Lord Marshal the Earl of *Westmorland*, and likewise to all his other Friends, that they might all hasten to the Court, with what Forces they could immediately raise.

The Discovery of it.

In the mean Time the Conspirators, being got to *Oxford*, soon concluded from the Absence of the Earl of *Rutland*, and the Non-appearance of the King, that all their Plot was discover'd. They had now no Hopes of Mercy, as having been formerly condemn'd and pardon'd, therefore in this desperate Juncture they endeavour'd to effect that by open Force which they could not do by Treachery; and for their own Safeties they cloath'd *Magdalen* with Royal Robes, who much resembling King *Richard*, easily deceiv'd the Multitude. To render the Thing plausible, they reported, that being assisted by his Keepers, he had escap'd out of Prison; by which means they soon gather'd together forty thousand Men, the least Part of whom came out of good Will, the most inconsiderable out of Hopes, and most unuseful out of Fear; consequently all of them variable and unconstant. However they resolv'd to seize upon the King at *Windsor*; but he hearing of their coming, had with some few Horse withdrawn himself to *London*, to which City they intended to pursue him, and take him unprovided, which probably was their best Course; but Fear put a Period to their Design, when Wisdom was more dangerous than rash Attempts.

The Conspirators raise an Army.

The King prepares against them.

The King upon his Arrival at *London* fortify'd himself, the City furnish'd him with Soldiers, and he provided himself a sufficient Guard; and hearing of the others Coming, he march'd out to meet them with twenty thousand Men, not diffident of his own small Numbers, nor terrify'd with his Enemies Multitudes. They, on the other side, apprehending the King's Valour and their Mens Instability, shunn'd the Encounter, and retir'd towards *Reading*, where King *Richard's* Queen lay; causing her to believe that her Husband was at *Pontfract* with a hundred thousand fighting Men, and that *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, with his Children and Friends, had shut himself up in the *Tower*, not daring to come out; and the better to colour this Report, they threw down King *Henry's* Arms, and took his Badges from such of the Queen's Servants as wore them, as if *Richard* had been still in his Throne. They made no further use of *Magdalen's* Pageant, but chang'd their Reports of *Richard's* Deliverance and Power as often as they chang'd their Stations; as it is usual for such as are just sinking, to lay hold of any false Rumour.

They are defeated.

The chief of them punish'd.

The Conspirators leaving *Reading*, march'd towards *Cicester*; where the Earls of *Kent* and *Salisbury* took up their Lodgings in a small Village, and the Earls of *Huntington* and *Glocester* theirs in another, leaving their Army in the Field. The Townsmen thereabouts, being inform'd that Affairs were quite otherwise than they had reported them, about Midnight surrounded the House where the two former were lodg'd, who withstood their Fury for many Hours. *Huntington*, who was advis'd of this Misfortune, could not possibly succour them, for all his Men out of a sudden Fear had fled; for a certain Priest, to divert the Assault, had set Fire to some Houses in the Village, which occasion'd these Men to fly, as fearing that King *Henry* was come in Person, and had fir'd the Village. The Townsmen on the contrary, being by this doubly inrag'd, resolv'd to extinguish the Flames with nothing but the Blood of their Opposers, and fought with greater Fury than ever. So that unfortunate *Kent* and *Salisbury*, abandon'd by their Friends, and taken by their Enemies, after many desperate Wounds, had their Heads stricken off, and sent to *London*: Twenty nine of their Company, Barons as well as Gentlemen, were taken Prisoners, and sent to *Oxford*, where King *Henry* resided, and there had publick Justice pass'd upon them. The Earl of *Glocester* thinking to escape, was taken Prisoner in *Wales*, and beheaded at *Bristol*; and *Magdalen*, flying into *Scotland*, was taken and sent to *London*, where he dy'd the Death of a common Traytor. The Earl of *Huntington* often endeavour'd to get into *France*, but was always driven back by contrary Winds; and wandering unknown, he was taken by chance, and brought to the late Duke of *Glocester's* House, where his Head was stricken off; the Divine Vengeance meeting him in the Territories of a Person of whose former Murder he had been too much guilty. The Abbot of *Westminster*, now finding the miserable Effects of his Counsel, fled from his Monastery; but being seiz'd by an Apoplexy, escap'd common Execution: The like happen'd to the Bishop of *Carlisle*, who suddenly dy'd of a violent Fever; tho' some say he was first condemn'd, and had his Punishment generously remitted by the King. Infinite was the Number of others that dy'd; the High-Ways were fill'd with the Heads and Quarters of miserable Wretches; among whom many Innocent Persons suffer'd, who under Pretence of Rebellion, or out of former Resentments, were put to Death. Insomuch that King *Henry*, tho' of a moderate and generous Disposition, was look'd upon in this Matter as too merciless and revengeful; for so much Blood, both of the Nobility and others, at one Time, and for one Offence, was never shed in any preceding Reign since the Conquest. And it is further observable, that the principal of those who now so dishonourably lost their own Lives, were nearly concern'd in that of the Duke of *Glocester's*.

The unfortunate King *Richard* was still a Stranger to all these Transactions, and was reserv'd for the last Scene of this dismal Tragedy. His approaching Death

had now all the Appearances of Necessity, for which Reason he was remov'd from the Tower of *London* to a Castle in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pontfract* in *Yorkshire*, that the Cause of his Death might be unknown. That his Death was unnatural and unjust, is more than probable; but the Manner of it is very uncertain, and differently related. Some write that when he understood the Deaths and Deaths of his chief Friends, he became so disconsolate, that he pin'd away and starv'd himself; others, that for fifteen Days he was kept from Sustenance, and with the Addition of Cold starv'd to Death; and others say he had Feasts set before him, but deny'd to touch any Thing, as if design'd to imitate the Fable of *Tantalus*, and aggravate his Torments. The Account that *Hollinshed* gives from a Writer, who seems to have had great Knowledge of King *Richard's* Actions, appears more probable, tho' it is too uncertain to be absolutely rely'd on. He relates that some uneasie Words falling from King *Henry*, gave a Hint to one Sir *Pierce Exton*, to undertake the Death of King *Richard*; who with eight other Assassins hasten'd to *Pontfract*, as if he fear'd to be depriv'd of the Honour of the Action. Upon his Arrival, the Preface to the intended Cruelty was the Omission of the Ceremony of Tasting that was usually paid *Richard* at his Table; who upon demanding the Reason, was answer'd, That Sir *Pierce Exton* had brought such Orders from King *Henry*: At which *Richard* was so transported, as to strike the Taster, and to curse the King by the Name of *Harry of Lancaster*. Immediately after, Sir *Pierce* with his bloody Followers enter'd, and shut close the Door; which being perceiv'd by the unfortunate King, he guess'd at their fatal Intentions, and with a Resolution becoming his Heroick Father, snatch'd a Halbert from the foremost, and bravely slew four of the Assailants: And with no less Courage fought with the rest, 'till *Exton* got upon a Chair behind him, and with a Pole-Axe struck him down; where the poor miserable King ended all his Calamities, upon the fourteenth Day of *February*, near five Months after he had lost his Crown. This was the fatal End of King *Richard II.* which afterwards open'd a larger Fountain of Blood than ever was known in the Nation. His Body was embalm'd and cover'd with Lead all but the Face, and brought to *St. Paul's Church*, where out of Policy it was for three Days expos'd to publick View, and then obscurely interr'd at *Langley* in *Hertfordshire*, tho' afterwards it had a more publick Funeral in *Westminster Abby*. It is observable that in the three greatest Exigencies of this Prince's Life, he appear'd above himself; the first in the Rebellion of *Wat Tyler*, the second in the Relinquation of his Crown, and the last in the Loss of his Life: The first he perform'd with a skilful Ardour beyond his Age, the second with a steady Calmness above the ordinary Temper of Man, and the last with an Heroick Courage equal to the Bravest.

Different Accounts of King Richard's Death.

His Body expos'd.

II. King *Henry*, tho' now more safe in his Throne than before, thought it convenient to divert the Eyes and Humours of the People from the Remembrance of the late Tragedy; and this he did by an Expedition into *Scotland*, occasion'd by the unreasonable Demands of the King of that Country, who would have no Peace, unless King *Henry* deliver'd up the Lord *Dunbar* Earl of *Marche*, contrary to his Royal Promise and Protection. The valiant *Henry*, chusing rather to make *Scotland* the Seat of the War, than to expect King *Robert's* Arrival in *England*, march'd with a well order'd Army into the Bowels of the Country, where he burnt Towns, Villages and Castles, sparing nothing but Religious Houses and Churches. Then advancing to the City of *Edinburgh*, he burnt a great Part of that and the Town of *Leith*, and belieg'd the strong Castle of *Edinburgh*, which was defended by Prince *David* the Governor, with the Earl of *Douglas's*, and many other brave Men. During the Siege, the Duke of *Albany*, Governor of the Realm, sent a Herald to King *Henry*, assuring him upon his Honour, That if he would tarry his Coming, within

A. D. 1400. Reg. 1/2.

King Henry makes an Expedition into Scotland.

His Kindness to
Ecclesiasticks.

within six Days he would give him Battel, and raise the Siege, or else would lose his Life. The King of *England* was so pleas'd with the Message, that he generously rewarded the Herald with a Chain of Gold and other Gifts, promising him upon the Word of a King, *Not to depart thence during the appointed Time of the Governor.* But after many six Days, without any Appearance of the Governor, upon the Account of Colds and Rains, as well as Sickness and Want of Provisions, King *Henry* broke up the Siege, and left *Scotland* without any Battel or Skirmish offer'd. During his Stay in *Scotland*, he shew'd a more than ordinary Respect to the Religious Houses, and treated the People of such Places with great Courtesie and Humility, being gratefully mindful of the obliging and generous Entertainment the Duke of *Lancaster* his Father had found among the Monasteries, when he fled into *Scotland* for Refuge, in the Time of the Rebellion in *England*.

An Insurrection
in Wales.

While the Affairs of *England* seem'd in a calm and peaceable Condition, Providence thrust a Thorn in King *Henry's* Side at a Time and Place he little expected; for the *Welsh*, who had paid Obedience to so many Kings of *England*, contrary to all Mens Expectations, broke out into open Acts of Hostility, under the Conduct of a certain Gentleman of that Nation nam'd *Owen Glendour*, Lord of *Glendour* in *Merionethshire*. This Man was descended from the youngest Son of Baron *Bromfield*, and his Inclinations were not common; while he was young he repair'd to *London*, with Intention to study the Law; but soon weary of that, he betook himself to the Service of King *Richard*, and was one of his Household Servants. Being as soon tir'd with that sort of Life as the former, he retir'd to some Possessions of his own in *Wales*; which bordering upon the Lands of *Reynald Gray Lord Ruthin*, after a violent Dispute, Burning of Villages and Houses, and Killing of Servants, he met with that Lord, and in a Fight took him Prisoner. *Glendour* daily encreasing in Power, the *Welsh*, who were displeas'd at King *Richard's* Deprivation, and inrag'd at his Death, soon took up Arms, and chose him for their Commander, who immediately committed Devastations in several Parts. Upon Intelligence of this, King *Henry* march'd with an Army into *Wales*, wasting, destroying, and taking such Revenge as Time and Opportunity would permit. In the mean Time *Glendour*, whom Pride and Indiscretion had arm'd for the further Ruin of his Country, retir'd into the unaccessable Fastnesses of *Snowdon*, where for this Campaign he secur'd himself from the Storm; and shortly after the King return'd with such Spoils as the Country afforded. The last Action of this Year was peaceable and pompous; for *Manuel* Emperor of *Constantinople* came in Person into *England* to beg Assistance against the growing Power of the *Turks*; and upon St. *Thomas's* Day he was met at *Black-Heath* by King *Henry*, magnificently feasted at *London*, richly presented, and treated according to the height of his Quality.

The Emperor of
Constantinople
comes into En-
gland.

A. D.

1401.

Reg. 2.

King Richard's
Queen sent
into France.

In a Parliament held the next Year, by reason of the increasing Numbers of those called *Lollards*, the Punishment enacted for them was Burning. And in the same Year, the Articles of Peace being first agreed between the two Nations the *English* and *French*, notwithstanding the latter deny'd a Match with the young Prince of *Wales*, the Lady *Isabel* who had been crown'd Queen of *England*, as Spouse of the late King, was now sent back into *France* after a royal and solemn manner; but being now but twelve Years of Age, and the Marriage not consummated, no Dowry was allow'd her in *England*. When she was restor'd to her Friends, the Lord *Henry Percy*, before the Ambassadors of both Nations, who met between *Calais* and *Bouloign*, openly declar'd, That the King of *England* his Master had sent her to be deliver'd to her Father, free from all Bonds of Marriage, or other Obligations; and that he would take it upon his Soul that she was sound and untouch'd, as she was when deliver'd to King *Richard*, and if any said to the contrary, he was ready to prove it by single Combat. But the Earl of St. *Paul* declaring, That he be-

liev'd

liev'd it to be true, the Lord *Piercy* took her by the Hand, and deliver'd her to the Earl; and then the Commissioners of *France* gave certain Letters of Release and Acquittance. She was afterwards marry'd to *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*. In the mean Time King *Henry* was much in Danger of his Life, even in his Bed-Chamber; for a desperate Engine was discover'd in his Bed, with three long and sharp Iron Pikes, all with their Points upwards; but the King very happily perceiv'd it before he laid himself down, and so escap'd the Mischief and Danger, tho' he could never discover the Actor.

King Henry in Danger.

All this Time *Owen Glendour*, swell'd with his Success against the Lord *Ruthen*, became more and more insolent, and after some Time enter'd with his Forces into *Herefordshire*. In this County *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *Marche* liv'd in a private Condition; so that by keeping at Distance from the Court, without Splendor, he might avoid those Dangers which in the present Conjunction threaten'd him, as next lawful Heir to King *Richard*. *Glendour* practising his accustom'd Cruelties, awaken'd the County, which under the Conduct of the Earl of *Marche* endeavour'd to bridle his Insults. So that in a short Time a sharp Battel was fought; in which *Glendour* had two Advantages, the Number of his Men, and his own Conduct; by which means he became Victor, Obedience and good Order having won him the Laurel. On the other Side the *Herefordshire* Men, fewer in Number, led on by Necessity, distracted and uncertain, kept the Field 'till Night, rather by an obstinate Resolution than any Reason or Order. At length they yielded, but fled not, there being none to pursue them; for *Glendour* satisfy'd with the Advantage, finding himself in an Enemy's Country, the Night dark, and many of his Men slain, forbore all Pursuit of his Foes. Two thousand *Herefordshire* Men were left dead in the Field, and the Earl himself was taken Prisoner, and without Respect to his Person, kept in the Bottom of a Tower; nor did King *Henry*, tho' much importun'd, endeavour for his Liberty, for he concluded his Imprisonment to be one of the most fortunate Events that could happen to him.

A. D.

1402.

Reg. 1.

Glendour and the Welsh disturb Herefordshire.

The Earl of Marche taken Prisoner by them.

But still King *Henry* could enjoy no true Peace nor Satisfaction, for about this Time several Conspiracies were discover'd in *Embryo*, all which were supported by Calumnies and Forgery; for by the first *Henry's* Actions were traduc'd in Libels, and by the second *Richard* was reported to be still alive, to raise a new Head of Separation. *Henry*, thus wounded in his Honour, and endanger'd in his Person, resolv'd to spare none upon whom the Crime or Concomitment was found. The first that felt the Hand of his Justice was a Priest of *Ware*, with whom was found a List of Names which he collected, supposing them such as out of Gratitude and Conscience would hazard all for King *Richard*; which Vanity of his created great Trouble to many, 'till it appear'd that he wrong'd them, and that they were Persons utterly ignorant of the Man or the Matter; upon which he was drawn and hang'd. *Walter Baldock* Prior of *Laund* met with the like Fate, who confess'd he had conceal'd the Treason of others, tho' he had not acted himself. A *Friar Minor* also being taken, with some others of his Order, was ask'd *What he would do if King Richard was alive and present*; he confidently reply'd, *He would fight for him to the last Minute of his Life against all Opposers*; for which he was drawn and hang'd in his Friar's Weeds. Nor did this hard Fortune fall only upon the Clergy, for Sir *Roger Clarendon*, natural Son to the famous Black Prince, together with an Esquire and Servant of his, finish'd their Affections to King *Richard* by suffering a shameful Death. Not long after eight *Friar Minorites* were taken, convicted, hang'd and beheaded for the same Cause; and this occasion'd the King to be a severe Master towards their whole Order. It was vulgarly reported, that a little before this Discovery, the Devil appear'd in the Habit of a *Minorite* at *Danbury* Church, to the incredible Astonishment of the Parishioners; all which was succeeded by a prodigious Tempest of Thunder and Lightning, which had wonderful Effects upon the Fabrick of the Church.

Several Conspiracies against King Henry.

Many suffer

But

The King un-
successful a-
gainst Wales.

But however the Branches were lopp'd off, the Roots of all these Practices lay deeper and out of Sight; for the *Piercys*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Worcester*, and *Henry Hotspur*, because they thought perhaps that they had done unjustly in setting up King *Henry*, began now to form those bloody Designs, which were afterwards prosecuted. But King *Henry* not yet knowing their Intentions, in *September* led an Army into *Wales*, to take Revenge upon his rebellious Subjects, where he was in danger of perishing by the sudden Storms and Rains, which were more terrible than ever had been remember'd; so that after he made some Devastations in the Country, he return'd. The common Fame was that *Glendour* by his infernal Arts had rais'd these hideous Tempests; which Opinion added no small Strength to the *Welsh* Faction.

A great Victory
obtain'd o-
ver the Scots.

The King's Fortune was much happier in the North, where his Lieutenant had two noted Victories against the *Scots*, the one at *Nisbet*, and the other at *Halidown-Hill*, near a Village call'd *Woller*: And tho' the first was but small, yet the other deserves the Name of a compleat Victory. The *Scots* marching with ten thousand Men under the Conduct of the brave Earl of *Douglafs*, had made great Ravages as far as *Newcastle*, but in their Return were courageously encounter'd by the Earl of *Northumberland* and his valiant Son *Hotspur* with the Earl of *Dunbar*, and entirely defeated. This Victory is in a great Measure attributed to the Gallantry and Valour of *Hotspur's* strong Archers; against whose piercing Arrows neither the *Scottish* Shields, nor their best Armour could protect them. Earl *Douglafs* the General, after much Bravery, and sealing his Valour with five Wounds and the Loss of an Eye, was taken Prisoner, with *Murdock Stuart* Earl of *Fife*, *George* Earl of *Angus*, the Earls of *Murrey* and *Orkney*, the Lords *Montgomery*, *Erskin* and *Grahme*, and about fourscore Knights, besides Esquires and Gentlemen. The Lords *Gourdon* and *Swynton*, with several other Men of Honour and Note fell upon the Place; and above five hundred in their Flight were drown'd in the River *Tweed*. This Victory was obtain'd upon *Holy-Rood* Day in the Time of Harvest. In the same Year *Edmund* of *Langley*, Duke of *York*, and fifth Son of King *Edward* III. departed this Life, and was bury'd at *Langley* with his Brothers; leaving an untainted Honour, and unblemish'd Reputation behind him. Not long after, in the following Year, King *Henry* marry'd a Second Wife, *Jane* of *Navarre*, Widow of *John de Mountfort* Duke of *Bretaign*, by whom she had both Sons and Daughters, but not any by the King. He met, and marry'd her at *Winchester*, and then crown'd her Queen at *Westminster*; but he was not trusted with the Custody of any of her three Sons, *John*, *Richard* and *Arthur*, who remain'd in *France*.

The Duke of
York dies.

The King mar-
ries.

A. D.

1403.

Reg. 4.

The Family of
the Piercys
displeas'd.

III. King *Henry* now daily increas'd in Power and Grandeur; yet in a short Time, he and the Nation were involv'd in greater Troubles and Calamities than had been felt before. For the great Earl of *Northumberland*, with his uneasie Brother the Earl of *Worcester*, and his gallant Son *Hotspur*, who had been formerly great Friends and Assistants to King *Henry*, now began to envy his Wealth and Felicity; but were particularly displeas'd at the King's demanding of them such *Scottish* Prisoners as had been taken at *Nesbit* and *Halidown*: For of all the Prisoners taken at those Places, only the Earl of *Fife* had been delivered to the King, tho' he had several Times with Threatnings requir'd the Remainder. The *Piercys*, accounting them as their own proper Prisoners, were highly offended, and by the Advice of the Earl of *Worcester*, whose Design was to imbroil the publick Affairs, they repair'd to the King at *Windfor*, purposely to sound him. Here they boldly requir'd of him, That either by Ransom or other Means he would set at Liberty their Cousin *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *Marche*, whom *Owen Glendour* had kept in a loathsome Prison, only because he had been true and faithful to him. The King, after Consideration, made Answer, That the Earl of *Marche* was not made Prisoner

ner for his Cause or Service, but willingly suffer'd himself to be taken, because he would not oppose the Attempts of Glendour and his Accomplices, therefore he would neither ransom nor relieve him. This Answer so kindled the fiery Spirit of Hotspur, that he cry'd out *The Heir of the Realm was robb'd of his Right, and the Robber would not allow him part of his own for his Redemption*; and in a Fury the *Piercys* departed the King's Presence, resolving to set up the Earl of *Marche*, whose Deliverance they not only procur'd, but also enter'd into a Confederacy with *Owen Glendour*. Here some Writers have made a strange Observation upon the Earl of *Marche*, that on the Night he was born, all the Horses in his Father's Stable were found up to the Belly in Blood: A dreadful Prodigy, which afterwards seem'd verify'd by more dreadful Events, when upon the Contest of *Mortimer's* Title, by which the House of *York* claim'd the Crown, the War-Horses might be said rather to swim than to stand in Blood. Here also *Walsingham* tells us of strange Apparitions that were seen this Year between *Bedford* and *Biggleswade*, where several Monsters of divers Colours in the Shapes of armed Men were often seen to issue out of the Woods, and to encounter each other after a terrible and unheard of Manner.

They confederate with Glendour against the King.

The first who appear'd in Arms was the valiant *Hotspur*, who under Pretence of the *Scotch* War, made head about *Chester* and the Marches of *Wales*. To him repair'd the Earl of *Worcester*, leaving the young Prince of *Wales*, and that Prince's Household, over both which the King had plac'd him. And now the Torch of War was lighted up, and began to blaze; for tho' the chief Mover the Earl of *Northumberland* had not join'd them, as he design'd, yet their Numbers increas'd exceedingly, with which they propos'd to enter *Shrewsbury*, and to make that Place the Seat of the War. Here they issu'd out Letters and Manifesto's declaring their Reasons for thus appearing in the Field, as First, 'That the publick Mony had not been employ'd in the real Defence of the Nation, but unduly wasted. Secondly, That by Reason of malicious Informations to the King, they could not with Safety approach him, to declare their Innocence, unless the Prelates and Peers of the Realm first interceded for 'em. Thirdly, They took up Arms only to secure their own Persons, and see the Kingdom better govern'd. These were their outward Pretensions, but their real Designs and Resolutions were not only to depose King *Henry*, and advance the Title of the Earl of *Marche*, but likewise to share the whole Kingdom between three Persons, the Earl of *Marche*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Owen Glendour*. Concerning which Partition an Indenture *Tripartite* was sign'd and seal'd by them, by virtue of which all *South-England* was to remain to *Mortimer*, *North-England* beyond *Trent* to *Piercy*, and *Wales* beyond *Severne* to *Glendour*. Besides this, the Earl of *Douglafs* their Prisoner, as a Person highly serviceable, by common Consent for his Share was allow'd to be free from Ransom, and to have the Town of *Berwick* assign'd him. Some Writers tell us that this was done out of a foolish Credulity given to a vain Prophecy of *Merlin's*, by which many thought That King *Henry* was the Mouldwarp curs'd by God's own Mouth, and that *Mortimer*, *Piercy* and *Glendour*, were the Dragon, the Lion and the Wolf, that should divide the Realm between them. Then to strengthen their Power, it was again reported, That King *Richard* was alive, and in the Castle of *Chester*.

Their Reasons alleg'd.

Their Design.

On the other Side King *Henry*, attack'd with such unexpected Dangers, defended his Cause by Letters, and threw all the Guilt upon his Accusers, declaring That he was extremely surpris'd, since the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Son had the greatest Part of the publick Mony deliver'd to them, for the Defence of the Borders against Scotland, why they should make that the Ground of their pretended Grievances. And to remove all Pretence of Fear from the Conspirators, he sent to the three *Piercys* a safe Conduct under his Royal Seal, by which they might come and return without Molestation; but, as our

The King's Vindication.

Author words it, unbridled Rashness despising the Royal Clemency, push'd them on to the Height of Rebellion. In the mean Time the King arm'd with the utmost Expedition against his Enemies, and being attended by the Earl of *Dunbar* and the young Prince of *Wales*, advanc'd with a considerable Force within Sight of *Shrewsbury*, when the furious *Hotspur* stood ready to attack the Town; who no sooner discover'd the Royal Standard, but he abandon'd that Enterprize to draw up his Army in Battalia, which consisted of fourteen thousand strong and hardy Men, eager to try their Fortunes against a well-temper'd and experienced Adversary. Peace had notwithstanding ensu'd, by the exceeding Tenderneſs of the King; but the malignant Earl of *Worcester*, by misrepresenting and falsifying the King's Proffers, did precipitate his Nephew into a sudden Engagement. Never was Battel fought on both Sides with more martial Rage and Bravery; in which the two mighty Champions, *Hotspur* and *Douglafs*, instead of spending their Strength upon the Multitude, resolv'd to encounter the King in Person, as in whose Death they knew ten thousand would fall. Accordingly they rush'd forwards with a Fury scarce to be equal'd; but the prudent Earl of *Dunbar* discovering their Design, drew the King from the Ground he had chosen, and probably sav'd his Life; for the Royal Standard was overthrown, the Earl of *Stafford*, Sir *Water Blount*, and ten new Knights were destroy'd by the Force of these sudden Thunder-bolts. *Douglafs* kill'd three several Persons in the King's Coat-Armour; so that many of his Soldiers believing they had lost their General, quitted the Field. But the King, whose Valour was equal to his Danger, by his undaunted Courage restor'd the Battel, and with his devouring Sword perform'd Wonders, killing no less than six and thirty with his own Hand. The noble Prince of *Wales*, then but fifteen Years of Age, and first enter'd into the School of War, now gave signal Instances of his present Courage, and no less happy Omens of his future Glory; and being so wounded in the Face that several Noblemen offer'd to carry him out of the Battel and Danger, he disdain'd to retire, and fought bravely to the last. After three Hours dreadful Conflict, the Fall of the great *Hotspur* put an End to this Tragick Scene, who riding in Defiance of Death and all Difficulties, was slain by an unknown Hand, drawing a Ruin after him suitable to his Spirit and Bravery: For there fell with him most of the Esquires and Gentlemen of *Cheshire*, in Number two Hundred, and above five thousand common Soldiers. The rest fled; but the King generously declining to make further Execution of his misguided Subjects, suffer'd them to shift for themselves without Pursuit. This Victory was gain'd with the Loss of sixteen hundred Men upon the twenty first Day of *July*, in Memory of which the King founded a College on the Place, and call'd it *Battelfield*. The valiant *Douglafs*, together with the Earl of *Worcester*, the Baron of *Kinderton*, and Sir *Richard Vernon* were taken Prisoners; the first, who once unhors'd the King, and no Subject to him, was for his Courage set at Liberty without Ransom; but the other three were all beheaded two Days after the Battel. The Body of *Hotspur*, tho' once permitted to be bury'd, was afterwards quarter'd, and sent to several Parts of the Kingdom; and this was the Fate of one of the bravest Warriors of the Age, who till this Time had ever been fortunate, victorious and triumphant.

Shortly after, the Earl of *Northumberland*, pretending to come with Forces to the King's Assistance, was diverted by the Earl of *Westmorland*, and Sir *Robert Waterton*, who had rais'd a considerable Power. *Northumberland* judging neither of them his Friends, suddenly turn'd about to his Castle of *Warkworth*; since nothing could secure him from the victorious Army of a martial King. Of this he was sensible, manifestly feeling the irrecoverable Maims of his House in the Loss of his Brother and beloved Son, and therefore form'd his Methods accordingly. The King therefore, as prudent as fortunate, having settled Affairs in the Marches about *Shrewsbury*, advanc'd to the City of *York*, there to provide against future Exigencies. Here he commanded the Earl of *Northumberland*

berland to repair thither in Person, which he accordingly obey'd on the Eleventh of *August*, arriving with a small Train in the Nature of a humble Petitioner. He could not in Reason hope for the usual familiar Favour of the King, nor did he obtain it, for it was judg'd sufficient to have his Life pardon'd, tho' his Estate and Liberty was abridg'd, the King only allowing him necessary Maintenance. Having settled the Northern Counties, the King resolv'd to return towards North *Wales*, to chastise the Presumptions of some of the Inhabitants; but wanting Mony at present, the Arch-Bishop and Clergy afterwards consented to supply him with a Tenth. Towards the Relief of these his Necessities, the valiant Exploits of *William de Wilford* an Esquire, who was then cruising upon the narrow Seas, brought some Assistance; for he took forty lawful Prizes, loaden with Iron, Oil, Soap and *Rochelle* Wines, to the Quantity of a thousand Tun, upon the Coasts of *Bretaign*, and in his Return set forty Sail on Fire. And to make the *Bretaigns* know that he was not only formidable at Sea, he landed at *Penarch*, burnt Towns and Houses for several Miles into the Country; and afterwards did the same to the Town of *St. Matthew's*, which he laid in Ashes, and wasted all the neighbouring Country. The *French* not to seem slow in the like Ravages, landed at the Isle of *Wight*, but were compell'd with Loss to retire to their Ships, with far less Success than the *Bretaigns* under the Command of the Lord of *Castell* had not long before, who landing at *Plimouth*, took and burnt that Place.

Old Piercy Sub-
mits.

William Wil-
ford's Acts.

The King having humbled the great Earl of *Northumberland*, now thought it Policy to take him into Favour, and restore him to his Estate, but not without secret Respect to his own Security. This Restitution was made to the Earl in a Parliament held at *London* about the middle of *January*, where the King obtain'd an unusual Tax or Subsidy, of which no Record or Writing was suffer'd to remain, that it might not be drawn into Precedent. The King had soon Occasion to bestow some of this Mony; for a Troop of plain West-Country Men presented themselves to him, with three *French* Lords, and twenty Knights of Note, whom they had taken Prisoners at *Dartmouth*, for which they receiv'd a munificent Reward. By these the King understood, That the Lord of *Castell* of *Bretaign*, who had formerly burnt *Plimouth*, expecting to do the like at *Dartmouth*, landed with his Forces, where these and the like People fiercely engag'd him; and the Women, like *Amazons*, by hurling of Stones, and the like Artillery, did much facilitate their Husbands and Relations Victory. The Lord of *Castell* himself, and many others were slain; and more might have been sav'd, but the Ignorance of Language equally confounded the Cries of Indignation and Pity. The *French* also made a Descent upon the Isle of *Wight*, and the Duke of *Orleans* sent a particular Challenge to King *Henry*; but neither of them to any great Effect. All this Summer *Owen Glendour*, and the *Welsh* burnt and ravag'd the *Marches*, kill'd and took many Prisoners, and partly by Force and partly by Fraud, gain'd several Castles, demolishing some, and fortifying others. To add to these Troubles, the *Flemmings* and *Bretaigns* took certain *English* Merchant Ships, and either slew or hung up the Sailors.

A. D.
1404.
Reg. 5.

Several small
Actions with
the French.

In this Year dy'd the famous *William* of *Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, who left behind him many noble Monuments of his Zeal to Religion, and Love to the Church; particularly he founded *New-College* in *Oxford*, and another at *Winchester*. We are told by *Trussell* that this Prelate was intrusted with a strange and important Secret in relation to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, Father to this King *Henry*; particularly that his Mother *Philippa* should in Confession upon her Death-Bed acknowledge to him, That *John* was a supposititious Child, and that he ought to use all Methods to prevent him or his Progeny from ascending the Throne of *England*: And that upon the Bishop's discovering this Secret to him, he ever after bore him a Mortal Hatred. This is a Matter of Fact of no great Authority, the Truth of which would be worth a Historian's Knowledge.

William of
Wickham's
Death.

IV. King *Henry's* Reign was all this Time like a craggy Mountain, from ^{which} there is no Descent but by a thousand crooked Ways, full of rocky Stones and jetting Cliffs. The first Difficulties escap'd, others are met withal of more Danger and Anxiety; in such Paths he walk'd all the Time of his Reign, one Danger was a Step to another, and the Event always doubtful; for his Subjects former Desire being almost extinguish'd, his Friends failing, and his Enemies encreasing, he had no other Support in so painful a Descent but his own Vigilance and Conduct; Helps, which tho' they might cause him to keep on his Way, yet they were not sufficient to preserve him from great Weariness. King *Richard* had been several Times said to be alive after his Death; more particularly this Year, by means of the Letters of *Serlo*, who had been one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber. This Man, after his Master's Fall, withdrew himself into *France*, where being assur'd that *Richard* was still alive in *Scotland*, he went into that Country to know the Truth. After he had spoken with the Impostor, whom he knew to be such, he however embrac'd the Occasion, and out of Hatred to King *Henry*, he caus'd a Seal to be made like that of King *Richard's*, and wrote several Letters to his Friends in *England*, sign'd with the same; insomuch that he distracted the Minds of many, who really concluded *Richard* to be still alive. The old Countess of *Oxford*, Mother to the Duke of *Ireland*, did not only publish the Certainty of it, but likewise caus'd many Stags made of Gold and Silver, the former Badges of *Richard*, to be given to her Dependants, that they might wear them on their Cloaths, as soon as *Richard* enter'd *England*. But her indiscreet Management in this Affair, and her open sending her Secretary to the Inhabitants of *Essex*, was the Cause of the Discovery; for which she ended her Days in a close Prison, with the Confiscation of her Goods, and the Secretary suffer'd upon a Gallows. *Serlo* finding his Plots abortive, and being unable to return to *France* for want of Mony, came to *Barwick*, hoping that Sir *William Clifford*, a Friend of King *Richard's*, would have furnish'd him. But Sir *William* having incur'd the King's highest Displeasure, by detaining *Barwick* against his Will, found means to purchase his Pardon by delivering up *Serlo* to the King at *Pontefract*. Shortly after *Serlo* was executed at *London*, who likewise confess'd, that he was one of the Persons that murder'd the Duke of *Glocester* at *Calais*; and tho' he dy'd very penitent, yet he dy'd unpity'd by all who esteem'd the Memory of that popular Duke. Into this Smoak did all this Design vanish; as likewise did another not long after, which was promoted in a Parliament held at *Coventry*, call'd the *Lack-Learning* Parliament, either from the Ignorance of the Members, or their Hatred to Learned Men: In which, to supply the King's Wants, a Bill was exhibited against the Temporalities of the Clergy; but by the Courage of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who declar'd, *That it was the enriching of themselves, not of the King, that they respected in their sacrilegious Attempts*, and by the particular Care of the King, who vow'd *To leave the Church in no worse State than he found it*, the Motion ended in nothing but the infamous Memory of the Projectors.

A. D. 1405. Reg. 6. 7. The Coals of the former Northern Rebellion were not so fully extinguish'd, but by removing the Ashes that cover'd them, new Sparks began to appear; for Envy and some Accidents had so infected the Eyes of some of the Nobility, that they could not bear the Sight of King *Henry's* Grandeur. Among whom *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl-Marshal was principal, who drew *Richard Scrope* Arch-Bishop of *York* into a Conspiracy, as likewise the old Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Bardolf*, the Citizens of *York*, with great Numbers of common People to assist in their Cause, which was gloss'd with the specious Pretence of redressing publick Abuses, arising from the King's Mismanagement. The Earl of *Westmorland* hearing of this Attempt, in which the Earl-Marshal and the Arch-Bishop were Leaders of a numerous Multitude, gather'd a considerable

King Henry
meets with new
Troubles.

A counterfeit
King Richard.

The Design de-
feated.

The Lack-
Learning Par-
liament.

A new Conspi-
racy against the
King.

derable Force to encounter them; but perceiving himself too feeble, he betook himself to Fraud and Stratagem, and by pretending to approve of their Quarrel, found means to get them both into his Possession, and made a very acceptable Present of them to the King at *York*; where both the Arch-Bishop and Earl-Marshall were publickly beheaded, notwithstanding the Earl of *Westmorland* had before promis'd them their Lives. The Pope afterwards excommunicated all such as were concern'd in the Arch-Bishop's Death. These were dangerous Times for the King, who not satisfy'd with the Blood of these two great Men, vigorously pursu'd the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf* with an invincible Army of thirty seven thousand Men; but they unable to resist so mighty a Power, took *Barwick* for their Refuge. The King with his usual Expedition march'd to that Place, but before his Arrival, they in great Fear fled into *Scotland*, where they were entertain'd by the Lord *Flemming*. The Town of *Barwick*, in hopes of Succours from *Scotland*, stood out; upon which the King planted a Battering Piece against a Tower in the Wall, which as it soon threw down the Tower, so it destroy'd all the Defendants Courages, who immediately yielded upon hard and desperate Terms; for they were partly hang'd, and partly imprison'd. *Barwick* being thus recover'd, the King took *Alnwick*, and all other Castles belonging to the Earl; and expecting the like good Fortune in *Wales*, he cross'd over thither, where it prov'd otherwise, not by the Manhood of the *Welsh*, but by the sudden Floods of Waters, which destroy'd his Carriages, and above fifty Wains loaden with Treasure: Therefore he return'd to *Worcester*. *Owen Glendour*, the chief of the *Welsh*, fearing a Revenge for former Actions, had before confederated with the *French*, who in a hundred and forty Ships arriv'd at *Milford* Haven to his Assistance, but with the Loss of most of their Horses in the Passage, for want of Water. The Lord *Barkley*, and *Henry de Par* burnt fifteen of their Ships in the Harbour, and soon after they laid Siege to the Town of *Carmarthen*, which, upon Permission of marching out with Bag and Baggage, was surrender'd.

The King raises
a great Army.

His Actions

The King being again in Want of Mony, after much Reluctancy and Delay, the Parliament furnish'd him, overcome more with Weariness and Importunity, than any good Inclination. Some of this Mony was employ'd in secret Practices with the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf* might be delivered into his Hands, in Exchange for some Prisoners of that Nation. Upon notice of which, they two fled into *Wales*; and the *Scots* missing their Purpose, slew the Lord *Flemming* for discovering their Intentions to their distressed Guests, as by the Laws of Honour and Hospitality he was oblig'd; which fill'd *Scotland* with new Civil Discords. To avoid the Dangers of which, and for the Improvement of his Education, *Robert* King of *Scotland* sent his Son and Heir by Sea into *France*, who being at Sea, with the Bishop of *Orkney*, some Mariners of *Norfolk* surpriz'd him, and presented him to King *Henry*, who detain'd him Prisoner in the Tower of *London*. But afterwards he gave him such a noble Education, as to all Princely Qualifications, that the *Scots* and the young Prince had reason to conclude, that King *Henry*'s Care turn'd all to the Advantage of them and their King. In the mean Time the *French* prosecuting their Affairs in *Wales*, sent thither thirty eight Ships full of Soldiers, of which Number the *English* took eight, and not long after fifteen Sail loaden with Wax and Wine. This Fortune, tho' good, was far inferior to the great Service which *Henry Pay*, with certain Ships of the Cinque-Ports, and about fifteen others, perform'd against a numerous Fleet of a hundred and twenty Sail, loaden with Iron, Salt, Oil, and *Rochelle* Wines. About the same Time a Felon was executed for setting up Bills in several Parts of *London*, containing News of King *Richard*'s being still alive. In the same Year a dreadful Pestilence destroy'd Multitudes of People throughout the Kingdom, especially in *London*, where within a short Space there dy'd no less than thirty thousand. But the most memorable Death was that of the old renowned Captain Sir *Robert Knolls*;

A. D.

1406.

Reg. 7.

The King of
the Scots Son
taken Prisoner.

A. D.

1407.

Reg. 8.

A dreadful
Plague in Lon-
don.

Knolls; a Man born of mean Parents, but by his Valour and Abilities rais'd to the Height of Glory under King *Edward III.* after which he became highly celebrated for many Works of Charity and Magnificence; among which the famous Stone Bridge at *Rocheſter* in *Kent* was one.

A. D. 1408. Reg. 10. In the mean Space, the Wars of *Wales* were manag'd by young Prince *Henry*, who took the Castle of *Aberistwith*; but *Owen Glendour* shortly after retook it by Policy, and put into it a Garrison of his own. Thus *Glendour* prosper'd for a short Time; but the unfortunate Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf*, leaving *Wales*, and raising new Forces in the North to assert their Rights, were encounter'd by the Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, who after a sharp Conflict slew the Earl in the Field, and so wounded the Lord *Bardolf* that he dy'd shortly after. This Success did not hinder the King from pursuing his Journey that Way; but arriving at *York*, he there fined many, and put others to Death, answerable to the Nature of their Crimes. The Bishop of *Bangor* and Abbot of *Ailes*, who were taken Prisoners, met with different Fates according to the Diversity of their Habits; the Abbot being taken in Armour was hang'd, the Bishop being taken in his own Cloathes was pardon'd. The Heads of the two Peers were cut off, fix'd upon Spears, and erected on *London Bridge*: And this was the miserable End of Father, Son and Brother, and almost the Period of one of the most valiant and illustrious Families in the Kingdom; all which was owing to a meer Caprice of Honour, which engaged 'em in a Quarrel with a mighty Monarch, from whom they thought their extraordinary Merit ought to have met with no Repulse: A Presumption that has and will deceive many. For Princes will not acknowledge their Being from another, nor that their Subjects are their Benefactors; the very Thought of which is not easily pardon'd. Here all King *Henry's* adverse Fortune had a Period; and in this Calm he likewise quieted all Domestick Suspicions and Jealousies, having in the rest of his short Reign only some small foreign Armies, not so much to weary him, as to keep him in Breath and Exercise.

old Piercy slain.

An Observation upon that Family.

A. D. 1409. Reg. 10. V. The Peace of Christendom having been long violently disturb'd by a famous Schism, rais'd by the Ambition of two opposite Popes, of whom one was chosen at *Rome*, the other at *Avignon*, by contrary Factions of the Cardinals; a general Council was summon'd to be held at *Pisa* in *Italy*, to which Place King *Henry* sent his Ambassadors, and the Clergy elected *Robert Alun* Chancellor of *Oxford* and Bishop of *Salisbury*, to signify, *That unless both Popes would decline the Pontificate, neither of them for the future should be acknowledg'd as Pope.* The King in his Letter to Pope *Gregory* charg'd him with Perjury, and *That this Papal Emulation had been the Cause of the Deaths of more than two hundred and thirty Thousand Christians slain in Wars.* There assembled a great Number of Cardinals, Arch-Bishops, Bishops and other mitred Prelates, who elected a new Pope, *Alexander V.* a Man train'd up in *Oxford*; where he took his Degree in Theology; rejecting the other two, who had long and violently contended for the Place. In the mean Time, *Owen Glendour*, after infinite Mischiefs committed, ended his miserable Life, in the tenth Year of this Reign; who being abandon'd, and driven to all Extremities, finish'd his Days with Hunger and Famine; at whose Exit all the *Welsh* Broils were at an End. After this King *Henry* call'd a Parliament to find out Means for more Mony, to the Charge and Management of which he ordain'd Sir *Henry Scrope*, creating him Lord Treasurer, and *Thomas Beaufort* the King's Half-Brother Lord Chancellor. In this Parliament was reviv'd the former Sacrilegious Attempt of alienating the Temporals of the Clergy, in which it was al-

Glendour's Death.

A. D. 1410. Reg. 11.

Complaints against the Ecclesiasticks.

ledg'd, *That what the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, &c. had spent leudly and wastefully, would be sufficient to maintain a hundred and fifty Earls, fifteen hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and a hundred Hospitals.*

tals more than were already founded. But the King upon mature Consideration, detesting their distemper'd Zeal, deny'd their Petitions, and in Person commanded them, upon Pain of his Indignation, not to presume to concern themselves with Affairs of that Nature. In this Year, the Duke of *Burgundy's* uncommon Provisions he had made to reduce the Town of *Calais* to the *French* Dominions, and stor'd up at *St. Omers*, were consum'd to Ashes by a casual Fire, which gave great Ease to the *Calisians*.

About these Times the great and dangerous Factions between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* in *France* broke out; and the Cause was for a Murder committed upon *Lewis*, Brother to the *French* King, and Father to the Duke of *Orleans*, as he came late from the Queen's Lodgings, who was then in Child-Bed. The Duke of *Burgundy* justify'd the Fact, alledging that *Lewis* had us'd means with the Pope to depose the present King, upon Pretence that he was unfit to govern as the last King *Childerick*, against whom Pope *Zachary* had pronounc'd Sentence. This prepar'd the Way for that terrible Scourge with which Heav'n thought fit to chastise the Pride and Sins of the Kingdom of *France*. Each Party endeavour'd to strengthen themselves by Foreign as well as Domestick Friends: The Duke of *Burgundy* had the King and *Dauphine* on his Side; and the other had the Kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretaign*, with many of the chief Nobility. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who with the King and Government kept in *Paris*, fearing the Power of his Adversaries, offer'd to the King of *England* a Daughter of *France* in Marriage with his Son, and many Advantages, if he would join in the Defence of the King, and send over competent Forces. To which King *Henry* is said to have answer'd, *Our Advice is, that you should by no Means hazard a Battel with one who seems to prosecute a just Revenge for the Death of his Father, but by all reasonable Means endeavour to assuage the Fury of the exasperated young Man. If that be unsuccessful, stand upon your Guard, and retire to the best Place of Safety, with such Forces as may best serve for your Defence. After all this Precaution, if he will not be appeas'd, you may ingage him with the safer Conscience, and in such a Case, we will not fail to assist you, according to your Request.* For the present he sent over the Earls of *Arundel* and *Kyme*, and many Men at Arms, with a numerous Body of *English* Archers, who arriv'd safe at *Paris*, where they every Way answer'd the ancient Glory of their Nation.

The Duke of *Orleans*, and those of his Faction, on the other Side endeavour'd to draw the King of *England* from their Enemy, and thereupon sent over one *Falconet* with others, with solemn Letters of Credence, whom they made their *irrevocable Procurator to treat with the most excellent King of England, &c. for the Restitution of the Dukedom of Gascony, and all its Appurtenances, which were the Inheritance of the most excellent Lord the King of England, &c.* The Ambassadors having shew'd their Credentials, exhibited the Points of their Negotiation in these Articles, which shew how far the Spirit of Revenge will transport the Minds even of the Greatest. First, 'They offer their Bodies to be employ'd against all Men for the Service of the King of *England*, saving their Allegiance to their own Sovereign, as knowing the King of *England* would not otherwise desire them. Secondly, 'Their Sons, Daughters, Nephews and Neices to bestow in Marriage at the King of *England's* Pleasure. Thirdly, 'Their Castles, Towns, Treasure, and all their Goods to be at the Service of the said King. Fourthly, 'Their Friends, the Gentlemen of *France*, the Clergy, and rich Burgers; who were all on their Side, as by Proof should well appear. Finally, 'They offer to him the Dukedom of *Gascony* entire, and in as full a Manner as ever his Predecessors enjoy'd it; so as they themselves will hold and acknowledge to hold their Lands in those Parts directly of the said King, and deliver all they can into his Possession, and do their utmost to conquer the rest for him. All this that upon Condition on the other Side, First, 'That

A. D.

1411.

Reg. 12.

Factions in France.

They seek to King Henry.

A. D.

1412.

Reg. 13.

Offers made from the Duke of Orleans.

The King joins
with him.

‘ That the King of *England* should assist the said Lords against the Duke of
‘ *Burgundy*, for the Murder committed upon the late Duke of *Orleans*. Se-
‘ condly, That he should give this Assistance, ’till all the Losses were repair’d,
‘ which they and their Friends had sustain’d upon this Occasion. Thirdly,
‘ That he should help to settle the Quiet of the Realm, &c. These Offers
being balanc’d with the Articles upon which the Duke of *Burgundy* had obtain’d
Succours, outweigh’d them so far, that about the Middle of *August*, before all
those that had been sent with the Earl of *Arundel* to the contrary Part were
return’d into *England*, Forces were order’d for the Duke of *Orleans*, to the
Wonder of all Men, who understood not the Secret; so that *Thomas* Duke of
Clarence, *Edward* Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Dorset*, with many other great
Men, and a competent Army, were sent over to assist the Duke of *Orleans*,
while the Earl of *Angouleme* continu’d a Hostage in *England* for the Payment
of a hundred ninety thousand Crowns, and Performance of Articles. The *En-
glish* landed in *Normandy*; but whether the Confederates mov’d with the Dan-
gers to which their Nation would be precipitated, or for some other Causes, the
Duke of *Orleans*, contrary to Agreement, declin’d coming at the appointed
Time and Place; which gave Occasion to the *English* to burn, pillage and take
much Riches in many Parts of the Country, to satisfy themselves ’till the Duke
of *Orleans* should see them paid. Yet at length the Dukes of *Clarence* and
Orleans came to a Treaty; after which the *English* march’d into *Gascony* to
take up their Winter-Quarters, and the Duke of *Orleans* return’d into his own
Country. During these Transactions, the Lord of *Heyle* Marshal of *France*,
with many other Lords, and an Army of eighty Thousand Men, laid Siege to
a certain strong Place in *Gascony*; which the valiant Sir *John Blount*, with
three hundred Men, not only defended, but also drove the Enemy from the
Siege, took twelve of the chief Men Prisoners, and a hundred and twenty other
Gentlemen.

But to no great
Effect.

The Education
of Henry Prince
of Wales.

King *Henry* liv’d not to see the Course and Fortune of these Wars; but
began now to turn his Thoughts to Matters of a contrary Nature: For having
reduc’d his Kingdom to a calm Condition, and having no more Occasion to be
bloody or detested, his Actions were grown to that Degree of Temperance, as
there remain’d nothing more to be desir’d in him. Justice was administer’d with-
out Distinction, he shew’d himself affable, liberal and pious, so that his Sub-
jects now as much lov’d him as they formerly fear’d him; and having set his
Thoughts chiefly upon God, he resolv’d to spend the Remainder of his Life
wholly in his Service. His greatest secular Concern was that for his eldest Son
Henry, now about twenty Four Years of Age, whose Behaviour and Carriage
had rais’d both the Hopes and Fears of the whole Kingdom. This wondrous
Prince had formerly been a Student in *Queen’s College* in *Oxford*, under the
Tuition of his Uncle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellor of that University; from
whence he was remov’d to Court, and committed to the Government of the
Earl of *Worcester*. But coming afterwards to his own Disposal, whether being
by Nature courageous, and yet not well temper’d by Time and Experience; or
whether incited by dangerous Companions, or embolden’d by his own Great-
ness, he ran into many Courses unworthy of a Prince, so that it was much
doubted how he would prove when he came to the Throne. It is reported that
he lay in wait for the Receivers of his Father’s Revenues, and in the Person of
a Robber set upon them and rill’d them. Afterwards, when one of his Affor-
ates was arraign’d for Felony before the Lord Chief Justice, he went boldly to
the King’s Bench bar and offer’d to free the Prisoner by Force; but being with-
stood by the Judge, he stepp’d up to him, and struck him over the Face. At
which the Judge without Hesitation told him, *That this Affront was not to
himself, but to the King his Father, in whose Place he sat*; wherefore to
make him sensible of his Crime, he immediately commanded him to Prison. It
was surprizing to see how calm the Prince was in his own Cause, who had been

He affronts a
Judge.

so violent for his Companion; for he quietly obey'd the Judge's Sentence, and suffer'd himself to be led to Prison. This Passage was not a little pleasing to the King, to find he had a Judge of such Courage, and a Son of such Submissi- on; but yet for these and other such Actions he remov'd him from being Presi- dent of the Council, and plac'd in his Room his second Brother *Thomas Duke of Clarence*. This made the Prince so sensible of his Father's Displeasure, that he us'd all Means to recover his Opinion, and by Ways as strange as those by which he lost it: For attiring himself in a Habit peculiar and uncommon to the highest Degree, he came to the Court at *Westminster*; where the King in the Presence of three or four Privy-Counsellors demanded of him the Cause of his strange Dress and Appearance. He answer'd, *That being not only his Sub- ject, but his Son, and a Son so tenderly lov'd by him, he deserv'd a thousand Deaths, if he should act, or but imagine the least Offence against his Sacred Majesty; and therefore he had prepar'd himself to be made a Sacrifice*: And therewithal reaching his Dagger to his Father, he added, *That I desire to live no longer than I may be thought to be what I am, and ever shall be, your faithful and obedient Vassal*. With this and the like Answer the King was so mov'd, that he fell upon his Son's Neck, and imbracing him with a Flood of Tears confess'd *That his Ears had been too open to receive Reports of him, and solemnly promis'd, That nothing for the future should cause any Disaf- fection towards him*.

*He is reconcil'd
to his Father.*

The King liv'd not long to enjoy the happy Fruits of this Reconciliation; for in *Christmass* he began to feel his last Sickness at *Eltham*; but recovering a lit- tle, he repair'd to *London* about *Candlemass*, there to hold a Parliament, the End of which he never saw. Here he took upon him the *Crusado*, and began to make Provision for his Journey to *Jerusalem*; but being at his Prayers be- fore *St. Edward's Shrine*, he was suddenly taken with an Apoplexy, and there- upon remov'd to the Abbot of *Westminster's* House; where recovering his Sen- ses, and finding himself in a strange Place, he demanded where he was? Being told that he was in the Abbot's House, in a Chamber call'd *Jerusalem*, he cry'd out, *Lord have Mercy upon me, for this is the Jerusalem where a Soothsayer told me I must die*. Here the vulgar Chronicles tell us a very peculiar Story; That the King, while he lay dangerously sick, order'd his Crown to be set on a Pillow at his Bed's Head; and when suddenly his Pains seiz'd him so vehement- ly that all concluded him dead, the Prince coming in, took away the Crown. The Father unexpectedly reviving soon miss'd his Crown; and calling for his Son, demanded *What he meant to deprive him of that, to which he had yet no Right?* The Prince boldly reply'd, *Since I and all others believ'd you to be dead, I took it as my own Right, but now return it with Joy*. To which the King with a deep Sigh made Answer, *What Right I had to it God only knows*. Be it as it will, reply'd the Prince, *you gain'd it by the Sword, and by the Sword I will maintain it*. The King hearing his Resolution, enter'd into Discourse concerning some Discord he fear'd might arise between him and his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*: To which the Prince thus declar'd, *If my Bro- thers will be true Subjects, I will honour them as Brothers; but if otherwise, I will do Justice upon them as soon as the Meanest in my Kingdom*. The King rejoicing at this unexpected Answer, both prudently and piously charg'd him before God *To administer the Law indifferently, to ease the Oppressed, to beware of Flatterers, not to defer Justice, nor yet to be sparing of Mercy; to punish the Oppressors of the People, by which he should obtain the Favour of God, and Love of his Subjects, who while they had Wealth would conti- nue obedient, but if made Poor by Oppressions, would become rebellious*. With these and the like Admonitions he expired upon the Twentieth Day of *March*, in the Forty Seventh Year of his Age, after an active, politick and victorious Reign of thirteen Years, five Months, and twenty one Days. His Body with

A. D.

1413.

Reg. 14.

*The King's last
Sickness.*

*His Discourse
with his Son.*

His Death.

all funeral Pomp was convey'd to *Canterbury*, and there solemnly interr'd, in the Presence of his Son, and many of the Nobility.

His Character. This was the End of *Henry* the Fourth, who had all the Qualifications of a great and mighty Prince, and one who by his Vigour and Management surmounted infinite Difficulties; all arising from the Want of a just Title to the Crown, which drove him to wade through Seas of Blood, and to bring vast Mischiefs upon the *English* Subjects. As to his Person, he was of a moderate Stature, well proportion'd and compacted, of a great Strength and Agility of Body, skilful in Arms, and of a quick Dispatch; equally shewing himself both earnest and advis'd in all his Actions. He was very ready in Imagination, forwards in Attempt, courageous in Execution, and generally fortunate in the Event. There was no great Place of Imployment or Charge which he would rather affect for Glory, than refuse for Peril or Pains; and in Service he usually prov'd himself not only a skilful Commander by giving Directions, but also an admirable Soldier in using his Weapon, sometimes venturing his Person further than Policy would allow. His Expences were liberal and honourable, yet not exceeding the Measure of his Receipts; he was very courteous and familiar towards all Men, by which he procur'd more Love among the Meaner than the Greater. In all the Changes of his State, he was almost one and the same Man; in Adversity never dejected, in Prosperity never secure; still retaining his Majesty in one, and his Mildness in the other: Nor did the Continuance of his Reign bring him to any proud Behaviour; but in his latter Years he appear'd so mild and gentle, that it almost wore out all Hatred born him for the Death of King *Richard*. He would not easily be drawn into any Cause, but was firm and constant in a good one; yet was more easie to be either corrupted or abus'd by flattering Speeches, than terrify'd by any Threats. His great Error was his mighty Thirst after human Glory, which made him too little examine the just and religious Means of attaining it; for which the Vengeance of Heav'n seems to have met his Posterity in the third Generation.

Sir Richard Whittington's Acts.

There were several Acts of Piety and Charity done in this Reign, besides those by the famous *William* of *Wickam* before-mention'd; in naming of which, we ought not to pass by the excellent Sir *Richard Whittington* Mayor of *London*, who erected a College in that City, with Lodgings and weekly Allowances for divers poor People. He erected that Gate of *London* call'd *Newgate*, which before was a loathsom Prison; and built more than half of St. *Bartholomew's* Hospital in *Smithfield*, and the beautiful Library in the *Gray-Friars* now call'd *Christ's Hospital*. He also built a great Part of the East End of *Guild-Hall*, and a Chappel adjoining to it, with a Library of Stone, for the Custody of the Records of the City; and in his last Will he shew'd the highest Marks of Compassion and Christianity. Among the noted Men in this Reign, we must not forget the two famous Poets *Geoffry Chaucer* and *John Gower*, the two great Reformers of our *English* Tongue; of whom the first dy'd in the fourth of this Reign, and was bury'd in *Westminster* Abby, and the other in the ninth, and was bury'd in St. *Mary Overys* in *Southwark*.

SECT.

S E C T. II.

The Reign of King H E N R Y the Fifth.

Containing 9 Years, 4 Months, and 11 Days.

I. **H**ENRY the Fourth, surnam'd *Bullingbrook*, was immediately succeeded by his eldest Son *Henry* of *Monmouth*, in the twenty sixth Year of his Age, and Prime of his Youth. Tho' some of his former Actions had rais'd the Fears of many, yet now the high Esteem which the Nation had of his Person, produc'd such an intire Confidence in him, that both Lords and Commons upon the twenty fourth of *March*, offer'd to swear Allegiance to him before he was crown'd, or had taken the customary Oath to govern according to Law. He generously thank'd them for their good Affections, and exhorted them in their several Stations *to use all their Power for the Good of the Publick*; declaring *That he began his Reign with the Pardon of all that had offended him, and with such a real Design of promoting his Peoples Happiness, that he would be crown'd on no other Condition than to employ his Authority for that End*; praying to God, *That if he foresaw he would not prove a just and good Governor, he would please to take him immediately out of the World, rather than seat him on the Throne for a publick Calamity to his Country*. On the Ninth Day of *April* the Solemnities of his Coronation were perform'd by *Thomas Arundel* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; which proving a Day of extraordinary Storms, rais'd divers superstitious Observations. He nobly began his Reign with a Command of himself, and renounc'd with Disdain the Companions of his former Riots, who had flatter'd themselves with the Hopes of the highest Places of Honour and Preferment: He forbid them under severe Penalties to approach his Person, or within ten Miles of his Court; and all the Favour they receiv'd was only to be dismiss'd with some liberal Gifts from his Royal Bounty. He next proceeded to make an Alteration among the Judges, and other Officers of the Crown, removing those who were known or suspected to be guilty of corrupt Practices, and advancing others, whose Integrity and Abilities render'd them fit for the highest Employments. And that the People might have free and impartial Justice, after the Example of his Father, it was his Custom every Day, for an Hour or more after Dinner to lean on a Cushion and receive Petitions from his Subjects; where he patiently heard their Complaints, and redress'd them. He also by Proclamation endeavour'd to provide against Corruption of Manners, and Abuses in Government; in which he commanded the Clergy to be faithful in their sacred Charge, and by their Lives as well as Sermons to afford Lessons of Piety to the People: And likewise he enjoin'd the Laity to serve God and obey their Sovereign, forbidding upon his highest Displeasure all Acts of Adultery, wilful Perjuries, and prophane Swearing. And for a further Testimony of his generous and compassionate Disposition, he remov'd the Body of King *Richard*, too meanly interr'd at *Langley*, in great State to *Westminster* Abby, and there laid him enshrind by Queen *Anne* his first Wife, as he himself had desir'd and appointed, founding a weekly Memorial, and an annual Distribution of Mony to the Poor. And so nearly did his Death affect this innocent King, that he sent to his Holiness at *Rome* to be absolv'd from the Guilt of his Father's Act; and willingly perform'd what Penance was enjoin'd him. After which, he in Person attended the Obsequies of his Father, which were celebrated with great Solemnity at the City of *Canterbury*.

A. D.

1413.

Reg. 1.

Henry V. succeeds his Father.

He is crown'd King.

His noble Beginnings.

He removes King Richard's Body to Westminster Abby.

After the Detection of a Conspiracy made by one *Whitlock* and some others, ^{Walsingham} a Parliament met in *May*, in which, the Commons petitioning the King for ^{Pat.} the redressing of Grievances, or for the Establishment of good Orders, many wise Laws were enacted to make the Nation rich, flourishing and prosperous. And thus King *Henry* was easie and secure in the Beginning of his Reign, only two intervening Disasters diminish'd the publick Joy and Satisfaction; a great Plague which destroy'd Numbers of the People, and a violent Fire in *Norwich*, which laid in Ashes most of that large City. Yet among the Calamities of these Times we might reckon the Sufferings of Sir *John Oldcastle* Lord *Cobham*, since it was a strange Example of Injustice and Cruelty, that a Nobleman, endear'd to the King by his excellent Qualities, should by the Hatred of the Clergy be implacably pursu'd to Ruin. This Knight, call'd Lord *Cobham*, was in a publick Synod accus'd by the Clergy of Heresie, in maintaining severall of *Wickliff's* Opinions, and propagating them in the Dioceses of *London*, *Rocheſter* and *Hereford*; against whom also some select Inquisitors at *Oxford* presented his Name, with a great Number of Conclusions, which they had collected as Heretical. The King incens'd by the Arch-Bishop's Suggestions against the Reformers call'd *Lollards*, was further made to believe that they had set up Bills in divers Places, threatening, That a hundred thousand Persons were ready for Arms against all that oppos'd their Reformation, and among these the Lord *Cobham* his Knight was reputed the Chief. The King heard the Arch-Bishop's Complaint, and being at *Kennington*, promis'd to confer with the Lord *Cobham* himself, which accordingly he did, urging him to submit to the Censure of the Church, and be obedient to the Arch-Bishop. But *Cobham* humbly told his Majesty, That he ow'd his Subjection only to himself, whom God had plac'd as his sole Vice-gerent to govern his People of England: But as to the Pope of Rome, he ow'd him no Service, nor would he pay him any; since he was convinc'd in his Conscience, that he was the great Anti-Christ, the Son of Perdition, and the open Adversary of God. This Answer receiv'd, was so deliver'd to the Arch-Bishop, with Power to cite, examine and punish, as their own Canons in such Cases had decreed.

Proceedings against Sir John Oldcastle.

He is Excommunicated.

and condemn'd for Heresie.

The Arch-Bishop having so far obtain'd his Design, by the Advice of several th issu'd out a Citation to him to appear at his Court at a certain Time, which was delivered to him by one *John Butler*, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, because the Summoner durst not do it himself; and the Arch-Bishop, that nothing might be wanting, caus'd his Citation to be set upon the Gates of the Cathedral Church of *Rocheſter*, which were immediately pull'd down, as others again likewise, to the great Displeasure of the Clergy, and the greater, because the Actors could not be known. The Lord *Cobham*, knowing his Enemies Malice and his own Danger, refus'd to appear; whereupon he was excommunicated for Contumacy, and further Procceses were issu'd out against him. In the mean Time he wrote a Form of his Faith, and presented it himself to the King, who being prepossess'd, refus'd to receive it, but suffer'd him to be cited even in his own Presence; when *Cobham* for his Purgation offer'd a hundred Knights and Esquires, which would not be accepted; after which, according to his Degree and Law of Arms, he requir'd a single Combat with either Christian or Pagan as to the Truth of his Faith, the King and Council only excepted. This likewise was not permitted, so that he was oblig'd to appear before the Arch-Bishop and his Suffragans; where after divers Examinations, he answer'd with such Vivacity of Spirit and Courage, that the whole Convocation was amaz'd, and at a loss how to reply. Notwithstanding which he was solemnly condemn'd for a Heretick, and committed to the Tower of *London*; and in the same Synod the Arch-Bishop enacted that Heretical Decree, 'That the Holy Scriptures should not be translated into the *English* Tongue. And it is remarkable that not long after, the same Arch-Bishop was seiz'd with a strange Distemper in his Tongue, which so excessively swell'd it, that it quite depriv'd

depriv'd him of his Speech, and shortly after put an end to his Life. As to *Cobham* himself, he soon made an Escape from the Tower into *Wales*, which gave an Occasion to his Enemies to raise new Jealousies; and they confidently assur'd the King that he and his Adherents had a Design upon his Life, and that in *St. Giles's Fields* near *Holbourn* twenty thousand were to meet in Order to destroy the Monasteries of *Westminster*, *St. Albans*, all the Religious Houses of *London*, and the Cathedral of *St. Paul's*. The King therefore in Person, after Midnight enter'd these Fields with a great Army, where, as their Enemies relate, he apprehended eighty of that Faction, who declar'd *They came to seek the Lord Cobham*. But their Friends alledge, That in those Days of Persecution, such Assemblies had been often made to hear the Gospel preach'd to them, which otherwise they could not enjoy: So that in this Place, then overgrown with Bushes, and unfit for Armies, those few were assembled to hear *John Beverly*, a pious Divine, without any Thoughts of Treason, having for their Commanders no greater Men than *Sir Roger Aston*, *Beverly*, and *Morly*, a Knight, a Minister, and a Maltrman. But we leave these Apologies to others; only the Lord *Cobham* could not be found, tho' the King had promis'd a thousand Marks to any Man that should take him, and also great Privileges to any Town or City in *England* where he was discover'd: By which it may be guess'd, says *Walsingham*, that near the whole Kingdom then embrac'd his Opinions; thirty seven of that Assembly were condemn'd, of whom seven were consum'd with Fire; *Aston*, *Beverly* and *Morly* were likewise executed as Traitors.

He flies into Wales.

Upon Arch-Bishop *Arundel's* Death, *Henry Chicheley*, a great Champion against the *Lollards*, was by the King's Consent and the Monks of *Canterbury* dedec'd their Arch-Bishop, which the politick Elect neither accepted nor refus'd, but left it to the Will and Pleasure of the Pope; who at first was displeas'd that they had proceeded so far without his Directions, yet was soon pacify'd by *Chicheley's* Submission, and some particular Gratifications. This Man, tho' not so conspicuous for his Birth as *Arundel*, yet was as strong for the Clergy, and more in favour with his King, as the Sequel prov'd. His first Essays or both were sufficiently shown in a Parliament held at *Leicester*, where the former Design against the Church-Lands was reviv'd, and a Bill exhibited accordingly; in which it was demonstrat'd, That the Temporalties upon which the Religious and other Spiritual Persons liv'd so luxuriously and wastefully, amounted to three hundred and twenty two thousand Marks yearly; and that besides the said Sum, divers Religious Houses possess'd as many Temporalties as would maintain fifteen thousand Priests and Clerks, allowing to each Man seven Marks a Year. This Bill, says *Hall*, caus'd the fat Abbots to sweat, the proud Priors to frown, the poor Friars to curse, the foolish Nuns to weep, and all her Merchants to fear that *Babel* would sink: And here indeed the excessive Power began to diminish, when by the Authority of this Parliament, a hundred and ten Priories Alian were suppress'd, and all their Possessions given to the King and his Heirs for ever. Therefore to avert the impending Storm it was politickly concluded by *Chicheley* and others, That the most effectual Course was to find the young King some other Employment for the Vigour of his Courage, which might otherwise prove dangerous to them. Accordingly they judg'd it necessary to turn his Thoughts to War and Glory, and to solicit his Ambition, by reminding him of the Title he had to the Crown of *France*, descended to him by the mighty *Edward* the Third. Therefore in a formal premeditated Speech before the King in Parliament the politick Arch-Bishop with all his Rhetorick set forth his Majesty's unquestionable Title to the Realm of *France* from the most illustrious of all his Predecessors *Edward* the Third, who bravely attempted to conquer by Arms, what he could not obtain by a just Treaty. That his Majesty had the same Title to demand that Crown, and the same Reasons to denounce War upon a Refusal. He added, That as he was sensible that the French would oppose their imaginary Salick Law against that Claim, so he

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Great Designs against Ecclesiasticks.

The Arch-Bishop's Speech against France.

knew that they would contradict themselves in assigning the Original of that Law; and if it were granted that such a Law was in Being, yet France was not concern'd in it. For it was in vain for them to pretend that it was made by Pharamond the Founder of their Monarchy, when no mention was made of it 'till above four hundred Years after his Death: And this was when Charles the Great returning from the Conquest of Saxony, part of his Army pass'd the Sala, and settled between that River and the Elle, and from the Name of the former were call'd Salick-Gauls: Which new Colony detesting the vicious Manners of the German Women, by a Law prohibited that Sex from inheriting Lands in their small Dominions. But what was this to the French Nation? How could they prove that by this Law their Crown could not descend to any Daughter of their Kings, unless they could prove their Country to be situated between those two German Rivers. And if all were true which they report of their boasted Law, how could they use it as an Argument against the Right of the English Kings, when they never made it any Bar in the Succession of their own. For it manifestly appear'd, That the Title of the great Pepin, the Claim of Hugh Capet, the Possession of Lewis the Saint, and of all the French Kings to that Day, were deriv'd from Female Heirs; so that the Name of the Salick-Law was but a shifting Illusion to debar the English Kings from their Claim to the French Crown. But granting that such a Law had always been observ'd, yet it was contrary to the Laws of God, and the Customs of all Nations; so that the French alone violated the Statutes of Heav'n, and slighted the Laws of Mankind, that they might devolve their Crown on whom they pleas'd. But if his Majesty would extend his righteous Arms into the Bowels of France, no true Englishman but was ready to devote his Life and Fortune to the glorious Service of so great a King. And in full Persuasion of the Justice and Success of the War, the Clergy, besides their extraordinary Prayers to Heav'n, had given such Sums of Money to maintain it, as had never been granted to any of his Predecessors.

The King and Nobility join with the Motion.

This Speech, which elevated the Thoughts of the whole Assembly, was strenuously debated and examin'd by the Earl of *Westmorland*, Governor of the Marches of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Exeter* Uncle to King *Henry*. The former thought it most safe, first to check the *Scots*, as the nearest and most certain Enemies; but the latter judg'd it better Policy to begin with *France*, the Root and Support of the other, especially since it was now distracted by the grand Factions of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*. The Arguments of the latter soon prevail'd with the King and his Brothers, who being young, and fir'd with the Prospect of new Glories, became impatient to signalize their Courage against the old Enemies of their Country: And the same gallant Spirit being diffus'd through the Minds of the rest of the Nobility, they all declar'd for a War against *France*; which being thus resolv'd, the Parliament was prorogu'd to *Westminster*. There the King's Generosity was shewn to *Henry Percy*, Son to the famous and valiant *Hotspur*, who was now restor'd to the Earldom of *Northumberland*, and to all the Lands and Dignities which his Grand-father and Father had forfeited to the Crown.

An Embassy sent to France.

The War against *France* being determin'd, an honourable Embassy was dispatch'd to that Kingdom, which first demanded the Crown of *France* to be resign'd to King *Henry*; but soon after descended only to require those Provinces which his Predecessors had possess'd in that Kingdom, together with the French King's Daughter, the Princess *Catharine*, to be marry'd to King *Henry*, with a Portion of two Millions of Crowns, two of which were to equal an English Noble. These Demands were thought too high and extravagant, and were rejected, and others offer'd by the *French*, but to no Effect. Whereupon a second Embassy was sent over in the Beginning of the following Year, which insisting upon the same Demands, was at last dishonourably treated. Particularly the *Dauphine* of *France*, as *Cuxton* assures us, in Derision sent King *Henry*

Henry a Tun of Tennis-Balls, intimating that his Youth and Practices had been more agreeable to those, than the rough Exercise of Arms. But the brave Hero, fir'd with the Resentment of this open Affront, declar'd, *That he would return his Present in such dreadful Balls, as the Gates and Walls of Paris should not be strong enough to rebound.*

The King's Answer to the Dauphine.

II. How dangerous it is for Princes to Jest upon each other soon appear'd in the great Preparations King Henry made to invade France; who finding that the French Court only amus'd him with little Artifices, vain Offers and Promises, resolv'd to vindicate his Cause by an open War. He had then about eight hundred thousand Crowns in his Treasury: He furnish'd out a strong Fleet, and besides his own Ships, he hir'd of the *Holandars* and *Zealanders* many Transport Vessels. He rais'd Troops, provided Engines of Battery of vast Bulk and Force, and appointed the Rendezvous of his Fleet and Army to be at *Southampton* upon the twenty fourth Day of *June* following. The People chearfully contributed the necessary Aids of Men and Mony, and the Nobility according to Custom brought their Proportion of Soldiers into the Field; and all Mens Mouths and Hearts were fill'd with the Discourse of Conquering France. The French dreading these Preparations, solicited the *Scots* to make inroads into *England*; but Sir *Robert Umfrevil*, a valiant Knight of the Garter, with only four hundred Men, ingag'd the *Scots* Army consisting of near two thousand, and defeated them: Then with three hundred and sixty Prisoners and great Spoil he return'd triumphantly to *Rokesborough* Castle, of which he was Governor.

A. D.

1415.

Reg. 2.

Great Preparations against France.

The Scots defeated.

The French King finding his Designs ineffectual, resolv'd upon an Embassie into *England* to endeavour for an Accommodation. The chief of the Ambassadors was the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, who with the rest was solemnly introduced to King Henry at *Winchester*, who in great State was sitting in his Chamber in Robes of Cloth of Gold, and negligently leaning on a Cushion. His three Brothers, the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford* and *Glocester*, his Uncle the Duke of *York*, with many other Noblemen, stood on his right Hand; and several Bishops on his Left. The Ambassadors paid their Respects to him on the knee, and made an Offer of several Territories in *France*, together with the French King's Daughter the Princess *Katharine*, and a Dowry of eight hundred thousand Crowns in Gold, if King Henry would immediately disband his Army, and conclude a Peace. These Proposals occasion'd several Conferences, but the King and his Friends insist'd upon higher Demands; which being refused, War was immediately denounc'd to prosecute the King's just Rights to the Crown of *France*. When the Ambassadors heard this, they forgot the Respect due to crown'd Heads, and in Contempt broke out into an indecent Laugh; and the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* with the highest Indignation told the King, *That he was so far from having a Right to the Crown of France, that he had none to that of England, which belong'd to King Richard's Heirs. Therefore what could move him to show that Contempt to the most Christian King, the most noble, excellent and potent of all Monarchs? Could he imagine that he offer'd his beautiful Daughter, with so large a Part of his Dominions, out of Fear of his Arms? No, he condescended to these Terms out of his great Love to Peace, and Pity of the Calamities which the People of both Nations must suffer in a lasting War.* After this they demanded a safe Conduct out of his Dominions, and that he would send his Answer by Writing under his Hand and Seal. The just and moderate King bore all this Storm of Words with great Temper; and tho' a provoking Indignity was offer'd him, he would not violate the Laws of Nations by injuring the Persons of Ambassadors. He granted them all that they last demanded, and satisfy'd himself with letting them know *That they might go when they pleas'd, and that he would soon follow them into France, not as into their Country, but his own rightful Inheritance.*

An Embassie from France.

The Ambassadors reflect on King Henry.

His Answer to them.

ritance, which he would recover by the Assistance of Heav'n, and the Power of his Sword.

King Henry having dismiss'd the *French* Ambassadors, proceeded in his Journey to *Southampton*, where he design'd to embark his Army; but before his Arrival, by the Advice of his Council, he caus'd Copies to be drawn of the Treaties which had been made between his Father *Henry IV.* and the Court of *France*, concerning the Restitution of *Gascony* to the Crown of *England*; which Treaties were now by the *French* openly violated and neglected. These Copies being first seal'd by a publick Notary, were sent to a General Council then sitting at *Constance*, under the Emperor *Sigismund* and other Princes of *Europe*, that all *Christendom* might know what Injury was done to him by the faithless Dealings of the *French*, and that contrary to his Inclinations he was constrain'd to take up Arms in Vindication of his just Rights. Being arriv'd at *Southampton*, he sent *Antelope* his Pursivant at Arms with another Letter to the *French* King, written in *Latin*, with renew'd Protestations *That it was not Avarice or Ambition that mov'd him to War, but a just Design to recover his Rights; therefore he once more requir'd him to restore those Provinces which had been so often demanded by his Ambassadors. That it was only the Fear of God, and Love of Peace, that made him so moderate in his Demands; for which Reason he was now ready to relinquish fifty thousand of the Crowns offer'd in Marriage with the Princess, if with her he would deliver up what his Predecessors had anciently possess'd in France. That his Desire was to enjoy a peaceful Life with that excellent Princess, in whom he should be happy, but he could not do any Thing to the Prejudice of his Rights and Honour.*

The French King's Answer. *The French King in his Answer declar'd That the Demands of the King of England were unjust, and that it was strangely preposterous for one to make Love to a Princess when cover'd with the Blood of her Father's Subjects. But since he was resolv'd to be his Enemy, and in a Hostile Manner to enter his Dominions, he should find him prepar'd to make such Opposition as should easily repel him.*

A great Conspiracy against King Henry.

King Henry being ready to embark on the last Day of *July*, a Discovery was made of a dangerous Conspiracy form'd against him in the Army, which might have put an inglorious End to all his Designs: For the *French* embracing this Opportunity of working upon the dissatisfy'd Spirits of some of the *English* Nobility, manag'd a private Intrigue with *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* Brother to the Duke of *York*, *Henry Scroop* Lord Treasurer, and Sir *Thomas Grey* a Privy-Counsellor, animating them to conspire against the Crown and Life of their Prince. To carry on which Design, a vast Sum, no less than a Million of Gold, was remitted to them; which made the *French* Ambassadors so content, that when they return'd, they freely declar'd That the King of *England* would either alter his Purpose of invading *France*, or rather lose his Life in the Conspiracy. The Design of these Men was to raise an Army, and carrying *Edmund* Earl of *Marche* with them into *Wales*, to persuade him to assume the Government, as true Heir to the Crown, in Defiance of *Henry* of *Lancaster* as an Usurper. Yet still they were to make use of King *Richard's* Name, and Sir *Thomas Grey* was to procure One out of *Scotland*, who nearly resembled him, in order to induce young *Piercy* to join them with a competent Force.

This grand Design being discover'd by the Conspirators to the Earl of *Marche*, with the greatest Threats and strictest Obligations, the Earl foreseeing the dismal Consequences to the Nation, generously reveal'd it to the King himself, who was extremely startled at the Ingratitude of those Men he had so signally favour'd. Having soon secur'd their Persons, he in a publick Assembly of his Nobility and Officers, with the just Resentments due from injur'd Majesty, told them, *That since they had conspir'd to murder him, the Head and Father of the People, it was not to be doubted, but that they also had marked out all those brave Men for Slaughter, to their Country's Ruin, and their own*

own perpetual Infamy: Therefore since they had been guilty of such an execrable Crime, they should without Mercy receive the just Demerits of their Villany.

Whereupon the Criminals were led out to Execution, which was perform'd in the Sight of the whole Army. The Earl of *Cambridge* had writ a submissive and pathetic Letter to the King to obtain his Pardon, but could gain no greater Favour than to be beheaded with Sir *Thomas Grey*, while the Lord *Scroop* was put to the most infamous Punishment of Hanging, Drawing and Quartering. After the Execution the King again express'd his Resentments before his Nobility and Officers, and further declar'd, *That if they would be faithful to him in this just War, he would not only be a Partner with them in all Hazards, but also foremost in the Danger.* All were mov'd with his generous Declaration, and express'd their Loyalty in joyful Acclamations and Vows for his Safety and Success, protesting, *That while they were able to draw a Sword, they would defend him against the secret Plots, or open Force of his Enemies.* The King rejoic'd to hear the Expressions of such a general Affection, and hop'd that all Discontents were extinguish'd in the Blood of the executed Traitors: But as the Scenes of Futurity are beyond the Prospect of all Human Wisdom, he did not see that this Conspiracy was but a Spark of that Flame which afterwards broke forth to consume his House and Family.

The Conspirators all suffer.

The King being attended by his two Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocester*, his Uncles the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Dorset*, with the Earls of *Kent*, *Cornwall* and *Huntington*, and a great Body of Nobility and Gentry, set Sail upon *Wednesday* the seventh of *August*, with a Fleet of fifteen hundred Vessels, and an Army consisting of six thousand Men at Arms, and twenty four thousand Archers, besides Gunners, Engineers, Artificers and Pioneers. On the fifteenth of the same Month the King arriv'd at the Mouth of the River *Seyne* in *France* within three Miles of *Harfleur*, where he landed his Men; and falling devoutly upon his Knees, desir'd God's Assistance to recover his Right, making Proclamation upon Pain of Death, that Churches should be spar'd from all Violence, that Church-Men, Women and Children should not be hurt, abus'd or injur'd. Then conferring the Honour of Knighthood upon many of his Followers, he assign'd his Standards to Men of greatest Strength and Courage; which done he ascended the Hill near adjoining, and from thence took a View of the Town of *Harfleur*, resolving to make that the first Essay of his Fortunes in *France*. The Town being strong and commodiously seated between two Hills, the King took Possession of that next the Sea, at the Foot of which he caus'd a deep Ditch to be made, and fill'd it with Water; and raising the Rampier to a great Thickness, he erected many Sconces of Earth upon it like little Castles, set thick together, between which were narrow Spaces for the Soldiers to sally out as Occasion requir'd. The Intrenchment thus finish'd from the Rock to the Sea, and the Horses, Ammunition and Provisions all brought on Shore, the King with the greatest Part of his Army march'd up the Hill; his Brother *Clarence* was sent with some Regiments to lodge upon the other Hill, which by reason of the Nature of the Ground and Way prov'd to be a nine Miles March. This being gain'd, the King commanded his Ships to cast Anchor as near the Town as with Safety they could, by which the Place became besieg'd both by Sea and Land; then he mounted his Artillery, began his Mines, brought his Works close to the Ditch, prepar'd Fascines to fill it, and soon won the Lower Town.

The King and his Army set sail for France.

He lands in Normandy.

He besieges the strong Town of Harfleur.

Within the Town *Monsieur Gracourt* was Governor, who accompany'd with some Noblemen, and a hundred Knights and Esquires, and a considerable Force, sallied out of the Castle upon that Quarter where the Earls of *Huntington* and *Cornwall* lay, by whom, with Loss on either Side, they were repuls'd, the Gates fir'd, some Breaches made, and Fire-Works shot into the Streets, to the great Annoyance of the Besieged. But nothing discourag'd them more than the

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Mines

Mines made under the Walls; against which, tho' they often counter-min'd, and bravely fought Hand to Hand with the Besiegers, yet they soon found that it would be of little Advantage to them, the Walls being likely to fall, and such Breaches made in them, that they perceiv'd King *Henry* was resolv'd to carry the Town by Storm. Whereupon *Gracourt* the Governor, foreseeing the imminent Danger, desir'd a Parley, and promis'd to surrender the Town, if not reliev'd by a certain fix'd Day. While the King lay before the Town, he sent a Letter of Defiance to the *Dauphine* of *France*, in which he challeng'd him to a single Combat, that the Lives of so many Men might be spar'd, and their Contest honourably decided by themselves; on Condition that if the *Dauphine* fell in the Encounter, the Crown of *France* and its Dependencies should be deliver'd to King *Henry* after the present *French* King's Death. In the mean Time the Besieg'd being reduc'd to great Necessities, solicited their King for Relief, which was often promis'd, but to so little Effect, that at length upon the twenty second Day of *September*, *Gracourt* the Governor resolv'd to submit; and accordingly with twenty four select Captains and Burgers he came out of the Town to King *Henry*, who then sat in his Pavilion under a Cloath of State, his brave Nobles about him, and the Earl of *Kime* upon his right Hand, bearing his Casket with an Imperial Crown upon it, beset with Jewels of inestimable Price. The Governor and the rest prostrating themselves at the King's Feet, deliver'd to him the Keys of the Town, according to the Covenants made between them, which was a Cessation of Arms for five Days, and then if no Relief came, to surrender the Town to him, and to deliver into his Hand thirty of their chief Men to stand for Life or Death at his own Pleasure; the rest were to depart without Armour, Weapons, or any of their Goods: And thus was this important Town surrender'd, after five Weeks Siege.

After five
Weeks Siege the
Town surren-
ders.

On the following Day one of the King's Brothers made his Entrance in great Pomp, and tender'd to the Inhabitants an Oath of Fidelity to King *Henry*, and sent such as refus'd into *England*. He gave Liberty to all the Ecclesiastics, and to the Ladies to go out in their best Habits, strictly forbidding all immodest and licentious Behaviour to them; after which they were by the *English* furnish'd with Bread and Wine for their Journey to *Roan*. The Garrison and Officers were made Prisoners of War, and the Town was abandon'd to be plunder'd by the Soldiers, who enrich'd themselves with the Spoils of a Place grown opulent by Piracy; but in exact Observance of the King's Command, they forbore offering the least Violence to the Chastity of Women. King *Henry*'s Entrance into the Town was not with Triumphal Ornaments like *Cæsar*'s into *Rome*, but in the most humble Manner walking barefoot through the Streets to the Church of *St. Martin*, where he solemnly gave Thanks to the Giver of all Victory for the Prosperity of his Arms. The Officers and Gentlemen, and all of any Quality, were receiv'd by him with great Civility, and entertain'd suitably to their Rank. Designing to fortifie and garrison the Place, he clear'd it of Women and Children, of aged poor and diseas'd People, whom he suffer'd not only to carry with them what they could, but gave to every one five Sols for a present Substinance. He took care likewise to people the Place with new Inhabitants in room of those remov'd, and to that end issu'd out a Proclamation throughout *England*, that all Persons who would come over and settle in *Harsleur*, should have Houses secur'd to them and their Heirs: Upon which Invitation great Numbers of *English* Men transplanted themselves and Families thither. At last he constituted his Uncle *Beaufort* Earl of *Dorset* Governor of the Town, with whom he join'd Sir *John Falstolf*; and having repair'd the Fortifications, he plac'd a Garrison in it of about two thousand select Men. And now the Season being far advanc'd, and the Army extremely diminish'd by Slaughter and Distempers, it was resolv'd to send the Remainder into Winter-Quarters at *Calais* and the neighbouring Villages. But for the Glory of the *English* Name, and that there might be no Appearance to re-

He makes it an
English Colony.

proach

proach a victorious King, it was likewise resolv'd not to go by Sea, but to march directly thro' the Enemy's Country.

The *French* Court, notwithstanding it swarm'd with Factions, while under a weak and distemper'd King, the great Men sought to make themselves greater, and the common Enemy endangering all, King *Charles*, the *Dauphine*, his Brother of *Ponthieu*, the King of *Sicily*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretaign*, with the whole Power of *France* assembled at *Roan*, and in Council concluded that the *English* should be engag'd before they got to *Calais*, and resolv'd immediately to incommode King *Henry* as much as possible. This was attempted soon after his Removal from *Harfleur*; for besides their continual Skirmishes upon his marching Army, they broke down the Bridges, cut down Trees, stopp'd the High-ways, stuck sharp Stakes in the Fords and other Places, laid Ambuscades, and convey'd all Victuals and Subsistence out of the Countries through which the *English* should pass. By which Methods they reasonably concluded, that as a Deer caught in a Toil, King *Henry* and his whole Army would be ensnar'd, who now was arriv'd at *Virron*, with a Design to pass the River *Somme* at *Blanchetaque*: But that being so well fortify'd against him, he chang'd his Purpose, march'd by *Wormes*, and incamp'd at *Bailew*, intending to have pass'd the River at *Port de Remy*; but that being also secur'd, he pass'd along the River *Hargest*, while the *French* Army march'd upon the other Bank, under the Conduct of *Charles de Albert* Constable of *France*. King *Henry* still endeavouring to pass the River *Somme*, resolv'd to try it even at the Mouth, and passing by *Amiens*, *Bowes* and *Corbie*, he incamp'd in a Valley adjoining, where he commanded his Archers to provide Stakes sharpen'd at both Ends, which afterwards prov'd of singular Use to him. Then hearing by his Spies that the River was fordable at *Bethencourt*, by the negligent Guard of them of *St. Quintins*, he pass'd the Water, but not without the help of Bridges. The Soldiers both weary and faint, many of them sick, and their Provisions consum'd twelve Days before, with invincible Patience now fed upon Nuts, Roots and Berries, and any thing that the Woods afforded them. They spent the Days in great Toil and long Marches, the Nights were cold and wet, and no good Lodgings to be found, and the *French* were always hovering about them, without Intermision. According to the *French* Writers, these Circumstances mov'd King *Henry* to offer the Restitution of *Harfleur*, and other Advantages, provided he might be allow'd a free Passage to *Calais*. But however he gain'd great Relief by the Justice and Piety he us'd in those Parts: for tho' he was in the midst of Enemies, and his Soldiers pinch'd with greatest Wants, he commanded upon Pain of Death that none of his Army should rob any Church; in which when one of his Men had offended, he first caus'd Restitution to be made, and then punish'd the Offender with Death. The Fame of this Act induc'd the common People, contrary to the strict Commands of the *French* King, frequently to supply the fainting *English* with their own Provisions. In this manner King *Henry* march'd through infinite Difficulties in several Places, till about the End of *October* he arriv'd in View of the *French* Army near *Agincourt* in the County of *St. Paul*; upon Notice of which, he commanded all his Horsemen to alight, and the whole Army kneeling down, with Eyes and Hands lifted up to Heaven, implor'd the Divine Assistance to make them victorious.

King Henry marches towards Calais.

The French with a vast Army opposes him.

He is extremely incommode'd.

He arrives near Agincourt.

The *French* Army now lying between King *Henry* and the Town of *Calais*, the General *D'Albert*, in Conjunction with the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon* sent three Heralds to the King of *England* with a Challenge to give him Battle, leaving it to him to assign the Time and Place. The King honourably entertain'd the Heralds, and sent them back with rich Marks of his Liberality; but he employ'd two of his own to signify to the *French* Generals, That they well knew that of late he had continu'd a constant March, and they might have fought him when they pleas'd; therefore if they desir'd a general Battle, there was no need of appointing Time and Place, since they should always find

He is challeng'd by the French.

His Answer.

A Day agreed
on for Battel.

The great In-
equality of the
Armies.

The Complacency
of the French.

King Henry's
Preparation.

find him in the open Field: That his great Care was not to do any Thing unworthy of himself, and as he would not be the first Aggressor, so when once attack'd he would not decline fighting: That he was resolv'd to continue his March to Calais, and whoever sought to stop him should find Danger in the Attempt; therefore he advis'd them not to oppose his Passage, that those Fields might not be stain'd with Christian Blood. On the twentieth Day of October, the French Generals sent again to King Henry, to signify That they would give him Battel on the Saturday following. He gave the Herald two hundred Crowns, and a rich Robe; and now being sure of Battel, he rode every Day in Armour, and us'd all the most ingaging Methods to rouse the Courages of his brave Soldiers, who were all resolv'd to stand their Ground, notwithstanding the vast Disproportion of the Armies. And *David Gam*, who attended the King with a Party of valiant *Welshmen*, having been sent to review the Strength of the Enemy, made this gallant Report to his Royal Master, *May it please you, my Liege, there are enow to be kill'd, enow to be taken Prisoners, and enow to run away.* Indeed the odds as to Numbers were exceeding great; for the *English* Army consisted of no more than nine or ten thousand Men, whereas the *French*, according to their own Writers, amounted to a hundred and forty, and as some say a hundred and fifty thousand Men; and also with this remarkable Difference, that the *French* were fresh and vigorous, and well supply'd with Provisions, and the *English* weary'd with long Marches, and half starv'd for want of Necessaries. These mighty Advantages made the *French* so presuming and confident of Victory, that they thought of nothing less than the Ruin of the whole *English* Army, and so to repair the Dishonour their Nation had suffer'd at *Cressy* and *Poitiers*. They now resolv'd, since they had inclos'd them, that none should escape the Sword, but the King and his chief Commanders, who should be reserved for the Ornaments of a Triumph. They divided the imaginary Spoil among themselves, dispos'd of the Prisoners, and propos'd to lead the Captive King into *Paris*; commanding all the neighbouring Cities and Towns to make publick Rejoicings as for a certain Victory, and in Scorn they sent one to King Henry with this insolent Demand, *What he would give for his Ransom?* His Answer was, *That he hop'd within a few Hours to reduce the French to such a Condition, that they should have the sole Care of providing Ransoms.* As the *French* were stuff'd with the Assurance of Victory, it was no wonder that they scornfully rejected the Herald whom the prudent King Henry had sent with Offers to restore *Harcourt*, and to compensate all the Damages of the War, with other Concessions, if they would open to him a free and undisturb'd Passage to *England*. Yet still some of the wisest of the *French* Commanders were again coming to a Battel, and particularly the old Duke of *Berry*, who had himself been an Eye Witness of the *English* Valour at the famous Battel of *Poitiers*.

King Henry finding his fair Offers refus'd, with invincible Bravery resolv'd to commit his Cause to God, and the Valour of his Soldiers; and having that Night before the Battel call'd a Council of his Officers, he declar'd, *That since the implacable Enemy would be satisfy'd with nothing but their Blood, there were now no Hopes of Safety but in the Protection of Heaven, and their own Courages: That if they could rely upon those two, they had no Reason to fear an Army so far exceeding them in Strength and Number: Therefore confessing their Sins, and making Peace with the Almighty, they should prepare for the glorious Battel, not doubting but he would be their Deliverer.* The important Night was carelessly spent by the *French* in Feasting, Triumphs, and all the Intells of mortal Conquerors; but by the *English* in Watching, and most Resolves, and a manly Remembrance to their urgent Circumstances; and their Spirits all the Time enliven'd by the cheerful Sounds of warlike Instruments. The important Morn. approaching, the *French* took the Field, pushing forwards who should come too late to a most cruel and certain Victory, heaving their greatest Strength in Horsemanship. Against the powerful Force of which King

Henry with great Art plac'd his Archers on each side his main Body nicely defended by sharp Piles or Stakes, six or seven Foot long, and removeable at Pleasure. But particularly he order'd two hundred Bow-Men of extraordinary Strength and Agility to lodge themselves in a low Meadow, where a deep Ditch full of Water might secure them from the Horse, and the Bushes cover them from Sight. The Flanks of the Army were guarded by Woods on both sides, in one of which the King ambush'd a strong Body of Horse, with Orders to attack the Enemy in the Rear when the Battel was join'd, which they successfully perform'd. The Van was commanded by the Duke of York, which Station, as a Place of most Danger and Honour, he had desir'd; and with him were join'd the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby* and *Stanhope*. In the main Battell in compleat shining Armour rode the King himself, his Shield quarter'd with the Royal Arms of *England* and *France*; on his Helmet for a Crest he had a bright Crown of Gold, fram'd after the Imperial Fashion; his Horse, of a fierce Courage, had his Furniture and Caparisons richly embroider'd with the victorious Ensigns of the *English* Monarchy; and before his Majesty in Gold and splendid Colours the Royal Standard was born, and many other Banners in warlike Order wav'd with the Wind. On the other side the *French* lay up in three Lines, the first led by the Constable of *France*, the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, and several other of the Nobility, who all strove to come in for the Honour of the first Charge. The second Line was commanded by the Duke of *Berry*, the Earls of *Alençon*, *Nevers*, and many others. The third was commanded by the Duke of *Brabant*, the Earls of *Marle*, *Fauquenberge*, and Monsieur *de Lorn*y. The Right Wing was led by *Arthur* Earl of *Richemont*, and the Left by *Lewis de Bourbon*. In short most of the *French*, and among them those of the highest Quality in the Nation were in this Army, except the King and the *Dauphine*.

His Management of his Forces.

His noble Appearance.

The two Armies stood thus drawn up in Order 'till between nine and ten in the Morning, when the Heroick King *Henry*, riding along the Front of his Battalions, with the most enlivening Looks, Gestures and Words animated the Courage of his Soldiers. He told them, *That they were now entering into the most glorious Field of Honour, which by their Valours might prove more renowned than those of Cressy and Poitiers. That as for his own Part, England should never be charg'd with his Ransom, nor any Frenchman triumph over him, but Death or Victory should be his certain Fate, as he expected it would be theirs. He was sensible from the noble Fury sparkling in their Eyes, that future Ages would stand amaz'd to find what the Lance, the Axe, the Sword and the Bow could perform in the Hands of such valiant Soldiers. Yet tho' these were the brave Instruments to reap Honour, he rely'd upon Omnipotence for the Victory; and it was a remarkable Effect of Divine Providence that their Enemies offer'd them Battel on the very Day appointed in England for the People to implore a Blessing on their Arms; so that at the Time that they are fighting, the whole Body of the English Nation are lifting up their Eyes and Hands to Heav'n for their Success and Safety. If they are victorious now, they would not only enrich themselves with the Wealth of so many Nations gather'd together, but a Kingdom to which he had an undoubted Right would be conquer'd, and England from that Time would give Laws to France.* The Soldiers inspir'd with new Valour at the gallant Discourse of their King, who appear'd to them like a Deity, answer'd him with triumphant Acclamations, and cry'd out to be led on immediately to Battel. The Dukes of *York*, *Clarence* and *Glocester* advis'd his Majesty not to suffer this their first Ardor to cool; but he weighing the mighty Consequence of the Battel, would not precipitate any Thing, but proceeded with a most admirable Conduct, as well as the noblest Courage. He was unwilling to quit the Advantage of his Ground, and stood expecting to give the *French* the first Charge; but when he found them not to move, and that the eager Impatience of his

His brave Speech to his Men.

his Men was no longer to be restrain'd, he cry'd aloud, *Since our Enemies have intercepted our Way to Calais, let us break through their Army, in the Name of the most glorious Trinity, and in the most propitious Hour of the whole Year.* Then alighting from his Horse, with a Resolution to put himself in the same Danger with the meanest of his Army, he commanded his Standards to move forwards, and the Archers on the Right and Left to advance upon the Enemy.

*The glorious
Battel of A-
GINCOURT.*

The Ranging of the Battel was committed to Sir *Thomas Erpingham*, an old experienc'd Knight; who with a Truncheon in his Hand led the Way, and gave the Signal by throwing it into the Air, at which the whole Army gave a Shout that seem'd to rend the Skies. But when they saw the *French* did not come out to meet 'em, they made a little Halt to take Breath, and with a second Shout the Archers in the Van began the Battel, who being lightly clad, us'd their Bows with such Strength and Agility, that their Yard-long Arrows, drawn up to the Head, pierc'd with irresistible Force where-e'er they fell. At the same Time the two hundred brave Bow-men in Ambush perform'd Wonders, every Arrow of theirs being wing'd with inevitable Destruction. A thousand select *French* Horse bravely advanc'd against the Archers in the Van, and with great Fury endeavour'd to break 'em, but were so terribly gall'd by them, that they madly ran on without Order, the hindmost Ranks pressing those before, and the Files being closely straiten'd, they became a confus'd Heap of Men rather than orderly Troops; and the Horses sinking into the miry Ground, tormented likewise with Arrows, were grown furious, and would not be govern'd by their Riders. But the Archers perceiving the *French* advance with that Fierceness, retir'd within their sharp pointed Piles, which cover'd them in the Front and both the Flanks. The Enemy in their Heat and Fury spur'd their Horses on these Piles set allope, with which being gall'd on their Breasts, Sides and Shoulders, they flounc'd and plung'd, and either tumbled on the Spikes, or throwing their Riders, cruelly impal'd them. It was a dreadful Spectacle to see the Numbers of Men and Horses thus gor'd, some struck through their Bodies, some hanging by an Arm or a Thigh, groaning in Torture, and unable to help themselves or Companions. The clattering of the Armour of such Numbers tumbling on Heaps, the Clang of so many thousand Arrows hitting upon Steel Helmets and Breast-Plates, and the Cries of wounded and dying Men, made a hideous Noise equal to the Horror of the Sight. The *English* continu'd to overwhelm the disorder'd Enemy with a black Tempest of Arrows; and the *French* Troops being thus terribly shatter'd, fell back with such Precipitation upon their main Body, that they broke all their Order. The Archers seeing their Ranks open'd, with great Bravery throw away their Bows, and with Sword and Battel-Ax rush'd into a close Fight, or rather to a bloody Execution: For tho' the *Frenchmen* at Arms at first fought valiantly, and repuls'd them, yet being disorder'd and broken, they could not sustain a second Charge, but were intirely routed, and the greatest Part of 'em kill'd.

*The great Va-
lour of King
Henry.*

In the mean Time the mighty *Henry* at the Head of his main Battel advanc'd to charge the second Line of the *French*, which yet stood firm; in which he acted not only the Part of a General, but also of a common Soldier, and his excess of Courage made him hazard a Life on which alone depended the Safety of his whole Army. He fought bravely in the Front of all his Men, where his Person was expos'd to so much Danger, that eighteen *French* Gentlemen having combin'd to kill him, charg'd up so close to him, that one of them with a Battel-Ax struck him on the Crest of his Helmet. But this bold Action was fatal to them, for they were all slain upon the Spot; and here the valiant *David Gam*, formerly mention'd, signaliz'd himself in defending his Prince with the Loss of much Blood, and at last with the Life of himself and two of his Relations; of which Service the King was so sensible, that as they lay languishing in the Field, he gave them the Honour of Knighthood, as the only Acknowledgement

ledgement he could make for their Bravery. Still the Fight continu'd with great Fury, in which the Duke of *Glocester* being struck down with Battel-Axes, the King gallantly stood over his Brother's Body, defended him, and sav'd his Life; where he receiv'd so great a Blow on his Head, that he fell on one Knee, while two Gentlemen, whose Armour was like the King's, were kill'd. The *English*, still encourag'd by their glorious King, at length broke into the *French* Battalions, and disorder'd them; for their Horse which had been gall'd with Arrows were now ungovernable: And the *English* Horse plac'd in Ambuscade within the Wood, rush'd forth with a mighty Shout, and furiously attack'd their Rere. The valiant Duke of *Alençon* seeing the Battel lost, and disdaining to survive the fatal Day, press'd into the thickest of the Fight, and attack'd King *Henry* in Person, crying out that he was the Duke of *Alençon*, and with a furious Blow of his Sword cleav'd off a great Part of the Crown, which was the Crest of his Helmet. This so rous'd the *English* Lion, that with redoubled Force, he not only struck *Alençon* to the Ground, but with his own Hand slew two of his Followers. Those who were about his Majesty's Person soon surrounded the Duke, and with many Wounds dispatch'd him, while the generous King in vain call'd out to them to save so gallant a Man: For the faithful *English* enrag'd with the Sight of their Prince's Danger, could not be persuaded to spare a Life that had put his to the least Hazard.

The French
Forces broken.

The *French* Troops in the Rere were yet in good Order, and if they had not wanted Courage might have renew'd the Fight; but when they saw the two first Lines of their Army entirely routed, they were disheartned; and observing that the *English* Horse wheel'd off to charge them in the Rere, they fled without Resistance. The *English* Soldiers had now nothing to do but to kill and take Prisoners; and the *French* were so dispirited, as tamely to offer their Throats to be cut, or their Hands to be chain'd. Some flying Troops of the Enemy had rally'd, and made a Stand at some Distance; which the King observing, and considering the Numbers of those that fled were more than all his Army, he sent a Command to them by a Herald to leave the Field, threatening *That if they presum'd to withstand his victorious Arms, he would show them no Mercy*; which so daunted their Minds, that they immediately obey'd and withdrew; only six hundred Men at Arms making a shew of Resistance were immediately cut in Pieces by the Fury of the *English* Soldiers. The victorious King thought he had clear'd the Field of all Enemies, when suddenly he was allarm'd with a Noise that the *French* had enter'd his Camp and plunder'd it: For some Troops of the *French*, who had fled first, understanding that the King's Camp was weakly guarded, soon broke into it, either aiming to retrieve the Dishonour of their Defeat, or covetous of Booty; and having easily kill'd those few that defended it, they robbed the Tents and Carriages, and carry'd off the King's Crown, glorying in the noble Spoil as if they had been victorious. It was now the Close of the Evening, and the King was apprehensive that the numerous Enemy, tho' broken and dispers'd, might gather into a Body and surround him in the Dark. He knew that the Number of Prisoners exceeded that of his own Men, and that it was impossible at the same Time to fight and secure them from killing his Soldiers; which rational Apprehension, and the Noise of new Troops arriving forc'd him upon an Action so contrary to his merciful and generous Temper, that he could not resolve upon it without the highest Regret: He commanded all the Prisoners to be kill'd, except a few of the greatest Note; which Orders, tho' in Appearance bloody and barbarous, were render'd necessary by the Extremity of his Affairs. He then order'd his Soldiers to prepare for another Battel, who tho' weary'd with fighting three Hours, and many of them wounded, readily obey'd; and with their former chearful Resolution, march'd to beat them out of their Camp: But they having hastily plunder'd it, had soon left it, and got out of the Reach of Pursuit. The base Surprisal of the King's Carriages, which was one main Cause of

They fly.

The Prisoners
slain.

The French
Camp taken.

the

the Slaughter of the *French* Prisoners, was so generously resent'd by the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he imprison'd the chief Actors, and design'd to have put them to Death, had not his Son mediated for them, to whom they presented King *Henry's* Sword, the Guards of which were of Gold, beset with Jewels of great Value.

Thus by the mighty Valour of King *Henry* and the *English* a glorious and wonderful Victory was obtain'd; yet this great Prince was justly sensible of a superior Cause, and that Evening at the Head of his Army he solemnly prais'd the Sovereign of the Universe for his Success, directing the 115th Psalm to be sung; and at that Verse, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy Name be the Glory*, he commanded all his Army to prostrate themselves to the Ground as a Token of their Humility. After that in the Presence of his Nobility and Officers, and five *French* Heralds, who were sent for Leave to bury their Dead, he declar'd, *That it was not his own, but an Almighty Hand which had gain'd so great a Victory; and that the dismal Sight they had before their Eyes, was order'd by the Divine Justice to punish the Sins of France.* Then he put the Question in Form both to the *French* and *English* Heralds, *Whether he or the King of France was to be acknowledg'd Victors?* And having the Honour adjudg'd to him, he ask'd the Name of the next Castle, to which Answer was made *Agincourt*. Then reply'd he, *let this to all Posterity be call'd THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.* After which, the Night growing late, he march'd with his weary'd Soldiers out of the Field to *Masconcelles*, where they had lodg'd the Night before. In this memorable Battel were kill'd on the *French* Side the General himself the Constable of *France*, the Admiral of *France*, the Dukes of *Brabant*, *Bar* and *Alençon*, the Earls of *Nevers*, *Marle*, *Vaudmont*, *Blammont*, *Roussy* and *Faukemberge*, and many other Noblemen, of which we have a long Catalogue upon Record. In all were kill'd about ten thousand Men, of whom seven or eight thousand were Noble, and above a hundred of them Princes, who had Banners carry'd before them in the Field. The Account given by *Elmham* is this, That there were kill'd one Arch-Bishop, three Dukes, six Earls, ninety two Barons, fifteen hundred Knights, and seven thousand Esquires and Gentlemen. Of the Prisoners sixteen hundred were Men of Quality, among whom were the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Marshal *Bouciquault*, and the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendosme* and *Richemont*. All this was effected with a very inconsiderable Loss on the *English* Side: For *Walsingham* only reckons the Duke of *York* Uncle to King *Henry*, the young Earl of *Suffolk*, four Knights, one Esquire, and twenty eight common Soldiers; tho' others account the Number of the slain to be about four or five hundred.

Upon the Day after the Battel, the twenty sixth of *October*, King *Henry* took his March towards *Calais*, and passing the bloody Field, he order'd Search for all the *English*, whom he caus'd to be interr'd according to their Quality; but he took the Bodies of his Uncle the Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* along with him, in order for a more honourable Interment in *England*. Then viewing his Army, in a Speech made to his Men, he applauded their Valour, of which he had seen such admirable Effects in the stupendous Victory: Yet he admonish'd them To ascribe all to the Favour of the Almighty, who had wrought a Miracle, in making a Handful of Men victorious over such a numerous Army, to abate their Vanity and Presumption. He further added, That he could not but adore the Divine Providence for its Care of the Lives of his Subjects, that so few had fallen in Battel. Yet he could not behold such Streams of Blood, and Heaps of Carcasses, tho' of Enemies, without Horror; but the Sight of his own Fellow-Soldiers affected him with the tenderest Compassion; therefore he had perform'd the last Rites due to such magnanimous Souls in burying their Bodies, that they might not be expos'd to Wolves and Vultures. In his March to *Calais* this generous Prince shew'd the

King Henry gives all the Glory to God.

The great Loss of the French.

The small Loss of the English.

The King's Generosity.

Le Frere
Maistre
Walsingham

Le Frere
Maistre
Walsingham

the most

most obliging Behaviour to his Noble Prisoners, the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Bourbon* and the rest; and entertaining them at Dinner, he with the greatest Modesty condol'd their Condition, and applauded their Valour, attributing nothing to himself, but to the Hand of Heav'n, which had design'd to punish the crying Sins of *France*; and after Dinner he presented to every one of them a Robe of rich *Damask*; further testifying the same Inclinations to Peace now, as before he began the War. Afterwards, when the Duke of *Orleans* appear'd very melancholy and declin'd Eating, the King with the most ingaging Air said, *Courage, good Cousin, I have not conquer'd you, because I am superior in Merit, but because God would punish the French People for their Sins; and if he is justly angry with them, it is not decent for you to be angry with Him, or to repine at his Proceedings.* Shortly after the Duke of *Burgundy*, inrag'd at the Loss of his two Brothers the Duke of *Brabant* and Count *de Nevers*, sent a Herald with a Gauntlet of Defiance, threatening him with the utmost Revenge. The King calmly return'd the Gauntlet with this wise Answer, *Go tell your Master, that he has no Reason to be my Enemy; that I am sorry for the Death of his Brothers, which is not to be charg'd upon me or my Soldiers; and if he please to come to Boulogn, he shall be satisfy'd from the Prisoners I have, that the French alone are guilty of their Blood, and of them he is to require it.* As this Battel was highly afflicting to all *France*, so it affected the *Dauphine* to such a degree, that he dy'd shortly after.

His Behaviour to the great Prisoners.

His Answer to the Duke of Burgundy.

On the sixteenth Day of *November* the triumphant King left *Calais*, and embark'd for *England*; and after a violent Storm arriv'd safely at *Dover*, where he was receiv'd with loudest Acclamations of rejoycing People, that cover'd all the Shore. Arriving near *Canterbury*, the Arch-Bishop, Abbot and Monks met him in their richest Habits; and as he approach'd *London*, the Mayor and Aldermen, and four hundred of the principal Citizens in their Gowns, attended his Coming on *Black-Heath*; and at *St. Thomas of Watering* the Clergy of the City waited on him in a solemn Procession, with the Relicks of seventy Saints. As he pass'd through the Streets, he saw both Sides of the Way hung with the richest Tapestry, wherein were represented the glorious Actions of the *English* Kings in War; he heard Psalms and Hymns sung in Joy for his Victory. Yet still giving all the Glory to God, he declin'd his own Praises; and in all this Triumph would not permit his dinted Helmet, and bruist'd Armour to be carry'd before him as the Trophies of his daring Valour, but expressly forbad it, as too vain an Affectation of Glory. At *St. Paul's Cathedral* he alighted from his Horse, and made his Offerings with the utmost Devotion; and then proceeded to *Westminster*, where his Palace was prepar'd for his Reception, and for the Lodging of the chief of the *French* Prisoners. In the Morning, the Mayor and Aldermen, with two hundred of the Citizens, attended his Majesty with a Present of a Thousand Pounds in Gold, in two Golden Basons worth five hundred Pounds more, which were receiv'd with the most obliging Marks of Gratitude. Then that all his Subjects might join with him in Praising God for the Success of his Arms, he appointed Days of Thanksgiving to be observ'd thro' all his Dominions: And that he might perform the last Rites to the Memory of the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Suffolk*, he summon'd a great Number of Bishops and Abbots to celebrate their Obsequies; the former being bury'd at *Fotheringay* in *Northamptonshire*, and the latter at *Ewelme* in *Oxfordshire*. And this in the main concluded that great and memorable Year for *England's* Glory 1415.

He lands at Dover.

His Entry into London.

The City's Present.

III. As the War between *England* and *France* alarm'd all *Europe*, and a Peace was generally desir'd, that the Christian Princes might unite against the common Enemy the *Turk*, so to effect this Work *Sigismund* the Emperor, a Man of great Wisdom and Abilities, imploy'd his Mediation. Intending to visit both these Western Monarchs, he came first to the *French* Court attended

A. D.
1416.
Reg. 1.

*The Emperor
mediates a
Peace between
England and
France.*

with eight hundred Horse, where he earnestly solicited King *Charles* to an Accommodation; and finding in outward Appearance that he was ready to embrace the Motion, he took with him the Arch-Bishop of *Rheims* as Ambassador from the *French* King, and travell'd in the same State to *Calais*. Here the Governor of the Town, the Earl of *Warwick*, with the Garrison in Arms entertain'd him at King *Henry's* Charge, with so much Honour and Gallantry, that his Imperial Majesty was charm'd with the Reception, and afterwards told the King, *That no Christian Prince had a Knight equal to him for Wisdom, good Breeding and Courage; and that if all Courtesie were lost, it might be found again in the Earl of Warwick.* After two Days Continuance, thirty of King *Henry's* Ships arriv'd, in which the Emperor embark'd with a noble Retinue consisting of a thousand Persons, among whom were the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Milan*, and many Sovereign Princes both of *Germany* and *Italy*.

*He comes into
England.*

On the twenty ninth Day of *April* he landed at *Dover*, where he found the Duke of *Glocester*, Constable of the Castle, with many *English* Nobility on the Shore; who boldly stepp'd into the Water with their drawn Swords, as the Emperor was ready to set his Foot on Land, declaring, *That if he came as a Mediator for Peace, they would receive him with the Honours due to the Imperial Dignity; but if as Emperor to claim any Authority in England, which was a free Kingdom, they were ready to oppose his Landing.* The Emperor alluring them, *That his Thoughts were free from any such Design, and that he came to establish Peace between England and France*, the *English* Nobility receiv'd and conducted him very honourably. At *Canterbury* he was met by the Arch-Bishop, at *Rochester* by the Duke of *Bedford*, at *Dartford* by the Duke of *Clarence*, and at *Black-Heath* by the King himself, not only with that Respect which his Dignity and Merits challeng'd, but with an Affection due to a Person related to him by the Marriage of *Barbara* Daughter of the Earl of *Zulic*, the King's Cousin-German. His Entertainment was magnificent, and his Charges all born by King *Henry*, who the more to honour him install'd him Knight of the Garter at *Windsor*, after the most solemn and pompous Manner; and the Emperor so esteem'd this Honour, that he always wore the Collar when he sat in any Assembly.

*He is magni-
cently receiv'd
by King Henry.*

Shortly after the Emperor insist'd upon the Business for which he came, and press'd for a Peace with *France*, in which he was calmly heard by the *English* King; but upon new Displeasures for some Loss of Men in the Territories of *Roan*, the Motion at that Time was quash'd, and could not succeed, *Lest the French should suppose him discourag'd at a small Loss.* Yet the Emperor, continuing his Intercession for Peace, had probably effected it by his powerful Persuasions, had not the *English* about that Time besieged *Hazlar* both by Sea and Land. For not long before the Earl of *Dorset*, Governor of that Place, having made an Inroad into the County of *Caux*, was attack'd by the Earl of *Armagnac*, now Constable of *France*, and so distress'd that he was forc'd to retire into an Orchard or Wood, with the Loss of three hundred of his Men. After which, in his March towards *Hazleur*, he was intercepted by the same Earl, with such Numbers, and such Advantages by the Sea-side, that the Constable was so sure of Victory that he sent a Herald to the Earl of *Dorset* to summon him to surrender himself and all his Men Prisoners. To which *Dorset* heroically reply'd, *That it was not the Custom of the English to yield without Fighting, nor was he so cowardly as to surrender to an Enemy whom God might deliver into his Power.* Upon which *Armagnac* march'd fiercely down the Hill to seize his Prey, but was so vigorously ply'd by the Archers with a perpetual Shower of Arrows, that his Troops were extremely flatter'd before they could come to charge the Enemy. After which a close Fight was long maintain'd at the Sword's Point, till the *English* by their incomparable Valour and Bravery prevail'd against the Inequality of Numbers, and defeated the Constable with the Loss of twelve hundred of his Men, and the great Ha-

*The Bravery of
the Earl of
Dorset in Nor-
mandy.*

zard of his own Person: Which Victory was the more considerable, since the Number of the *English*, according to *Walsingham*, was no more than fifteen hundred, and that of the *French* fifteen thousand. To repair this Disgrace, the Constable first hang'd up many of his Men, and after a Reinforcement he besieg'd the Town of *Harfleur* by Land, while the Viscount *Narbon* Vice-Admiral of *France*, with a Fleet of different sort of Ships, enter'd the Mouth of the *Sein*, and did the same by Water. Harfleur be-
sieged by the
French.

King *Henry* hearing of this News, immediately recall'd his Ambassadors, the Bishop of *Norwich* and Sir *Thomas Erpingham*, then in Commission for an Accommodation with *France*; and the Emperor well perceiving that the *French* took all Advantages, and that King *Henry* would not bear such Usage, saw it in vain to make any further Endeavours, therefore he resolv'd to leave them to the sad Effects of War, and enter into a League with the King of *England*, which was soon concluded to this Effect: 'That since his Imperial Majesty, desiring to establish a general Peace in Christendom both as to Church and State, had endeavour'd to compose all Differences between *France* and *England*; and since the *French* King had industriously declin'd all Offers that might contribute to the Happiness of either: Therefore the King of *England*, and the Emperor *Sigismund* had enter'd into a strict Alliance, mutually to support and defend each other against all Persons, the Church and Pope of *Rome* only excepted. That neither of them should pursue any Designs injurious to the other's Advantage; but contribute all they could to the Advancement of each other's Honour and Benefit. That, without any Acts of Hostility, the Subjects of both Princes should have free Liberty of Trading in all their Dominions, paying the usual Tolls and Customs. That neither of the two Princes should allow Sanctuary to any Rebel or Exile of the other's Subjects; nor should engage in any War, without the Knowledge and Consent of the other. That both the Princes might prosecute the War against *France* for the Recovery of their Rights; and that they should mutually assist each other for the obtaining of that End. And, if a Peace should be concluded with *France*, and the demanded Territories restor'd, they should mutually maintain each other in the Possession of them. This League was concluded and sign'd *August* the Fifteenth, and not long after confirm'd in Parliament. A League be-
tween the Em-
peror and King
Henry.

In the mean Time the *French*, that had felt the heavy Hand of the *English*, and seen that King *Henry* had recall'd his Plenipotentiaries for Peace, resolv'd to try out their greatest Naval Power, both to block up *Harfleur*, and annoy the *English* Nation. But because the *French* King could not suddenly provide such a Number of Ships as the Occasion requir'd, he hired of the Republick of *Genoa* eight large Carracks, and other Vessels from *Spain* and *Flanders*, which with his own Ships made up a Fleet of five hundred Sail. These cruising about the *English* Seas with many Insults, King *Henry* design'd to have gone in Person against them, but the Emperor dissuading him from the Attempt, the Charge of that Enterprize was committed to his Brother *John* Duke of *Bedford*, accompany'd with the Earls of *Marche*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury* and *Devonshire*, who having three or four hundred Ships, and twenty thousand Men on Board, resolv'd to fight the *French* Fleet. Shortly after a fierce and long Engagement happen'd; in which the Valour of the Duke of *Bedford* and his brave Adventurers so far prevail'd that the *French* Ships were most of them batter'd, sunk and taken; and, according to *Harding*, their Loss amounted to twenty thousand Men. Immediately after, the Duke supply'd *Harfleur* with Ammunition, Victuals and other Necessaries, which the Garrison extremely wanted; which so discourag'd the Constable *D'Armagnac*, that he broke up the Siege, and return'd to *Paris*. This extraordinary Service was so admir'd by the Emperor, that he openly declar'd, *That England was happy in having such a King, but the King more happy in having such Subjects*; and ever after shew'd a particular Esteem for the Duke of *Bedford*. The French
defeated at Sea.

Harfleur re-
liev'd

The King accompanies the Emperor to Calais.

The Emperor's Affairs being finish'd, and all Royal Entertainments gratefully acknowledg'd, he prepar'd for his Return towards *Germany*, and King *Henry*, to do him more Honour, accompany'd him to the Town of *Calais*; where, after their Arrival, the Duke of *Burgundy* repair'd to pay his Homage to the Emperor; which Duke, some Months before, had concluded a Truce with the Earl of *Warwick*, in Behalf of King *Henry*, for the Countries of *Flanders* and *Artois*. *Henry* therefore in hopes of a further Amity with a Man of his Interest, sent his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earl of *Marche* to lye as Hostages at *St. Omers* for *Burgundy's* safe Passage and Conduct, with whom he sent the Earl of *Warwick* to conduct him to *Calais*. His Reception was very honourable both from the Emperor and the King of *England*; with the former he perform'd his Homage, and with the latter renew'd the Truce for two Years longer; both which was so displeasing to the *French*, that the Emperor was condemn'd by 'em for augmenting those Miseries in *France* which he pretended he came to relieve, by animating *Burgundy* against *Orleans*, and encouraging King *Henry's* Vanity in the Thoughts he had entertain'd of prevailing against a weak King. This is certain from the Archives of this Kingdom, that secret Articles were sign'd at *Calais* by the Duke of *Burgundy* in Vindication of King *Henry's* Title, in which he acknowledg'd him to be rightful King of *France*, and accordingly would declare himself for him in due Time. Yet in a few Months Time, as tho' he had forgot all, he contented and swore to a League with the King and *Dauphine* of *France* against the Power of *England*, and acted accordingly.

The Duke of Burgundy's unfair Dealings.

The Emperor and King take leave.

After the Duke of *Burgundy's* Departure, the King prepar'd for his Return into *England*, and the Emperor made ready to go by Sea to *Dort* in his Way to *Germany*. He despair'd of obtaining a Peace between *England* and *France*, and was extremely dissatisfy'd that he had wasted so much Time in an unsuccessful Mediation; he detested the Insincerity and mean Shifts of the *French*, and highly applauded the Plain-Dealing of the *English*. There had been so free and open a Correspondence between him and the King of *England*, that one did not keep any Thing secret from the other; and the like mutual Affection and Confidence was scarce ever known between two Princes. After the most amicable Parting, the Emperor set Sail for *Dort*, to which Place he was attended by the Duke of *Glocester*, Sir *John Tiptoft*, and many other *English* Knights and Gentlemen, to whom he presented a thousand Crowns in Coin; and likewise sent many rare and valuable Presents to King *Henry*, as Pledges of his Love and Gratitude. From *Dort* his Imperial Majesty pursuing his Journey, at length repair'd to the famous Council of *Constance*, which had now continu'd near three Years, and of which we ought to say something, because the *English* had so great a Concern in it.

The Council of Constance.

The Churches throughout Christendom had been disturb'd for the Space of twenty nine Years, and now insufferably afflicted thro' the Schismatical Ambitions maintain'd by three Papal Monarchs, mounted into *St. Peter's* Chair, each of them so violently grasping the Seat, that the Joints of it were torn asunder, and the Triple Crown so batter'd by their fulminant Execrations, that it was render'd unfit for any of their Heads. The three Contenders were *Benedict* XII. elected by the *Spaniards*; *Gregory* XII. set up by the *French*, and *John* XXIII. prefer'd by the *Italians*. To prevent the Mischiefs arising from this furious Struggle, the Princes of Christendom appointed a general Council to be held at *Constance* in *Germany*, which began in *February* 1414, and continu'd above the Space of three Years; to which were assembled the Emperor, the Pope, the Palgrave of the *Rhine*, four Patriarchs, twenty seven Cardinals, forty seven Arch-Bishops, a hundred and sixty Bishops, Princes, Barons and Gentlemen, with their Attendants, above thirty thousand. To this Council King *Henry* sent the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Norwich*, *Hereford* and *St. David's*, with the Abbot of *Westminster* and

and Prior of *Worcester*, accompany'd also with the Earl of *Warwick*, to make the nobler Appearance; themselves and Attendants amounting to eight hundred Horse: So that it was doubtful whether their honourable Presence more grac'd the Assembly, or their Learning and Judgment improv'd the whole Body of the Council. For two of these Bishops were made Cardinals, and of the thirty selected to assist the Cardinals in their Election of a new Pope, the Bishops of *London*, *Litchfield*, *Bath* and *Wells* were chosen, and the Bishop of *London* was first nominated for Pope; but he himself nominated the Man that succeeded, which was *Otho Colonna* by the Name of *Martin V.* whose Coronation was with mighty Magnificence solemniz'd by the five Nations assembled, with this Honour given to the *English*, That the Prior of *St. John's* was the Supporter of the Triple Crown. Touching the Decrees of this Council, it is sufficient to observe that *Wickliff's* Books were condemn'd as Heretical, that *John Hus* and *Hierom of Prague*, were both burnt, the Holy Maid *Bridget* canoniz'd for a Saint, and that *England* was made a Nation in Rank before *Spain*. *The Appearance of the English there.*

Before this Council was dissolv'd, King *Henry* had call'd a Parliament in *London*, in Order to prosecute his Title to the *French* Crown, where the Lord Chancellor, Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinal, in the King's Behalf made an eloquent Oration declaring the earnest Desire his Master had to make a Peace with the *French*, which their King continually oppos'd, and against the Law of Arms deny'd upon Ransom to deliver the Prisoners taken at *Agincourt*, so that the Peace to be expected must be purchas'd by the Sword alone. To which the whole Body consented, and granted the King a Subsidy and a Tenth, which was graciously accepted; but it was too short for the mighty Charge of the design'd Expedition, therefore the King was oblig'd to pawn his Crown to his Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester* for a large Sum of Money, as he did certain Jewels to the Lord Mayor of *London* for ten thousand Marks. Yet in this Parliament, after he had created the valiant Earl of *Dorset*, Duke of *Exeter*, he order'd him a thousand Pounds *per Annum* out of the Exchequer, and forty Pounds out of the Customs at *Exeter*; which liberal Example was so well approv'd by the Lords, that they rather thought it too little, and not proportionable to the Merits and Services of that noble Person. *A Parliament in England.*

IV. The Emperor's Mediation between *England* and *France* being frustrated by the Elusions of the *French*, King *Henry* disdain'd to relinquish his right so often demanded, therefore reassuming his Claim, he began this Year with great Preparations for War. And having got all Things in a Readiness, with a puissant Army, he resolv'd upon a second Expedition into *France*, taking Advantage of the two present Factions in that Kingdom, that of *Burgundy*, and that of *Orleans*; in which the King of *France* join'd with the former, and the *Dauphine* with the latter. King *Henry's* Fleet consisted of fifteen hundred Sail, having on Board many Lords and Men at Arms, with twenty five thousand five hundred and twenty seven Soldiers, besides a thousand Carpenters, Artificers and Labourers. But before his Departure, he appointed his Brother *John* Duke of *Bedford* to be Protector of *England*, during his Absence; which done, upon the twenty eighth Day of *July* he took shipping, the Sails of his own Vessel being of Purple Silk most richly embroider'd with Gold. On the first of *August* he landed in *Normandy* with such Terror to the Inhabitants, that they fled from the Shores, and left the Country without Men or Cattle; insomuch that twenty five thousand of them retir'd to *Bretaign*, so formidable was the Approach of the *English*. No sooner had King *Henry* set his Foot on Land, but he honour'd forty eight of his brave Followers with Knighthood; and then gave strict Orders, upon Pain of Death, that the Persons of Ecclesiasticks, and of Women should be inviolable, and likewise all others that submitted themselves to his Government. A. D. 1417.
Reg. 4.
King Henry's second Expedition into France.
He lands in Normandy.

King *Henry* began with taking of a View of *Harfleur*, after which he laid ^{Walley, Harling, Caen.} Siege to *Conquest*, one of the strongest Castles in *Normandy*, which he took on the Sixteenth of *August*, and gave both it and the whole Demesns belonging to it to his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*: And to the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Commander of his second Line he gave the Castle of *Damvilliers*, which at the same Time he won by his Arms; as also that of *Lovers* to the Earl-Marshal; and these were the first that were invested with any Revenue in *France*. Next he march'd against *Caen*, one of the Capital Cities of the Province, which Place was strongly fortify'd, well mann'd and victuall'd, so that nothing was wanting for a vigorous Defence. Yet the King sat down before it, and his Batteries not working the design'd Effects, he attempted it by Mines, and ruin'd a great Part of the Wall; yet still the Besieg'd made a manful Defence, and bravely drove the *English* back from the Breach. Nevertheless *Henry*, seeing that they could not long subsist, unwilling to carry it by Storm, which must be to the Destruction of the Inhabitants, whom he sought to make his loving Subjects, summon'd them by a Herald, and promis'd them Mercy; which they in hopes of Relief utterly despis'd. Upon which he proceeded to a Storm, which was succeeded by a great Slaughter, 'till the King staid the Soldiers Fury, and caus'd the Citizens to disarm themselves, setting a strong Guard, as well to keep his Men from pillaging, as the Inhabitants from Hostile Attempts: And they that disobey'd, were either put to Death or Ransom, which was freely distributed among his Captains and Soldiers; by which regular Action King *Henry* here gain'd the Estimation of a great Commander, and an upright Prince. The Report of his Clemency and Generosity to those he had conquer'd, spreading through the Country, the Governors of the neighbouring Towns sent to him the Keys of their Gates. The King, to invite and encourage the People, made Proclamation, that they who voluntarily submitted themselves should enjoy all Safety and Privileges under the Protection of his Government. King *Henry* proceeding in his Conquests, upon the first of *December* sat down before the strong Town and Castle of *Falaise*, and tho' it was the Depth of Winter, with invincible Patience he continu'd the Siege 'till the twentieth of *December*, when the Garrison of the Town, being no longer able to hold out, desir'd a Parly, and surrender'd upon Articles, too many to relate in this Place.

He takes several Places.

Caen taken by Storm.

Falaise surrenders.

The Scots invade England.

A vast Army provided against them.

They retire.

While this valiant Prince had by a swift Conquest in four Months recover'd a great Part of those Dominions which anciently belong'd to the *English* Kings in *France*, the *Scots* thinking his own Kingdom unprovided, and hoping to make Advantage of a discontented Party in the Nation, invaded *England* with a great Army, and wasted the Country with Fire and Sword. These still pretending that King *Richard* was alive, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Albany* and the Earl of *Douglafs*, brought along with them a counterfeit King, and laid Siege both to *Roxborough* and *Berwick*, where all imaginable Methods were us'd for the taking of those two Places. But before they could succeed in their extraordinary Attempts, the Protector *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and the new Duke of *Exeter*, had made sufficient Provision against them, and with an Army march'd into the North, where joining with the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, their Forces amounted to a hundred thousand Men, a great Part of them well form'd and regular: So that the Duke of *Exeter* said he could draw out of them forty thousand equal in Courage and Military Skill to any the King had. A remarkable Instance of the Strength of the Nation, which besides the Forces employ'd in *France*, could on a sudden raise such an Army. To these join'd *Henry Benet* Arch-Bishop of *York*, who was so decrepid with Age, that he was born in his Chair about the Field; and the Fame of his Arrival, and the Dread of the great *English* Generals so discourag'd the *Scots*, that they broke up their Sieges in great Disorder, and left all their Tents, Ladders and Engines. This was succeeded for a considerable Time after with great Devastations made by the *English* in many Parts of *Scotland*. The

Walley, Harling, &c.

The King's Affairs thus establish'd in the North, the Clergy were much eas'd by the Securing of the Lord *Cobham*, their great Disturber in the South; who had lately made new Steps towards the Exposing of their Errors, and opposing their exorbitant Power. But one main Complaint against him was, That he had defac'd the Pictures of the Saints in many Mass Books; some of which were shown to the People at St. *Paul's* Cross, where the Preacher insinuated that the Offence was done to the Triumphant Saints in Heaven. A Parliament being then assembled by the Protector's Authority, for a Supply of Money against *France*, it was there thought a Matter of that Importance, that a great Reward was offer'd for any that could take him. Not long after the Lord *Powells* took him in *Wales*, after a noble Resistance and many Wounds; and brought him to *Westminster*, where he appear'd before the Parliament. Having been before out-law'd upon Treason in the *King's Bench*, and excommunicated by the Arch-Bishop for Heresie, it was adjudg'd upon the Record and Process, that he should be carry'd to the Tower, and thence drawn thro' the City to the new Gallows in St. *Giles's* Fields, and there to be hang'd about the Middle, and burnt hanging in a Chain. All which was perform'd with the highest Execrations of the Priests, who adjur'd the People not to pray for a Man who was certainly going to Hell, because he dy'd in obstinate Rebellion against the Pope. Thus dy'd the great Lord *Cobham*; and as this was the first Noble Blood that was shed in *England* on the Account of Religion by Popish Malignity, so perhaps never any suffer'd a more cruel Martyrdom.

New Proceedings against Sir John Oldcastle.

He is burnt alive.

In the mean Time the unhappy Kingdom of *France* was more and more fill'd with the Noise and Miseries of War, which King *Henry* prosecuted with such unweary'd Vigour, that he besieg'd and took Towns in the Depth of Winter, nor could all the Rigours of the Season stop the Progress of his Conquests. To make the swifter Advances in subduing *Normandy* by besieging many Towns and Castles at the same Time, he divided his Army into several Bodies. The valiant Duke of *Clarence* at the Head of one of them besieg'd *Chambroise*, and the Castle of *Beche-Lovyn*; the Surrender of the first being concluded on *March* the ninth, and that of the latter on the fourth of *May* following. The Duke of *Glocester* led another Body of the Army into the County of *Constantine*, a large Neck of Land reaching into the Sea, over against *Portland* on the *English* Shore. The Town and Castle of *Vire* were agreed to be surrender'd *February* the twenty first; and the like Agreement was made about St. *Lo*, *March* the twelfth. On the sixteenth of the same Month the Town and Castle of *Carenton* capituled; on the seventeenth *Pontdown* was deliver'd to him, and eight Days after St. *Saviour le Viconte*. The strong Town of *Cheerburgh*, which stood in the Sea, made a longer Defence than any of the rest, but at length was forc'd to capitulate in the latter End of *August*. While these and several other Places were taken by the *English*, King *Henry*, after some new Offers of Accommodation, resolv'd to besiege *Roan*, the great and capital City of *Normandy*; a City strongly fortify'd with extraordinary Walls, Towers, and a vast Ditch, and containing a very numerous Garrison. The Citizens also presuming upon the Strength of the Garrison, and in their own Numbers, which were near three hundred thousand, resolv'd to defend the Place with the greatest Vigour, and to endure all Extremities, rather than surrender, since to that one Place the Inhabitants of *Normandy* had brought all their Treasure, accounting it their last Refuge and Retreat, and by a prudent Foresight had been diligent to fortifie it in the Beginning of the War.

A. D.

1418.

Reg. 5.

Great Conquests in Normandy.

The Strength and Greatness of Roan.

The King, after he had taken *Pont de l'Arche*, eight Miles distant from *Roan*, and accounted the Key of the River *Seine*, laid close Siege to this important Place: But understanding the obstinate Resolution of the Besieged, he would not lavish the Lives of his Soldiers in continual Attacks, but determin'd to cut off all Provisions and Relief, and reduce it by Famine. To this End his Army surrounded it by Land, and a Squadron of good Ships which he had from the King

Roan besieged by King Henry.

King of *Portugal*, block'd up the Mouth of the *Sein*. Then to secure his Camp from all Assaults, he encompass'd it with a large Intrenchment pitch'd with sharp Stakes, and defended by a high Rampart, Bulwarks and Turnpikes. Sir *Robert Bapthorp* was appointed to oversee this Work, which he perform'd with great Skill and Diligence, as he had before the Trenches between the Camp and the Town. The King himself lodg'd on the East of the City, the Duke of *Clarence* on the West, and the Duke of *Exeter* on the North; between whom was quarter'd the Marshal, join'd with the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Lords *Harington* and *Talbot*. Before the Port of *St. Hillary*, the Lords *Ross*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh* and Sir *William Porter* encamp'd their Forces. The Earls of *Mortaign* and *Salisbury* lodg'd near the Abby of *St. Catharines*; Sir *John Gray* about the Chappel Mount *St. Michael's*, and Sir *Philip Leech* upon a Hill adjoining. The River *Sein* was block'd up with three Iron Chains, one of them laid two Foot above the Water, another level to it, and the third two Foot below it, to hinder all Relief into the City by Boats; the Charge of which was committed to *Thomas* Baron of *Carew*, who very exactly perform'd it. On the other Side the River were encamp'd the Earls of *Warren* and *Huntington*, the Lords *Nevill* and *Ferrers*, and Sir *Gilbert Umfreville*, directly before the great *Port de Pont*; and for a general Communication of one Part of the Army with the other, a Bridge was made over the River *Sein*, sufficient for Carriages as Occasion should require.

The Besieg'd
suffer all the
Miseries of Fa-
mine.

Fifty thousand
of them perish.

A Treaty made

but in vain.

During this memorable Siege, many martial Exploits happen'd, but no general Assaults; and thus it continu'd from the Beginning of *July* till *December*, when the Besieg'd began to be in great Distress for want of Provisions; and to disburthen themselves, they thrust out twenty thousand Men, Women and Children who were unserviceable for the Defence of the City, and expos'd them to the Mercy of the *English*. When King *Henry* saw this miserable Multitude shut out of the Gates, tho' he resolv'd to force them back to increase the Misery of Famine, yet being unwilling to attack a Company of Wretches unarm'd and helpless, he gave Orders to power upon them a Shower of Arrows, shot from Bows slightly drawn, to affright rather than wound them. Fear drove the poor starv'd Creatures to shelter themselves in the Ditches of the Town; and while they remain'd there three Days in great Misery, many of the Women were deliver'd: At last, the Cries and Groans of so many thousands prevail'd upon the King's Compassion to send 'em Food, 'till the Pity of the Garrison was mov'd to receive many of them again within the Walls. The Famine and Mortality soon grew to that Height, that fifty thousand of both Sexes perish'd; and in one Burying Place above two and thirty thousand were thrown into the Ground. Persons of the better Quality eat their own Horses, and the poorer People fed on Dogs, Cats, Rats and Mice; so obstinate were they in holding out to the last Extremity. Little Infants hung on the Breasts of their starv'd Mothers as they lay dead in the Streets; and the Rage of Famine forc'd the distracted Multitude to a thousand Violences, and they wounded and kill'd one another to take away the vilest Nourishment of Life. And so Tyrannical was the Force of Hunger over the most powerful Considerations, that young Virgins abandon'd their Modesty, and prostituted themselves for a Piece of Bread. In this deplorable Condition, Relief was often promis'd, but instead of Supplies the Bishop of *Beauvois*, accompany'd with the Cardinal of *Ursus*, sent from the Pope, were dispatch'd to King *Henry* to beg a Peace; and the better to effect it they brought the Princess *Catharine's* Picture, which gave King *Henry* great Satisfaction, insomuch that some say he fell in Love with her at the Sight of it. But he demanding a Million of Crowns, with the Dukedoms of *Normandy*, *Gascony*, *Anjou*, and other Territories for her Portion, nothing material was concluded.

At length, the enraged *Roannois*, helpless of Succour, and despairing of Peace, resolv'd to make a brave Sally upon the King's Quarters; to perform which

which ten thousand select Men, with their Commanders, issu'd out of the Town. The Vant-Guard, consisting of two thousand, being past and engag'd with the Besiegers, by Misfortune the Draw-bridge broke down with the over-weight of Men, and drown'd, kill'd and hurt many. This ruin'd the Passage, that they cou'd not come to the Relief of their Companions engag'd, but by another Gate at a considerable Distance; and before they came into their Assistance, their whole Body was broken for want of Support, and most of them kill'd and taken Prisoners. Upon which strange Disaster the Soldiers within mutiny'd against *De Boutellier* their General, boldly complaining that he had contrived the breaking of the Bridge. In these Calamities, after several Remonstrances on both Sides, King *Charles* returning towards *Paris*, sent a Message to the Besieged, *That they must take care of themselves*; which surprizing Answer struck a fatal Damp upon their Hearts, and rais'd the Rage of the Multitude to that Degree, that they willingly agreed to a Treaty with King *Henry*: Which being propos'd to the King, three magnificent Tents were erected at *Port St. Hilarie* for the Reception of the Commissioners, which were four Ecclesiasticks, four Knights and four Burgers of the Town: Those for the King were the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Warwick*. The Demands of the *Roannois* were many and high, but the Answers receiv'd were short and peremptory, *That no Conditions wou'd be allow'd, but barely yielding to the King's Mercy*. Which Answer being return'd in a publick Assembly, Rage and Despair prompted them to all Extravagancies that cou'd proceed from Fire, Sword and the Demolishment of the whole City. But the generous King pitying a wretched People so obstinately bent on their own Ruin, resolv'd to save them in spite of themselves, and to have that noble City deliver'd to him, untouch'd by Fire. Remitting therefore the Rigour of his first Demands, he again sent for the Commissioner by the Arch-Bishop to treat upon milder Conditions, which was at last concluded in twenty three Articles. Of which one was That the Inhabitants shou'd pay the Sum of three hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, two of which to make an *English* Noble. For which the Citizens of *Roan* shou'd enjoy all the Liberties and Privileges that had been granted by any of the Kings of *England*, and Dukes of *Normandy* before *Philip de Valois*. And thus *Roan* was subdu'd to the Crown of *England*, two hundred and fifteen Years after the Conquest of it by *Philip* King of *France*.

The Besieg'd capitulate.

A. D.

1419.

Reg. 6.
7.

They Surrender upon hard Articles.

The Agreement was concluded on the nineteenth Day of *January*, when the half-famish'd Citizens in great Multitudes repair'd to the *English* Camp to buy Vi-
tuals, which so abounded with Provisions, that a fat Sheep was sold for Six Sols. On the following Day King *Henry* made a Triumphant Entrance into the City, accompany'd with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Bishops, sixteen Barons, and a great Number of Knights, Esquires and Men at Arms. At his Entering the Gates all the Bells of the City were rung, and the Abbots and Priests met him in a solemn Procession, in which were carry'd forty two Crosses, with the Relicks of the Saints. They march'd before him to *Notre-dame* the great Cathedral, where at the Porch he alighted, being receiv'd with the utmost Solemnity by the Bishops and Canons; then entring the Church, he offer'd up his Thanksgivings at the High Altar, and order'd his Chaplains to sing a Psalm of Praise. He lodg'd in the Castle that Night, and continu'd in it the next Day, receiving Homage from the Citizens. In the Morning he gave Orders that *Alain Blanchart*, an Incendiary excepted in the Articles, shou'd be beheaded, but pardon'd the rest that were left to his Mercy, imposing only a Fine upon them. Then to settle his new Conquests, he establish'd in this City his Exchequer, Coinage, and Chamber of Accounts of the Revenues of *Normandy*, and built a Tower behind the Castle, as an additional Strength to keep the City in Subjection. He fortify'd the Bridge, and began to build a Palace on the *Sein*; and publish'd new Orders to regulate the Business of Trade, reducing the Measures to a certain Standard. He kept his Court at *Roan* for

King Henry's Entry into Roan.

His Establishments in that City.

He keeps his Court at Roan.

some space, and wore the Ducal Robes as Duke of *Normandy*. On *February* the fifteenth he order'd Proclamation to be made, that all who wou'd come in and swear Allegiance to him shou'd be receiv'd into his Favour and Protection: And *March* the twelfth he gave Orders, that an exact Account shou'd be taken of the Names of all the Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children, within the Bailywicks of *Roan*, *Constantin* and *Alençon*.

King *Henry* had now not only the Dukedom of *Normandy* subjected to him, but *Picardy* and the *Isle of France* lay open to his Arms; infomuch that tho' the *French* King and the Duke of *Burgundy* had strongly garrison'd the Frontiers to stop the Incursions of the *English* Troops, yet they pierc'd as far as *Ponthoife*, *Cleremont*, *Beauvais*, *Montdidier*, *Bretevil*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville* and *St. Valeric*; and waſting all Places, enrich'd themselves with great Booty. This mighty Progreſs firſt brought the Duke of *Bretaign* to an Alliance with King *Henry*, who finding *France* unable to protect him, agreed to a mutual Amity, and that no Acts of Hoſtility ſhou'd be committed by either of their Subjects, without a Declaration of War fix Months before. In the mean Time the *Dauphine*, who in Opposition to the Duke of *Burgundy* had taken upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government in *France*, invited the King of *England* to a Treaty; but when the Ambaſſadors ſhou'd have met to appoint the Place and Manner, the *French* not only fail'd in coming at the fix'd Time, but ſhew'd ſuch Colluſion when they came, that all prov'd ineffectual. However the Duke of *Burgundy* became ſo apprehenſive of the *Dauphine's* growing Intereſt, that he once more deſir'd a Treaty with King *Henry*, that by the help of ſuch a potent Alley he might ſecure himſelf againſt the Deſigns which that Prince had to ruin him. It was therefore determin'd in the Council of the King of *France*, That it was expedient for the Safety of the Nation to ſettle an Alliance with the King of *England*, by giving him in Marriage the Princeſs, with ſome Provinces of the Kingdom. After an Embaſſy and a ſhort Truce, it was concluded that the two Kings ſhould have a ſolemn Interview at *Melun*, where the Queen and Princeſs ſhou'd be preſent. For that purpoſe a ſpacious Field was well-trench'd and ramparted with ſtrong Gates, and two ſtately Pavilions erected in it, the one for the two Kings to converſe and reſoſe, and the other for their Agents to conſult in.

The Duke of Burgundy endeavours for a Treaty with King Henry.

The Treaty of Melun.

King *Charles*, Queen *Iſabel*, the Princeſs *Catharine*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Count *St. Paul*, firſt arriv'd, with a Train and Guard of a thouſand Horſe. On the other ſide King *Henry* with his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Gloceſter*, attended with a thouſand Horſe, obſerv'd the appointed Time and Place: And now the illuſtrious Company met with the utmoſt Pomp and Ceremony; King *Henry* ſaluted the Queen and Princeſs, and receiv'd *Burgundy* into his Arms; and the two Nations tho' mortal Enemies, demean'd themſelves with ſo much Civility, that no cauſe of Quarrel was offer'd on either ſide. Many Points were debated, and many Offers were made to King *Henry*, particularly, That all the Territories and Towns contain'd in the Treaty of Peace made at *Bretaign* with *Edward III.* and the whole Dukedom of *Normandy*, and all other Places now in his Poſſeſſion, ſhou'd be confirm'd to him and his Heirs. Many Days were ſpent without coming to a Concluſion, and many Conferences were held, from which the Princeſs had abſented her ſelf. The Queen had brought her to the firſt Interview, in hopes that the Charms of her Beauty, which were very extraordinary, might prevail more on a young Conqueror than all the ſubtle Arts of Stateſmen in a Treaty. Nor was ſhe wholly miſtaken; for his Heart, tho' arm'd with fierce Bravery and undaunted Courage, was not impenetrable to the ſofter Paſſions; and that Soul which never knew Fear, at the firſt Sight of ſo engaging a Lady was ſenſible of Love. The diſcerning Queen ſoon obſerv'd that her Daughter's Eyes were more powerful than all the Arms of *France*, and reſolv'd to make all poſſible Advantage of this violent Affection; flattering her ſelf that the King wou'd comply

comply to any Conditions, provided his Marriage with the Princess were one of them. She thought therefore to practise upon him the usual Arts of her Sex, and to inflame his Passion by the Absence of his Mistress; but her Design had a different Success than she expected, for he soon observing the Artifice, the Sense of the Affront made him inflexible to any Condescension, so that he insisted more firmly on his first Propositions. And knowing that the chief Affairs of *France* were committed to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Thought that it was he who obstructed the Conclusion of the Peace and Marriage, fir'd him with the greatest Indignation against him. When therefore the Duke remonstrated the Excess of his Demands, the King in a great Passion said, *I'll not only have your Princess, but your King himself in my Power; and I will have what I demanded in Marriage with her, or force him from his Throne, and you out of his Kingdom.* To whom the Duke more calmly reply'd, *Before you can dethrone my King, and expel me the Kingdom, you may find cause to repent the Enterprize; and I doubt not, but we shall make you weary of the War.*

King Henry
incens'd.

This Convention at *Melun* ended *June* the thirtieth, at which Time it was agreed to meet again on the third of *July* following; and King *Henry* came, but the *French* disappointed him. And in reality it was manifest by all their Proceedings, that they never design'd to conclude a Peace, but only aim'd to amuse the *English* with vain Offers and Promises. They had promis'd that King *Henry* shou'd possess all his Conquests, and hold them without Dependence; and that all shou'd be confirm'd to him, which had been granted in the grand Treaty between *Edward* III. of *England*, and *John* King of *France*: But when the Articles came to be drawn into Form, and ingross'd, the *French* perplex'd all Things by starting new Difficulties and Questions. The Duke of *Burgundy*, whose Heart was truly *French*, all the Time of the Convention had frequent Meetings with the *Dauphine* near *Paris*, and it was now strenuously endeavour'd to reconcile the grand Parties of *Burgundy* and *Armagnac*; and accordingly Proclamation was made at *Paris*, that none shou'd raise any Contest on the account of such Names of Distinction. King *Henry* therefore, perceiving the Artifices of the *French*, resolv'd to break off the Treaty; and according to the first Agreement, he gave publick Notice of its Dissolution; complaining of the unfair Proceedings of his Enemies, who had continually deceiv'd him, and only design'd under Colour of a Treaty to work Delays and hinder his Conquests. Shortly after he understood that the *Dauphine* and the Duke were reconcil'd, and enter'd into a firm Alliance, which much rais'd the Indignation of the Hero; and tho' in Apperance all the Forces of *France* were united against him, this was so far from discouraging him, that it rous'd his martial Ardor to oppose the growing Danger. And having taken care to regulate and reform the Corruption of Manner and Discipline in the Churches of *England* and *Normandy*, he resolv'd to proceed with the utmost Vigour and Vigilance.

The Treaty
breaks up.

The Duke of
Burgundy
proves false to
King Henry.

Ponthois was the next fortify'd Town which lay in the Course of King *Henry's* Conquests, the Possession of which wou'd open his Way to *Paris*. To attempt which on the last Day of *July* he sent three Thousand Foot, which before Day Light, and undiscover'd by the Centinels, set their scaling Ladders to the Walls, mounted up, and crying out *St. George!* some enter'd the Town, to the great Amazement of *Monfieur de L'Isle Adam*, Marshal of *France* and Governor of the Place, who immediately fled out at another Gate next *Paris*, and was immediately follow'd by above ten thousand of the Inhabitants. So that the *English* easily became Masters of the Town, which was so considerable for its Riches, and such an advantageous Post, that the King in a Letter said, *he accounted it the most important Place he had taken since the War.* Yet his great Soul was so little elevated by this Success, that he sent this Message to the King of *France*, *That tho' he had taken so considerable a Place, which open'd a Way to the Conquest of his Capital City, yet he now offer'd him Peace upon the same Terms he had propos'd at the Treaty of Melun.* All *Paris*

King Henry
makes new Con-
quests.

The French
King flies from
Paris.

Further Ad-
vantages gain'd
by the English.

was in a great Consternation upon the Loss of this Place, and the Terror was so general thro' all the adjacent Country, call'd the Isle of *France*, that the Villages were universally deserted. The King of *France* with his Queen and Daughter, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and many Noblemen, retired to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, leaving *Paris* under the Government of the Count St. *Paul* and De *Laître* Chancellor of *France*, while the Duke of *Clarence* march'd to the Walls of that vast City, and lay before it two Days, his Troops ravaging all the adjacent Country. After which the Castle of *Gisors*, which held out three Weeks, was taken by Composition; the Earl of *Huntington* sack'd *Preaux*, burnt *Bretueil*, *Clermont* and the Castle of *Vendueil*; and King *Henry* himself besieg'd the Castles of *Galliart* and *Rochguien*, two of the strongest Places in *Normandy*, which surrender'd upon Articles. Then returning to *Mante*, the King divided his Army into three Bodies, with one of which he order'd the Duke of *Glocester*, who had taken *Ivry*, to storm the Castle of St. *Germain en Lay*, which was soon surrender'd to him; the other he sent to attack the Castle of *Montjoy*, which the *English* by fierce Assaults forc'd to yield. At the Head of the Third, the King himself march'd to besiege *Meaulan*, in the Isle of *France*, situated on the *Sein*, not far distant from *Paris*, a Place naturally strong, and surrounded by that great River. Yet by the new invented floating Towers, the Resolutions of King *Henry*, and the invincible Patience of his Soldiers, the Town capitulated *November* the thirtieth. In the mean Time the Earls *Marshal* and *Huntington*, Sir *John Green*, *Cornwall*, and Sir *Phillip Leach* were order'd into the Country of *Main*, where they bravely encounter'd a strong Body of *French* sent by the *Dauphine*, and defeated them with the Slaughter of five thousand upon the Spot, and the Captivity of six hundred Prisoners, with the Marshal *de Rous*, other Noblemen, and many Standards.

Thus the Glory of the *English* Arms, and the Miseries of the Kingdom of *France* daily increas'd, which now had her Bowels torn in Pieces by Foreign Power and Domestick Factions. For tho' the latter seem'd to have been allay'd, yet still there was a secret and irreconcilable Hatred between the *Dauphine* and the Duke of *Burgundy*; and the former was so much prevail'd upon by the Councils of those about him, that he believ'd the Miseries of *France* cou'd not be ended but by the Duke's Death. In order to effect this treacherous Design, the *Dauphine* being at *Montereau* a Town in *Brie*, sent for the Duke from *Troyes* under Pretence of concerting Measures with him about their further Alliance, and employing their united Powers against the common Enemy the *English*. The Duke at first made several Excuses, having innumerable Suspicions revolving in his Mind; but hurry'd on by his own Fate and former Guilt, he repair'd to *Montereau* with some Noblemen, five hundred Horse, and two hundred Archers; at the Entrance of which Place the *Dauphine* had fix'd three several Barricadoes, and himself stood in Arms beyond the third to receive the Duke, with only ten Followers. The Duke approaching his Presence, kneel'd down upon one knee, and saluted him with all the Respect due to his Quality; but the other neglecting all Ceremonies, immediately charg'd him with Breach of Fidelity, and Nonperformance of many Promises, and after a few Words proceeded so far as to call him Traitor, and to give him the Lie. The Duke putting his Hand behind him to adjust his Sword that had been alter'd by his kneeling, *Robert de Loire* designedly cry'd out *What are you drawing upon your Prince?* At which, an old Servant of the murder'd Duke of *Orleans*, struck him on the Face with a Battel-Ax, and cut off his Chin; and others with many Wounds put an end to his Life, before he cou'd draw his Sword in his own Defence. Thus fell the great Duke of *Burgundy*, who as he had twelve Years before caus'd the Duke of *Orleans* to be assassinated in the Streets of *Paris*, so by the Requital of the Divine Justice, his own Life was abandon'd to vile Treachery. And it is highly remarkable, that as he was exorbitant in his Lusts, both as to Ambition and Women, so one of his Mistresses

The Dauphine
Murders the
Duke of Bur-
gundy.

Madam

Madam *Giac*, was the principal Person that betray'd him to his Ruin. However this manifest Murder was justly resented by a great Part of the Kingdom of *France*; but so far by Queen *Isabel*, Mother to the *Dauphine*, that she did not only excite *Philip*, now the new Duke of *Burgundy*, to revenge his Father's Death, but also tormented her weak Husband's Spirits in urging him to disinherit the *Dauphine*, and give his Daughter *Catharine* in Marriage to King *Henry*, now in the Bowels of *France*.

*Revenge
threaten'd.*

As these express'd such passionate Resentments of the Duke's Death, so his Son *Philip* with as much Heat and more Efficacy pursu'd the Vengeance of his Father's Blood, and swore *He would never lay down his Arms, nor make Peace nor Truce, 'till he had extirpated all his Murderers*. In order to effect his Purpose, he sent the Bishop of *Arras* with other Ambassadors to King *Henry* at *Roan* to mediate a Peace; and again sent the same Bishop with such Proposals to the king, that he thought fit to send the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Gascony* to *Arras*, who were very acceptable to the young Duke: So that between *Roan* and *Arras* Emissaries continually pass'd 'till a Truce was concluded; which, notwithstanding all the Offers and Obstructions of the *Dauphine*, was proclaim'd to continue from about the Feast of *Epi- phany* 'till *Mid-March* ensuing between King *Henry*, King *Charles*, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. Affairs thus far succeeding with King *Henry*, King *Henry* wrote to the new Pope, soliciting his Holiness's Consent to admit him his most Christian Son of *France*, and to give his Benediction, for the Confirmation of the Marriage and Amity, design'd between these two famous Princes. King *Henry's* Right to the Crown of *France* was alledg'd, and the Miseries of that Kingdom display'd; but the *Dauphine's* Interest was so great with the Pope, that he refus'd to confirm any thing to the Prejudice of his Title.

*A Treaty pro-
pos'd to King
Henry.*

However the Negotiation still went forwards, and the Place agreed on for Confirmation of Articles was *Troyes* in *Champaign*, where King *Charles* and his Queen then resided; and to which Place the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Kyme*, and the Lord *Ross* and others, attended with five hundred Horse, were sent Ambassadors from King *Henry*. These arriving at *Troyes*, were honourably receiv'd, and amicably resolv'd on a final Peace; and there the Princess *Catharine* was attended as the *English* Queen, and particular Persons left to guard her by King *Henry's* Command. His Ambassadors being return'd, and his Affections inflam'd, he himself attended by his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter*, the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Huntington* and *Salisbury*, and many of the Nobility, with a Guard of sixteen hundred Men, departed from *Roan* to *Pontbois*, to St. *Denis*, and so into *Champaign*, where he was met near *Troyes* by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and many other *French* Noblemen; and with the most magnificent Attendance conducted into the Town.

A. D.
1420.
Reg. 7.

King *Henry* immediately after his Arrival, made a Visit to the *French* King, the Queen, and the Princess *Catharine*; to the latter of whom he made his Addresses, and presented her with a Ring of inestimable Value. There were afterwards many Assemblies of the King's Council fully to conclude the Peace and the Alliance; and King *Henry* having alter'd what he mislik'd in the Treaty, which before had been drawn up in Writing, it was at last intirely completed on the twenty first Day of *May*, 1420. The Articles of this Treaty were large and numerous, and very much to the Advantage and Honour of King *Henry*. By these it was agreed, 'That the said King *Henry* should marry the Princess *Catharine*, and allow her the usual Dowry of the Queens of *England*, forty thousand Crowns *per Annum*: That after the Death of King *Charles*, who was to hold his present Possessions during Life, the Crown of *France*, with all the Rights and Dominions appertaining to it, should devolve upon King *Henry* and his Heirs for ever. But because King *Charles* was indispos'd and incapable to reign, the whole Power and Exercise of the Go-

*The Treaty
concluded with
a Peace.*

*The Substance
of it.*

vern-

The Dauphine
excluded.

Government of *France* should immediately be transfer'd to King *Henry* as Regent of that Kingdom, to govern in Conjunction with the Council of the Estates of the Realm, according to the known Laws and Usages of it. To make which the more easie to King *Henry*, all the Nobility both Spiritual and Temporal, and all Corporations and Communities should be oblig'd to take particular Oaths of Fidelity to King *Henry*, both as to his present Administration, and future Inheritance. Then to preserve an intire Peace and Concord between *England* and *France*, whenever King *Henry*, or any of his Heirs should come to wear the Crown of *France*, the two Kingdoms should ever be united under one King, *viz.* under King *Henry* during his Life, and after under his Heirs in a continu'd Succession, and not at the same Time be govern'd by two Kings; and yet the Rights, Liberties and Laws of each Kingdom should be kept distinct and inviolable, without subjecting one to the other: The better to establish which, all Hatred, Animosities, Divisions and Wars, should cease between the two Nations, and the People be mutually united in Affections, Counsels, and Defence against all Enemies. But because the *Dauphine* and his Adherents still oppos'd the common Peace of both Kingdoms, King *Henry* should make use of all the Power of his Arms to reduce all Territories, Cities, Towns, Castles and Persons joining with him; and never enter into any Treaty of Peace with him, without the Consent of King *Charles*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the three Estates of *England* and *France*.

King Henry
made Regent of
France.

These, and several other subservient Articles being confirm'd, the Princess *Catharine*, who had also the Title of Dutches of *Bar*, was affianc'd to King *Henry* in St. *Peter's* Church at *Troyes*. The King came attended with forty *English* Nobles and Gentlemen, and the Dutches of *Clarence* with her Train of Ladies; and the Queen of *France* and the Princess were attended by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and forty of his Council. King *Henry* and the Queen of *France* met in the middle of the Church, and went together up to the high Altar, where the Articles of Peace being openly read, were seal'd with the two Seals of both the Kings, and a solemn Oath taken to observe them; and the King and Princess joining their Hands, were contracted. Then the Duke of *Burgundy* took an Oath to obey King *Henry* as Regent of *France* during the present King's Life; and that after his Decease he would become his Liege Subject. On the other Side King *Henry* promis'd, that he would deliver to the Duke all the Murderers of his Father who should fall into his Power. In conclusion of all, the Peace was proclaim'd first in the *French* Tongue, and then in the *English*; and the Articles of it publish'd at *Paris*, and all the principal Citys of *France*. King *Henry* also in a Letter to his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, gave him an Account of the Conclusion of this great Treaty, ordering him to proclaim the Peace throughout *England*, and instructing him about altering his Title in his Seals and Proclamations during the *French* King's Life, which was now to run thus: *Henry by the Grace of God King of England, Heir and Regent of the Realm of France, and Lord of Ireland*. On the thirtieth of *May*, the Nuptials were Solemniz'd between King *Henry* and the Princess *Catharine*, with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence, and grac'd with the Presence of the Duke of *Burgundy* the Prince of *Orange*, the Count de *Luxemburgh*, and the principal Nobility of *Burgundy* and *France*.

He Marries
Catharine
Daughter to
the French
King.

The French
Nobility sworn
Fidelity to him.

King *Henry* being now proclaim'd Regent of *France*, all the Nobility that were at *Troyes*, readily swore Fidelity to him: For the Fame of his Heroic Actions in War, when his Person was unknown to them, had acquir'd him an universal Esteem, and they knew not which most to admire, his Courage, Conduct or Success; but now his noble Presence, happily join'd with Majesty and Affability, procur'd a greater Veneration. They knew him to be prudent in Counsels, experienc'd in War, undaunted in Danger, and prosperous in all Attempts; and therefore perswaded themselves that their Country would be happy under the Influences of his Government. Their good Opinion of him

was confirm'd, when they heard him in a full Assembly thus express the Moderation and Temper of his Soul. *My noble Lords, I do assure you, it is and shall be my perpetual Concern, how by all my Councils and Actions I may make both these Nations, now by the Favour of Heav'n so fortunately united, a great and flourishing Kingdom; and as it is at present the most glorious in Europe, so all Animosities and Factions extinguish'd, it may continue happy as well as great to all future Successions. To accomplish this noble Design, it is necessary that we all endeavour to suppress the Flames of those Civil Dissentions, which are alone kept alive by that Person whom you have justly depriv'd of the Honour of being Dauphine of France. That our Country therefore may flourish in Peace and undisturb'd Greatness, we must use our utmost Power to reduce him to that Obedience he owes to his Father and his Sovereign, and to oblige him to submit to that Government which has been establish'd by an Assembly of the States of the Kingdom; which if not effected, France will not only be expos'd to present Calamities, but the Fears of greater, from the Government of one who has already shown such Marks of Tyranny.* After which he proceeded to declare his high Esteem for the *French* Nation, and urg'd them all to an Union of Hearts and Affections, as well as Nations, with such an obliging Gracefulness and Greatness, that they all departed with the utmost Reliance and Satisfaction.

V. The mighty King *Henry* had now in a great measure arriv'd at the Top of his Aims and Designs, obtaining not only an admirable Queen, but also the Sovereignty over a new Kingdom; yet still the *Dauphine* and his Followers vigorously oppos'd him, and resolv'd never to desist 'till they had brought him to their own Terms. Their first Counsel was how to preserve themselves in so imminent a Danger; they were sensible that to sit still would but increase the Success of the *English*, and to rise without sufficient Strength would plunge themselves into further Misfortunes. In this Distraction that Voice was best heard that spoke most for the Safety of the *Dauphine*, whose Breath alone gave Life to the after-Hopes of *France*, and for the fortifying those Places which might be of most Offence to the Enemy. This then was agreed in a Council of War, That the *Dauphine* should at no Time hazard his Person in the Field, and that Levies of Soldiers should be made, to be garrison'd in convenient Places, and leave the rest to Time and Opportunity; in which Resolution every Man took to his Charge, and all to oppose the Actions of King *Henry*. As these consulted for the State of the *French*, so at the same Time in *Paris* a Parliament of the three Estates was assembled, in which such as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Death were sentenc'd, the Disinhering of the *Dauphine* confirm'd, and Forces prepar'd against those Towns that held for him.

A. D.
1420.
Reg. 7.

The Dauphine
and his Adherents
oppose
King Henry.

In the mean Time the two Kings with their Queens, and the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Burgundy* march'd against *Sens*, a Town in *Burgundy*; which after twelve Days Siege surrender'd upon Composition of Life, those only excepted that were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Death. *Montereau* was the next Place, which was enter'd by Force, where the Body of the Duke of *Burgundy*, undecently bury'd by the *Dauphinois*, was taken up, and by his Son *Philip* sent in great Pomp to *Dijon*, the Capital of his Dukedom, and there honourably interr'd. The Town being taken, the Castle held out, under the Government of the Lord *De Guitry*, to whom were sent some *French* Prisoners under a Guard to persuade him to surrender, which they did with Tears and on their knees; but his obstinate Persisting, and his affronting the Herald sent to summon him to surrender, occasion'd the Hanging up of those Prisoners, as Rebels to the *French* King, their natural Sovereign. The Besieged held out eight Days longer, and then surrender'd the Castle on Condition of having Life, Liberty and Goods secur'd; but all Persons concern'd in the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murder

King Henry
takes several
Towns from
the Dauphine.

The Siege of Melun. der were excepted. Next the King undertook the Siege of *Melun*, a Town of

great Strength on the *Seine*, and made more strong by the Valour of its Governors, who were the Lord *De Barbasan* and *Pierre de Bourbon*, the former an admirable Commander, and the latter a Prince of the Blood, whose Garrison consisted of seven hundred *Dauphinois*. These made so stout a Defence, that the Besiegers could not make their Approaches without great Difficulty and Danger; but the Cannon making a Breach, the *English* and *Burgundians* enter'd a strong Outwork, and built a Bridge of Boats over the River *Seine*, so that from either Quarter they had Communication with each other without Impediments. Both King *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgundy* fortify'd their Camps after an extraordinary Manner, and in this Posture the Siege continu'd eighteen Weeks, in which Time the Soldiers of the Garrison made some, tho' not frequent, Sallies. King *Henry*, impatient of Delays, press'd forward the Siege to the utmost, and made a large Mine underneath the Walls, which being perceiv'd, the Besieg'd countermin'd against him; where the King with great Resolution entering first into the Mine, and *Barbasan* likewise his within the Town, met each other with their drawn Swords, and nobly perform'd the Parts of private Combatants: 'Till at length they resolv'd to discover themselves, and first *Barbasan* made known his Name, then King *Henry* did his; whereupon the *French* Lord suddenly retiring, caus'd the Barricadoes to be clos'd, and King *Henry* return'd safe to his Camp.

The French King appears before the Place, During this Siege, King *Henry* often went to *Corbeil*, where the Court then was, which now consisted of *French* and *English*, the Dutcheß of *Clarence*,^{Margr. La Ferry, H. Ang.} and other Ladies of the highest Quality being the chief Ornaments of it. Here he perswaded the King of *France* to repair with him to the Camp, that his Presence before the Walls might influence his Rebellious Subjects to return to their Duty. But when they were summon'd to yield to their natural Sovereign, they resolutely answer'd, *That they would joyfully open their Gates to their Monarch, but they would never obey an English King, the ancient and mortal Enemy of France.* Tho' neither the Presence nor Authority of the *French* King could avail, yet he still continu'd in the Camp, to which the beautiful Queen of *England* likewise came with a shining Train of Ladies, for whose Entertainment a fair House was built at such a Distance as secur'd them from all Danger. To entertain them with martial Musick, eight or ten Trumpets were sounded every Morning and Evening before the Tent of the King of *England*, who had the State and Magnificence of a Court amidst all the Noise and Disorders of War; and yet with uninterrupted Diligence imploy'd himself in all the Business of the Siege. As there was a strong Party of *Scots* in the Garrison, the young King of *Scotland*, now in the Army with King *Henry*, sent to require them upon their Allegiance, that they should not employ their Arms against Troops where he was in Person, but come and fight under the Standard of their King. To whom they return'd this Answer, *That they would not own or obey him as their King, who was in the Power of another*; for which Affront, twenty of them were afterwards executed. About the same Time mandatory Letters were sent by King *Charles* into *Picardy*, to put all Places that held for him in those Parts into King *Henry's* Possession, and to take the Oath of Obedience to him as to the only Heir, Successor, Regent and Governor of *France*; the Execution of which was committed to the Care of several of the *French* Nobility.

Melun surrenders. The Distress of *Melun* now became exceeding great, as well upon the Besiegers as Defendants; the one afflicted and extremely weaken'd with Mortality, and the other violently oppress'd with Famine, and other Calamities incident to long Sieges. After eighteen Weeks Siege, the *English* were supply'd with Soldiers out of *Picardy*, the Sight of which at first put the Town in Hopes of Relief from the *Dauphine*; but the Garrison finding themselves unhappily disappointed, in Despair capitulated, and were forc'd to surrender upon hard Art-

cles, one of which was That they should be all made Prisoners of War, and that all the *English* and *Scots* should in a special Manner be left to the absolute Disposal of the King of *England*; and that all Accessaries to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murder should suffer Death. The Articles being concluded, an *English* Garrison was put into *Melun*: The Men at Arms who adher'd to the *Dauphine's* Party, of whom the principal were *Pierre de Borbon* and the Lord *de Barbasan*, with five or six hundred Persons of Quality of both Sexes, and the greatest Part of the chief Citizens, were convey'd under a strong Guard to *Paris*, and there committed Prisoners to the *Chastelet*, the *Bastile*, and other Places. Two Monks, who were convicted of ingaging in *Burgundy's* Murder, were beheaded in the City, with a Gentleman of King *Henry's* Household, whose Name was *Bertrand de Chaumont*. This latter had renounc'd the Interest of *France*, and devoted himself to the Service of the King of *England*, and was highly in his Favour, as a Man of approv'd Valour. But clear Evidence being brought against him, That during the Treaty for surrendring the Town, for a Sum of Mony he had favour'd the Escape of one *Aimerion de Lau*, a suspected Accomplice in the Duke's Murder; the King, tho' with Regret to lose a gallant a Man, and tho' the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Burgundy* interceded for his Life, would not pardon him, but gave Order for his Execution, declaring *He would have no Traitors in his Army*: Yet to shew his Value for his Abilities, he was hear'd sorrowfully to say, *He would have given fifty thousand Nobles that Chaumont had not been guilty of such a Crime*. The valiant *Barbasan* was accus'd by the Duke of *Burgundy* as an Accomplice in his Father's Murder; but he in an open Trial defended himself, protesting, *That tho' he was a Servant to the Dauphine, he was so far from consenting to the Fact, that he knew nothing of it till it was effected*. Tho' the Evidence against him was not clear, yet there was so strong a Suspicion as not to admit of his being set at Liberty; so that he was continu'd a Prisoner nine Years. Some Writers inform us that he sav'd his Life by pleading *it would be a Dishonour for King Henry to put a Person to Death, who was his Brother in Arms, and had signaliz'd himself in a single Combate with him*; which by the Heralds was allow'd to be the same Thing as if he had fought with him in appointed Lists.

Melun thus taken, and the Government given to the Earl of *Huntington*, the two Kings with the Duke of *Burgundy* made a publick Entry into *Paris*, being met by the Citizens, who in great Solemnity came out to congratulate their Arrival. The Streets were spread, and the Houses hung with rich Cloath, while the People in all Parts express'd their extraordinary Joy in the highest Acclamations. The two Kings rode together under a rich Canopy, *Henry* on the left Hand, next to whom follow'd the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Bedford*, and on the other Side of the Way the Duke of *Burgundy* in deep Mourning; the Princes and Nobility in each Nation follow'd in Order, the Clergy with Processions, and their venerable Relicks, going before them to *Notredame* Cathedral. Rich Presents, Flags, Streamers and Conduits running with Wine, were all us'd by the Citizens to express how grateful the Peace was to them, and how much they exulted in the Honour of having two Kings resident amongst them. King *Henry's* Palace was prepar'd in the *Louvre*, and was most rich and magnificent, and King *Charles's* Court in the *Hostel St. Pol*, and much inferior in all Respects; for, as one Author observes, young *Henry* commanded all, and his Brothers exercis'd supream Authority, while old *Charles* stood as a Cypher, and the *French* Nobility had nothing to do. As King *Henry* had the Disposal of all Places of Honour and Trust, so the *French* Nobility and Gentry address'd themselves to him, and endeavour'd to raise their Fortunes by obtaining an Interest in his Favour. He made a great Alteration of the Officers, displacing many who had been put in by the old Duke of *Burgundy* or his Son, and conferring their Employments on others whom he accounted more firm to his Interests. As Regent of *France* he also redress'd Grievances, reform'd Abuses, and

A strict Act of Justice.

The Entry of the Kings of England and France into Paris.

King Henry's Grandeur and Power.

corrected all Miscarriages in the Government; and he caus'd a new Coin to be stamp'd, to express the Union of the two Kingdoms, in the Reverse of which the Arms of *England* and *France* were quarter'd together.

A Parliament
meet at Paris.

which recog-
nize King Hen-
ry,

and condemn
and disinherit
the Dauphine.

The better to establish all Things during King *Henry's* Stay in *Paris*, a grand Parliament was summon'd to meet at that City; in which was the final Agreement between the two Kings openly acknowledg'd by King *Charles*, as made by his Assent, and with the Advice of all the Council of *France*; whereupon it was there also ratify'd by the general States of the Kingdom, and solemnly sworn to by all the Nobility and Magistrates, Spiritual and Temporal, who also set their Seals to the Instruments of the Agreement, which were sent into *England* to be kept in the King's Exchequer at *Westminster*. But in this Parliament the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy* was in a more special and particular manner examin'd, and the Actors, with all their Accomplices were solemnly sentenc'd; and Methods were us'd to oblige them likewise to build Churches, and perform several publick Acts of Charity, in order to expiate the execrable Fact. And the Assembly proceeded so far as to summon the *Dauphine* himself before the Grand Marble Table, with all the usual Formalities. Upon his Non-Appearance, he was publicly attainted and convicted of Murder, was declared unworthy of all Succession, namely of that to the Crown of *France*, and was banish'd the Kingdom for ever. From this Sentence, as given by incompetent Judges, and contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, the *Dauphine* appeal'd to God and his Sword, and immediately transferr'd the Parliament and University to the City of *Poitiers*, at which Place the most illustrious Members of those two Bodies did not fail to appear. Thus almost everything was double in the Kingdom of *France*; there were two Kings, two Regents, two Parliaments, two Constables, two Chancellors, two Admirals, and so of most of the great Officers, not to mention the Multitude of Marshals of *France*, whereof each Party made as many as they thought fit.

King Henry
and his Queen
come into En-
gland.

King *Henry* having establish'd the grand Affairs of *France*, as well as these unsettled Times would permit, he resolv'd for a while to return into *England*, and there perform the Solemnities of his beloved Queen's Coronation; in order to which he first appointed for his Lieutenant of *France* his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, a brave Prince inferior to none but himself, and also left the Duke of *Exeter* with five hundred Men at Arms to continue in the City of *Paris*; and so attended with great Magnificence he repair'd to *Amiens*, and then to *Calais*. But before he took Shipping, he adjust'd several Affairs in *Normandy* and other Parts, treated with the Duke of *Bretaign*, and generously discharged the Count *De Richemont*, who had been Prisoner ever since the Battel at *Agincourt*. But for the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was discharg'd afterwards, he agreed for a Ransom of no less than a hundred thousand Crowns, besides other Advantages. From *Calais*, with a glorious Train the King cross'd the Seas to *Dover*, and made a triumphant Entry at *London*, the People receiving him as an Angel from Heav'n, with Torrents of Joy and Exultation to see their King return crown'd with new Victories, and with the Accession of another Kingdom to his own. But as he piously ascrib'd the Glory of all his Conquests to a Superior Power, so he gave all the Praise to Heav'n, and commanded the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to appoint a publick Day of Thanksgiving.

A. D.

1421.

Reg. 3.

VI.

The mighty King *Henry* was now in the Height of his Grandeur, and at his Return into *England* he found the Nation flourishing and prosperous under the Government of *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester* his Brother, who had succeeded the Duke of *Bedford* in the Regency with equal Wisdom and Success. The Arms of the King had not only been successful in *France*, but also in *Ireland*, ever since his Accession to the Crown; so that he found no Disaster to cloud his Joy in the Possession of the most excellent Princess of that Age, or to disturb the Pomp which was preparing for her Coronation. The Day appointed for

for this great Solemnity was the twenty fourth of *February*; where after the Ceremonies of the Coronation in *Westminster* Abby, the Queen with her noble Retinue came into the Hall, where many Tables were spread, and a splendid Entertainment provided for the Nobles, Bishops, Ladies, Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. On the Right Hand, and End of the Queen's Table, were seated the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Cardinal Bishop of *Winchester*; on the Left the King of *Scotland* in his Robes, with the Dutchess of *York* and Countess of *Huntington*. The Earl of *Marche* holding the Royal Scepter in his Hand, kneel'd on the Right Hand of the Queen, and the Earl-Marshal in like manner on the Left; the Countess of *Kent* sat at her Right Foot, and the Countess Marshal at her Left; while the Duke of *Glocester*, as Overseer, stood before her Majesty bare-headed. The rest of the splendid Train had their several and distinct Tables in the Hall; and the whole Feast, tho' in the Time of *Lent* and furnish'd all with Fish, was great and pompous to the utmost Degree. After the Solemnities of the Coronation, the King, with the Queen and some of the Nobility, took a Journey to *York*, where they were joyfully and magnificently receiv'd, and the Citizens made them many rich Presents. The Queen continu'd at *York*, but the King went in Pilgrimage to *Bridlington*, where having paid his Devotions, he afterwards visited a great Part of his Kingdom; and in all Places where he came his Ears were open to the Complaints of the injur'd and oppress'd: He redress'd their Wrongs, punish'd the Corrupters of Justice, and reform'd the Abuses in Government. Particularly a great Abuse in the Church, arising from the Pope's Disposal of the vacant Bishopricks and Benefices, was this Year remov'd; and with that Vigour and Resolution, that it gave such a Blow to the usurping Power of *Rome* in this Kingdom, as greatly weaken'd, and at last intirely destroy'd it.

Queen Catharine's Coronation.

King Henry regulates Abuses.

In *May* the King met his Parliament at *Westminster*, and represented to them the State of the publick Affairs, the Conquests he had made in *France*, and the Supplies necessary to continue the War; that the *Dauphine* and his Party, who maintain'd some Provinces and Cities against him, being subdu'd, that Kingdom might be annex'd to the *English* Crown. The Commons cheerfully gave a Fifteenth, tho' a Petition was presented, fill'd with the sad Complaints of the Poverty of the People, and intolerable Burden of the War, fomented by some Persons more affecting their private Interest than the Prosperity of their Country, who regretted to part with any Money to advance the Greatness and Honour of the Government. At the same Time there was a Convocation of the Clergy at St. *Paul's*, who offer'd a Tenth to the King, and the rich Bishop of *Winchester* in Advance of the Money lent him twenty thousand Pound. At the same Time the King wisely took care to secure his Kingdom from any Invasion of the *Welsh* or *Scots* during his Absence. He compos'd the Tumults in *Wales*, and reduc'd that People to their Duty; and to make the *Scots* his Friends, he gave Liberty to their King to return to his Country and Throne ten Years after his being first taken by *Henry IV.* and detain'd in the *English* Court. But he did not return till a few Years after in the next Reign. He also establish'd a Peace with him, strengthen'd with an Alliance, by giving him in Marriage the Lady *Ann* his Niece, and Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*. It was agreed that her Dowry should pay part of his Ransom; that for the Payment of the rest, he should give Hostages, and likewise ingage himself never to make War on *England*. Having taken all necessary Precautions, King *Henry* with a choice Army of four thousand Men at Arms, and twenty four thousand Archers, return'd into *France* to prosecute those Wars.

He calls a Parliament.

He sets the King of the Scots at Liberty.

The King now found his Presence highly necessary, for before he took Shipping, he was surpriz'd with the News of the unfortunate Miscarriage of his admirable Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, of which this was the Occasion. The Earl of *Buchan*, and the Earl of *Douglas*, and other Commanders, with seven thousand *Scots* had pass'd over into *France* to the Assistance of the *Dauphine*;

A famous Engagement with the Duke of Clarence in France.

The Duke slain in Battel.

His Body sent into England.

King Henry makes his last Expedition into France.

phine; and joining with his Party in *Anjou*, design'd to surprize the Duke of *Clarence* before he was provided: In which Enterprize, four stragling *Scots*, taken and brought Prisoners to him as he sat at Dinner, discover'd the Design and Strength of the Enemy, whose Approach was very near. Upon hearing of this News the Duke, all in a Flame, too suddenly took Horse, crying *They are all Ours!* leaving his Troops to follow him with what Expedition they could. His unexpected Appearance caus'd some of the *Scots* to take into the Church of *Baugy* for their Safety, where while they were defending themselves, the rest of their Forces took the Alarm, and the Earl of *Buchan* secur'd the main Bridge, to whose Assistance came *Hugh Kennedy* with a hundred Horse. The Duke of *Clarence* seeing no possibility to force his Passage with his slender Troop of Horse, dismounted with his Men, and made a noble Charge upon the Earl of *Buchan*; and the *English*, tir'd with Disdain to meet with their old Enemies, fought with the greatest Fierceness imaginable. But none was more brave and daring than the Duke himself, who being distinguish'd by his rich Armour, and a golden Coronet sparkling with Jewels, but more remarkable for his Valour, was singled out by *John Swinton* a *Scotch* Cavalier, who with his Lance wounded him on the Face. The Duke notwithstanding rush'd undauntedly into the Thickest of the Enemy's Troops, where the Earl of *Buchan* on Horseback struck him down with a Truncheon, which put an End to his Life. The *English*, dishearten'd at the Fall of so great a General, and being furiously attack'd by the whole Army, were soon routed with the Loss of fifteen hundred Men, after they had slain above a thousand of the Enemy. The Deaths of the Lords *Ross* and *Gray*, and Sir *Gilbert Umfreville*, and the Captivity of the Earls of *Huntington*, *Somerset* and *Perche*, the Lord *Fitz Walter* and Sir *William Bower*, caus'd a general Concern in the *English* Army; yet the Duke of *Clarence* had the greatest share in their Sorrow, who as he was generally lov'd for his Wisdom, Valour and other excellent Qualities, so his Death was universally lamented, not only by the *English*, but by the Enemy. His Body remain'd a few Hours in their Hands, who were carrying it to the *Dauphine*: but they did not long keep either that or the Field of Battel: For tho' the Body of the Army, which under the Earl of *Salisbury* had follow'd the Duke, could neither keep Peace with his swift March, nor advance Time enough to prevent his Fate and the Loss of so many gallant Soldiers, yet they came up soon enough to force the *French* to a disorderly Retreat, and to recover the dead Body of the Duke, which was convey'd into *England*, where it was interr'd with great Solemnity. The Earl of *Buchan* for his Valour was by the *Dauphine* made Constable of *France*.

King *Henry* both griev'd and irrag'd at the Loss of a Brother he so justly lov'd and admir'd, hasten'd his Expedition into *France*; and leaving his Brother *John* Duke of *Bedford* his Lieutenant, and his beloved Queen honourably attended, upon the tenth Day of *June* he landed at *Calais* with all his Forces, making now his last Entrance into *France*. On the Day after his Arrival he dispatch'd the Earl of *Dorset* and the Lord *Clifford* with twelve hundred Horse and Foot into *Paris*, to relieve the Duke of *Exeter*, who was straiten'd of Provisions by the *Dauphinois*, that harraisd the adjacent Country, and had taken *Boneval*, *Galandon*, and some other Ports, and after that march'd to *Chartiers*, and invest'd it with seven thousand Men at Arms, four thousand Cross-Bows, and six thousand Archers. King *Henry*, after a short Continuance in *Calais*, march'd to *Monstrelet*, and there quartering his Army, he found the Duke of *Burgundy* somewhat impair'd in his Health. Three Days being spent in Conference, the King march'd into *Ponthieu*, and the Duke to *Abbeville* upon *Somme*, to facilitate his Passage there to be made, of which they had some Doubt, by reason of the Dissatisfaction of many of the Inhabitants. *Henry* in his March took the Fort call'd *La Perte*, commanded by the Ballard of *Bellay*, which surrender'd upon Summons; but being committed to the Custody of *Borjers*.

Borflers of Picardy, was again betray'd into the Hands of the *Dauphine*. From hence the King pass'd the River at *Abbeville*, where he was spendidly entertain'd, and richly presented; from whence he march'd to *Beauvois*, *Gisors* and *Bois-de-l'incennes*, where King *Charles* and his Queen resided, and receiv'd him with great Honour, and lastly to the City of *Paris*, where he was receiv'd in Joy and Triumph. He enters Paris

But this Heroe, more regarding Laurels and Conquests than the delicate Pleasures of a Court, after he had concerted Measures, and levy'd *French* Forces to add to the *English*, march'd towards *Meaux*, resolving in Revenge of his Brother's Death to fight the *Dauphine*, who had now laid before *Chartiers* the Space of three Weeks. But he hearing of King *Henry's* Approach at the Head of a formidable Power, broke up the Siege and retir'd; upon which the King march'd directly to *Dreux*, and sat down before that Place. The Inhabitants and Garrison, apprehensive of their Danger, beat a Parly, and agreed to surrender the Town, if the *Dauphine* did not relieve them by a certain Day; which being expir'd, the Town was deliver'd, and eight hundred of the *Dauphine's* Party permitted to retire upon their Oaths not to bear Arms against King *Henry* for the Space of one Year. While *Henry* lay before this Place, *Mezeray* tells us, That an honest Hermit unknown to him, came and represented to him the great Evils he brought upon Christendom by his unjust Ambition and Usurpation of the Kingdom of *France*, against known Right and the Will of Heav'n; wherefore in the Name of God he threaten'd him with a severe and sudden Punishment, if he did not desist. The King took this Exhortation either for a visionary Fancy, or a Suggestion of the *Dauphine's*, therefore prosecuted his Designs with greater Vigour; and pursuing the flying *Dauphine*, he took *Baugency* and *Vendosme* upon the River *Loire*, with other Forts, but could not encounter that Prince who so industriously avoided Battel. And tho' he had the greater Army, and had engag'd himself by his Heralds to meet the King of *England* in the Field, confirming it also with an Oath, he contenting himself with wasting the Country, drew off to *Bourges*, as a Place of safe Retreat, both for the Strength of the Place, and the Fidelity of the People: And for his constant Residence there, he was by way of Jeer call'd *The King of Bourges*. King *Henry* finding it was in vain to attack him in that advantageous Post, first ravag'd the Country, and then resolv'd to besiege *Meaux*, the Capital City of the Country of *Brie*, a Place of great Strength and Consequence. Having provided Engines, and all other Necessaries, he sent his Uncle the Duke of *Exeter*, with four thousand Men, to possess himself of the Suburbs, to prevent the Garrison from firing them; and then following himself with an Army of twenty thousand Men, on *October* the sixth he invested the Place, inclos'd his Camp with an Intrenchment, and rais'd his Batteries against the Walls and Gates. The Governor of the City was the Bastard *De Varus*, who had with him many other Officers, and a thousand select Soldiers, besides the Inhabitants, who were also resolute to defend the Place to the last Extremity. And indeed they bravely held out for the Space of seven Months, while great Numbers of the *English* and *Burgundians* dy'd either by Sickness, Sallies, or the Shot from the Walls.

He takes several Towns from the Dauphine.

The Siege of Meaux.

During this tedious Winter Siege, the King had the Satisfaction of hearing that his Queen was deliver'd of a young Prince at *Windfor* on St. *Nicholas* Day, to whom he gave the Name of *Henry sur les Fous*. It is commonly related, that when he heard his Son was born in *Windfor* Castle, he rais'd a bad Omen from the Place, as foreboding some unhappy Fate; and, as *Hall* says, spoke these prophetic Words to the Lord *Fitz-Hugh* his Chamberlain: *Henry born at Monmouth shall a small Time reign, and gain much; and Henry born at Windfor shall reign long, and lose all; but God's Will be done.* A. D. 1422. Reg. 10. Henry VI. born Among those to whom the Care of this Royal Infant was committed, *Jaqueline de Bawieri* Dutches of *Brabant* had the principal Employment. At the same Time His Father's Words upon his Birth.

Time the Duke of *Richemont*, whom King *Henry* had releas'd without Ransom, came at the Head of a numerous Body of Horse to the Camp before *Meaux*, to serve him in the Siege, which was still prosecuted vigorously; tho' upon Notice that some of the *Dauphine's* Troops had surpriz'd *Auranches*, and kill'd and taken two or three hundred of the Garrison, the King order'd a strong Detachment to march to the Assistance of the Earl of *Salisbury* Governor of *Normandy*, who with those Recruits soon recover'd the Town. About that Time *Jaques de Harecourt*, in Service of the *Dauphine*, with seven hundred Soldiers harra's'd the Parts about *Vimen*, against whom some *English* Garrisons assembling, slew three hundred of his Men, himself hardly escaping by the Fleetness of his Horse. Likewise *Oliver de Mauny* invaded *Constantine*, notwithstanding he had solemnly sworn at the Surrender of *Falaise* never to bear Arms against King *Henry*; but in the midst of his Career he was defeated and taken Prisoner by the Earl of *Suffolk*. This perfidious Man being brought before King *Henry*, a true Observer of all Faith, he openly spoke thus to him,

His Words to
De Mauny.

You are an ancient Knight, and ought to have observ'd your Faith and Honour, which you have basely broken, and by the Law of Arms deserve immediate Death: But we give you your ignominious Life, and shall only send you into England, there to learn the Language, and truer Maxims of Honour.

King *Henry's* Forces being diminish'd by these Commotions in *Normandy*, and his thoughts much employ'd that way, the valiant *De Offemont*, whom the Garrison of *Meaux* earnestly desir'd should be their Governor, found an Opportunity to approach the Walls with forty select Soldiers, in Order to enter the Town; but ready to be receiv'd by Ladders over the Walls in the Night, Centinels discover'd the Men, and he himself not being able to recover the Ladders, fell into the Ditch, where not being able to free himself from his heavy Armour, he was wounded, and then taken Prisoner, with most of his Followers. King *Henry* esteem'd the Taking of so brave and valiant a Commander as a Prize of great Importance, and push'd forwards the Siege with fresh Vigour and Resolution. At length the Defendants, hopeless of Relief, and finding themselves unable to hold out, carry'd all their Goods from the Town into the Castle; but the Besiegers discovering their Actions, and fearing to lose their Booty, made a sudden and furious Attack, and by Force made way into the Town with Sword in Hand. Then *Henry* planting his Cannons, began to batter the Castle, and shortly reduc'd it to that Extremity, that besides want of Bread, most of their Hand-Weapons were broken, and the Men dangerously wounded; yet they did not desist from provoking the *English* with opprobrious Words and vile Indignities, which caus'd harder Conditions to be laid upon them, than in any other Town taken the whole War. By which the whole Garrison and the Inhabitants were to be Prisoners at the King's Pleasure, only having their Lives sav'd; but the Governor *De Varus*, and some other Men of Note and Quality, were to be deliver'd up to immediate Execution. The City thus surrender'd, King *Henry* immediately sent eight hundred select Men Prisoners to *Paris*, *Roan* and *England*. The Governor was beheaded, and his Body hung on a Tree before the Town, call'd by his own Name, because he had formerly hang'd on it many *English* and *Burgundians*, and his Head was fix'd on a Pole upon the Top of the same Tree. This was follow'd by the Execution of several others of Quality in *Paris*, who had given more than common Provocations during the Time of the Siege; and all the Riches of the City was distributed by King *Henry* to his Commanders and most deserving Men. Orders being taken for the repairing the Breaches, and the City well garrison'd, *Crespy*, the Castle of *Pierrepont*, *Merlau*, *Offemont*, and several other Places submitted to the King's victorious Arms; while others were set on Fire to hinder him of the Fruits of his Conquests. When the Governors of Places in the Marches of *Beauvais*, heard how King *Henry*, by a Courage and Conduct which nothing could resist, had taken Towns and Forts which they thought impregnable,

Meaux surren-
der'd.

Many other
Places yield to
King Henry.

ble, they had such an Apprehension of his Might, that they sent Deputies to treat about surrendring at an assign'd Time, if the *Dauphine* did not give them due Assistance.

Queen *Catharine* in *England* daily hearing of the King's Success, greatly desired the Sight of his Person, and for that End prepar'd for a Voyage to *France*, under the Conduct of Duke *John* the King's Brother, then Regent of *England*, who for the Time of his Absence deputed his Brother *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*, and took Shipping at *Southampton*. The Winds being prosperous, on the twenty first of *May* the landed at *Harfleur*, and with encreasing Trains of Nobility by easie Journies came to *Roan*, and from thence to *Bois-de-Vicennes*, where her Royal Husband, with her Father and Mother, came in great Pomp to meet her with the utmost Demonstrations of Joy. From thence they all enter'd the City of *Paris*; and at the Celebration of the Festival of *Pentecost*, a magnificent Feast was prepar'd in the great Hall of the *Louvre*, where at one Table the King and Queen of *England* sat with their Imperial Crowns and Robes, and at the other many of the *French* and *English* Nobility and Gentry. The *French* Court at the *Hostel St. Pol* was at the same Time very thin, and King *Charles* saw himself neglected and abandon'd by those who were born his Subjects, who now ador'd their young rising Sovereign. The former had the Title of King of *France*, while the latter govern'd all; at which, tho' many of the *French* were uneasie, yet the *English* King was manifestly too great to be oppos'd. Here he made a bold Effort of his Power, in causing the Tax rais'd on the Marks of Silver for Minting his new Mony, to be collected at *Paris*, as it had been in other Places; and tho' the People murmur'd and talk'd out their Discontents, yet they were so aw'd, that they durst not break out into any Tumult. But their Resentments were abated, or rather turn'd into Affection, when they felt the kind Influences of King *Henry's* just and moderate Government, and observ'd his exact Administration of Justice in redressing Wrongs, and punishing the Actors without Partiality or Favour. By this just Conduct he especially gain'd the Love of the Common People, who regarded him not as their Conqueror, but as their Father and Protector.

Queen Catharine arrives in France.

The Grandeur of King Henry at Paris.

Tho' the Provinces of *Champaign*, *Picardy*, *Brie*, *Normandy*, and *Isle of France*, were in King *Henry's* Possession, yet all were not reduc'd to a quiet Obedience; for a great and strong Part still held out for the *Dauphine*, who with twenty thousand effective Men besieg'd *La Charitie* upon the *Loire*, and took it; from whence he march'd to *Cone* upon the same River, where the Besieged treated about a Surrender, and gave Hostages to deliver it up on the sixteenth of *August*, if they were not reliev'd before that Time by the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Prince and the Duke by Consent agreed to put the Cause to the Decision of a Battel, to be fought on the said sixteenth of *August*; and this was mutually declar'd by their Heralds. The Duke not only sent Orders to levy new Forces to augment his Army, but likewise begg'd King *Henry's* particular Assistance; to which the King gave Answer, *That he himself would come at the Head of his whole Army, to join with him in the Battel*. But as this mighty Conqueror prepar'd for his March, Heav'n thought fit to put a Period to all his encreasing Glories, and struck him with a Distemper that prov'd fatal to him; and all he could do was to command the Duke of *Bedford* and Earl of *Warwick* to give all necessary Assistance to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Tho' he was much weaken'd by his Disease, he was yet animated by a Courage natural to him; so that taking his last Leave of King *Charles* and the two Queens at *Sens*, he repair'd to *Mulun*, with a Design to go from that City, and put himself at the Head of the Army. But his Distemper increasing, his Body was too feeble to answer the invincible Greatness of his Soul: And therefore tho' he went in a Litter, to be carry'd among his Troops, yet finding himself extremely ill, he was oblig'd to return and stay at *Bois-de-Vincennes*, while the Duke of *Bedford* by his Order march'd with the whole Army to join the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Veselay*.

King Henry designs to fight the Dauphine.

His last Sickness.

The Duke of *Burgundy* gratefully acknowledg'd the King of *England's* Kindness; and joining all the Forces, he took his March to *Cone*, which was besieg'd by the *Dauphine*, and encamp'd near the Town, preparing for that important Battel which was to be fought the next Day. The *French* Prince finding his Enemies to exceed him in Number and Strength, notwithstanding he had made a publick Denance by his Heralds, immediately broke up the Siege, and retreated to *Bourges* in *Berry*. The Duke having thus rais'd the Siege, and forc'd his Enemies to a most dishonourable Retreat without Fighting, return'd to *Troyes* with his Army. In their March the Duke of *Bedford* receiv'd the mournful News, that his Brother King *Henry's* Life was in Danger; upon which he left the Army, and attended with a few choice Friends, rod full Speed to *le Vincennes*. The brave King sensible that he was dying, gave Orders that the Duke of *Bedford*, the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Lewis Robessart*, and seven or eight more, who had the greatest Place in his Affection and Confidence, should stand around his Bed. To whom he spoke

His Speech upon
his Death-Bed.

I am just now approaching the Period of my Life, which tho' short, has been glorious and conducing to the Good and Honour of my People; and tho' it has been spent in Wars and Bloodshed, yet since milder Methods have been ineffectual, and nothing less could vindicate my Right, the Miseries produc'd are not to be imputed to me, but to my Enemies, as the Effect of their Injustice. As Death never appear'd formidable in so many Battels and Sieges, so I can now without Horror behold its gradual Approaches in a Disease; and since it is the Will of Heav'n to put an End to my Days, I cheerfully resign my self to its Pleasure: Nor should I leave the World with the least Reluctancy, if two Things did not nearly touch me. One is, that I must go out of it when my Subjects are involv'd in the Confusions of a War, before I see the Enemy, who opposes the Peace and Glory of both Nations, intirely subdu'd by my Arms; and the Other is, that I see my self call'd from the Throne at a Time, when my Son is only an Infant, and incapable of filling it. Therefore to obviate all future Inconveniencies, he with the most pathetic and endearing Expressions urg'd them all strictly to observe his Advice and

His Instructions.

The Substance of which was, That they would take the most exact Care in the Education of his Son, and inviolably preserve their Loyalty to him; and that they would comfort his beloved Wife, now the most disconsolate Princess living: That they would keep strict Faith with the Duke of Burgundy, and never make Peace with the Dauphine, on any other Condition than that of having all the Dukedom of Normandy intirely secur'd to the English Crown: That they would preserve a strict Union among themselves, and not discharge the Duke of Orleans, the Count d'Eu, and some other noble Prisoners, till his Son was of Years to govern: That his Brother the Duke of Bedford, with the Assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, should manage the Kingdom of France; and that his Uncle the Duke of Exeter, with his Brother the Duke of Gloucester, should govern that of England.

The sorrowful Nobles observ'd in profound Silence, and with assured Promises gave their Approbation to these last Counsels so sensibly urg'd by their expiring Monarch; who having thus establish'd his secular Affairs, had his Thoughts wholly imploy'd about the Condition of his Soul now departing into another World. Ordering his Physicians to come to him, he demanded of them how long he had to live; but they declining a direct Answer, and flattering him with the Hopes of Life, the King with Dissatisfaction charg'd them upon their Allegiance to declare their Opinion in positive Terms. After some little Consultation among themselves, one of them kneeling down in the Name of the rest said, *Sir, think upon your Soul, for as we judge, without a Miracle, you cannot live longer than two Hours.* Upon which with the highest Devotion he proceeded to Confession, commanding his Priests to sing the seven peni-

His Devotion.

penitential Psalms; and when in the fifty first Psalm they came to those Words, *Build up the Walls of Jerusalem*, he bad them stop, and with a loud Voice declar'd upon the Word of a dying Man, *That after the Settlement of the Kingdom of France, he really intended, with the Will of Heav'n, to have made War against the Infidels, for the Conquest of Jerusalem.* Having finish'd their Devotion, this great King expir'd at the Hour which the Physician had foretold, on the thirty first Day of *August*, in the Prime of his Years the thirty fourth of his Age, after a short, but most glorious, magnificent and triumphant Reign of nine Years, four Months, and eleven Days. and Death.

By the Gratitude of this Age his Funeral Obsequies were proportion'd to his Worth and Grandeur. His Body, embalm'd and enclos'd in Lead, was laid on a Chariot of State, richly adorn'd with Cloath of Gold; and on a Bed in the same Chariot was laid a lively Figure of his Person, with Imperial Robes, a Crown of Gold, a Scepter and Globe, like a triumphant Monarch; and over all was a glorious silk Canopy. The Chariot was drawn by six Horses in rich Harness: The first bore the Arms of *St. George*, the second the Arms of *Normandy*, the third those of *King Arthur*, the fourth those of *St. Edward*, the fifth the Arms of *France*, and the sixth those of *England and France.* *James* King of the *Scots* follow'd it as principal Mourner; and after him the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Warwick, Marche, Stafford and Mortaigne*, the Lords *Fitz-Hugh, Hungerford, Bouchier, Fanhope and Cromwell*, Sir *Robert Robessart*, and Sir *John Cornwall.* The Banners of the Saints were born by the Lords *Lovel, Audely, Morley and Zouch*; the Baron *Dudley* bore the great Standard, and the Earl of *Longueville* the Banner. The Hachments were carry'd by twelve Commanders, and around the Chariot rod five hundred Men at Arms all in black Armour, their Horses barb'd black, and their Lances held with the Points downward. Three hundred cloath'd in White, bearing lighted Torches, also furrounded the Chariot, with Lords bearing Banners, Bannetrels and Penons; those of the King's Household cloath'd in Black follow'd it, and after them the Royal Family in deep Mourning; while the sorrowful Queen with a noble Retinue follow'd at a League's Distance. In this solemn Manner the Body was convey'd from *Bois de Vincennes* to *Paris*, and so to *Roan*, to *Abbeville*, to *Calais*, to *Dover*, from thence through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, where it was interr'd with such pompous Ceremonies, such Mourning of the Nobility, Prayers of the Ecclesiasticks, and Lamentations of the Commons, as were never known before in the Kingdom of *England.* He was bury'd in the Abby Church, and his Queen caus'd his Image in Silver gilt, of the full Proportion, to be laid on his Tomb. His pompous Obsequies.

These were the last Honours done to this mighty Monarch, the Wonder of all Christendom, who was so highly reverenc'd and lov'd by all his People, that his Funerals were attended with an universal Sorrow. They saw all their Hopes of subduing *France* lost in the Death of a Prince, who only knew how to conquer it, and that with an Army never exceeding thirty thousand; so that some believe his Enemies took away his Life by Poison, which they could not destroy in open War. He had all the Accomplishments of Body and Mind which are requir'd to the finishing a great Man. His Stature was tall and majestic, his Body tho' lean and slender, had all its Limbs well proportion'd, and strongly fram'd; his Neck long, his Hair black, and a manly Beauty shin'd in his Face, as well as sparkled in his Eyes. His Strength and Agility was admirable in all the Exercises he perform'd; which was continually preserv'd by his being temperate, chaste, endur'd to all the Hardships of War, patient of Heat and Cold, Hunger and Thirst, and moderate in Sleep. He was a nice Observer of Justice, pious in his Religion, constant in his Devotions, a great Patron of the Church and Clergy, and abounding in Works of Charity; wise in his Counsels, magnanimous in his Designs, and resolute in pursuing them; great and somewhat reserv'd in his Temper, given to speak little, but all he said was like His Character.

like himself. As to his Valour and Bravery his whole Reign was a continual and wonderful Instance of it; in the Exercise of which, his strictest Orders were so nicely obey'd, that he reviv'd the martial Discipline of the old *Romans*, by which they conquer'd the World: And never was the *English* Valour so gloriously display'd, as in this Reign. For his great Acts he has been compar'd to no less than three of the nine Worthies of the World; to *David* the Prophet, for Piety; to *Cæsar* the Invincible, for Glory; and to *Alexander* the Great, for Magnanimity: And with this Advantage, that he was not unchaste like *David*, vain-glorious like *Cæsar*, nor intemperate like *Alexander*; who while they conquer'd others, became Slaves to their own Passions. As he exceeded them in these Qualifications, so he was not inferior to them in his Fortunes, being neither so dejected as *David*, so much envy'd as *Cæsar*, nor so dreaded as *Alexander*; it being his good Fortune never to be distress'd, distrust'd or despis'd. But the unexpected Loss of this Prince in the Flower of his Youth, and in the Midst, or rather Rising of his prosperous Fortune, will serve for a pregnant Instance and Example to shew what slender Hold mortal Man has of Worldly Greatness and Glory, being continually subject either to the sudden Loss of it, or as suddenly to be taken from it: And indeed there seems to be something of the more immediate Hand of Providence in it, which now began to chastise the Progeny of King *Henry* the Fourth.

His publick
Works.

His Works of Piety were shewn in erecting the Monasteries of *Bethlem* and *Bridget*, near his Manor of *Richmond*, as also his bounteous Gifts to the Works and Furniture of *Westminster* Church, besides the Fraternity of *St. Giles* without *Cripplegate*; and many other greater Things he had projected at *Oxford* and other Places. To leave a Testimony of his Affection to Arms, he first instituted *Garter* principal King at Arms; besides other honourable Augmentations to the Order of *St. George*. In this Reign flourish'd, besides the most renowned Soldiers, many Men of Note for Arts and Learning, as *William Linwood* the great Canonist of that Age, *Stephen Patrington*, *Robert Mascal*, *Alain de Lyn*, *Thomas Otterborn*, *John Sherburn*, *John Leland*, and many others.

S E C T. III.

The Reign of King HENRY the Sixth.

Containing 38 Years, 6 Months, and 4 Days.

A. D. I. **A**FTER God had depriv'd the *English* of the greatest King in the World, he thought fit that an Infant should succeed him, now but nine Months old, who upon the thirtieth Day of *August* was by the Sound of Trumpets proclaim'd King of *England* and *France*, by the Name of *Henry* the Sixth. But as the Wisdom of some supplies the Defects of Age in others, so his Father had by his last Will appointed, and now the Lords by their Consent confirm'd the grand Care of the Publick to his two brave and powerful Uncles, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*: The former, joining with the Duke of *Burgundy*, had the Regency of *France*; and the latter the Government of *England*; and the Care and Tuition of the Royal Infant was committed to the two Brothers, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry Beaufort* Bishop of *Winchester* and Chancellor of *England*. This Appointment prov'd really advantageous to the *English* Nation; for they all carry'd themselves so upright and carefully in their several Stations, that it well appear'd the Trust repos'd in them by the dying King, had made a noble Impression

1422.

Reg. 1.

Henry an Infant
proclaim'd
King.

The Protector
and Guardian
appointed.

pression of Love and Loyalty towards his Son. And indeed the Beginning of this Reign, like the fair Morn of a most tempestuous Day, promis'd nothing less than a Continuance of past Felicities. For the State of the *English* Affairs was great and flourishing; *England* without Tumult, the natural fierce Humours of her People consuming or encreasing themselves in *France*; and *France* her self, for the nobler Parts, together with the grand City of *Paris*, was at their Devotion. There wanted nothing but the mighty *Henry* himself to compleat the Work begun; for besides the valiant Duke of *Bedford*, there were the two Terrors of *France*, *Thomas* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *John* Lord *Talbot*, and Armies of veteran Soldiers, where almost each Man was equal to a Commander. Yet Providence in Time thought fit to change the whole Course of Affairs; and the first Disadvantage which happen'd to the *English* Cause was the Death of *Charles* King of *France*, who surviv'd King *Henry* no more than fifty three Days. This may be truly call'd the first Disadvantage, because the Imbecilities of that Prince were a great Strength to the *English*; and on the other Side the Infancy of young *Henry* was an Advantage to *Charles* the *Dauphine*, who by those of his own Party was now proclaim'd King of *France*, as the *English* in Derision us'd to stile him King of *Berry*, because he had not much more left than that Province.

Charles King of France dies.

In *England* a Parliament was assembled the better to establish the Crown upon the Infant, and to provide for the publick Uses and Necessities of the State; among which Mony was liberally granted, particularly five Nobles upon every Sack of Wool. It was a new and uncommon Sight to the *English* Nation, to see an Infant sitting in his Mother's Lap, and exercising Sovereign Power in open Parliament; for Queen *Catharine*, to illuminate that publick Assembly with the Presence of her Royal Babe, remov'd from *Windsor* to *London*, and with him in her Arms was carry'd through the City in a pompous and splendid manner to *Westminster*; where being seated upon his Throne, by the ordinary Mouth of that high Court, he saluted the August Body, and propos'd Matters of the highest Consequence to their most mature Consideration. As the Affairs of this young Monarch were wisely establish'd in *England*, so they were no less vigorously prosecuted in *France* by the worthy Regent the Duke of *Bedford*; who heartily joining with the Duke of *Burgundy*, fortify'd the Frontiers of their Possessions, assembled their Deputies and Representatives, and us'd all Methods to retain the Hearts of their own Party. In a publick Assembly at *Paris* the Duke of *Bedford* in a solemn Speech exhorted the Nobility of *France*, Not to violate their sworn Allegiance, nor endeavour by themselves or others to defraud their Sovereign Lord King *Henry* of his rightful Inheritance; nor to countenance any faithless Men who would revive the expiring Animosities between the French and English Names and Nations. That they would remember, how by the Bounty of Providence, the two Kingdoms of *France* and *England* were in perpetual League united into one glorious Monarchy, and lately establish'd beyond the Extent of all Human Force. That tho' they had been great Sufferers by the War, yet they would be no less Gainers, if they honour'd, lov'd and obey'd their lawful Sovereign King *Henry*, and according to their bounden Duty prosecuted his Enemies to the utmost Extremity. This Speech found plausible Admission; and young *Henry* was in *Paris* solemnly proclaim'd King of *England* and *France*, and such Noblemen as were present did their Homages, and took their Oaths of Fealty. The like Obligations and Oaths of Allegiance were in the same manner put upon all *Frenchmen* in the *English* Dominions in *France*.

A Parliament in England.

The Duke of Bedford's Care in France.

Young Henry proclaim'd there.

The *Dauphine*, who now stil'd himself King of *France* by the Name of *Charles* the Seventh, being then about twenty seven Years of Age, full of Courage and new Hopes, gathered together what Forces he could. He had the Duke of *Alençon*, with several Princes of the Blood and Peers of *France* on his Side, all whom he purchas'd at a dear Rate; for he was constrain'd to en-

A. D.

1423.

Reg. 1.

The Dauphine's Endeavour, against him.

gage his Castles and the best Part of his Demeasnes in pawn for them. But the greatest Strength of his Army consisted of some thousands of the *Scottish* Nation, who as true Enemies to the *English*, serv'd under his Banner. The first Attempt made by *Charles* his Forces prov'd unfortunate; for marching to relieve *Cravant*, which the *English* had besieg'd, they were put to flight with the Loss of two thousand of their Men. *Charles* and his Adherents were so far from sinking under the Apprehensions of so ill an Omen, that they resolv'd to encounter adverse Fortune with Encrease of Courage. Pursuing this Resolution, they in a short Time after repair'd the late Loss by an Overthrow which they gave to a Party of *English*, from whom, with the Slaughter of fifteen hundred, they recover'd a great Booty, especially of Cattle, which they had gotten in the Counties of *Nugion* and *Main*. Proceeding in this Course *Charles* took *Meulan* upon the *Sein*, and put the *English* Garrison to the Sword: But the Possession was short, and the Revenge speedy; for the Earl of *Salisbury*, whom *Polydore* compares to the old *Romans* for Valour and Bravery, taking with him *John* of *Luxemburg*, General of the *Burgundian* Horse, soon recover'd the Place, and kill'd all the *French* that were found in it.

An Alliance
between the
Dukes of Bed-
ford, Burgundy
and Bretaign.

A. D.

1424.

Reg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

The Duke of
Bedford is suc-
cessful.

The better to establish the *English* Affairs, at the City of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, the three great Dukes of *Bedford*, *Burgundy* and *Breitaign*, with the Earl of *Richemont*, met in great State; where they renew'd the former League, adding, 'That each should be the other's Friend, and that all of them should unite their Forces in the Defence of King *Henry's* Right. But for the better Confirmation of this profitable Alliance, the Duke of *Bedford*, then a Batchelor, marry'd the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Duke of *Burgundy*; and the Earl of *Richemont* marry'd another of the Duke's Sisters nam'd *Margaret*. While the Regent was absent from *Paris* upon these just Occasions, the *Parisians*, who not long before had sent Ambassadors into *England* to acknowledge King *Henry*, now enter'd into a Design to deliver up the City to *Charles* the new King. The Regent had timely Notice of this dangerous Conspiracy, and with his Presence reduc'd them to their Duty, with the Execution of several of the chief Actors. Not long after there seasonably arriv'd out of *England* ten thousand fresh Soldiers, over whom for Commanders he appointed the famous Earl of *Salisbury*, *William Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Willoughby* and others; while he himself for the general Service led eight hundred Horse-men, and eight thousand Foot. With these Field Forces the main of the *English* Estate in *France* was supported and held together, tho' not without Difficulties and various Adventures; in which the Regent took from *Charles* several strong Towns and Forts, as *Crotoy*, *Compeigne*, *Basas*, and many others.

He defeats the
French at Ver-
nevil.

The Regent's chief Design was to draw *Charles* to a general Battel, hoping by that to finish his Work; to that End he march'd into *Normandy*, while the other muster'd his Soldiers in *Tourain*. To promote this Design, the Regent laid Siege to *Jury*; whereupon the Duke of *Alençon* was detach'd at the Head of sixteen thousand Men, with Instructions to fight, if Occasion serv'd, but *Charles* himself was not permitted to hazard his Person. Not far from the Town of *Vernevil*, which the *English* had taken before *Alençon* and his *Charolmes* could relieve it, the two Armies drew up in Battalia. The Fight began with Arrows and Darts, which being not quick enough to dispatch the Work, the eager Combatants proceeded to Hand-Blows, where for some Hours they maintain'd a constant and doubtful Conflict with prodigious Fury. The *English* enur'd to the *French* Wars, having born the first and fiercest Attacks of their Enemies, by an uniform Courage intirely broke them and put them to flight: and the Regent himself with his Battel-Ax did Wonders, and won immortal Honour in the bloody Contest. In this Battel, which was fought on the eighteenth of *August*, were slain on the *French* Side five Earls, two Viscounts, twenty Barons, and above seven thousand Soldiers, besides two thousand seven hundred

hundred *Scots* lately arriv'd; and the *English* took the Duke of *Alençon* himself Prisoner, with two hundred other Men of Note, besides inferior Soldiers; all which cost them the Lives of two thousand one hundred common Soldiers, and the two Lords *Dudley* and *Charleton*. After which, the Regent return'd to *Paris*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* with ten thousand Men took the strong City of *Mans*, the Town of *St. Susan*, the Fort of *St. Bernard*, and other Places; from whence, marching into *Anjou*, he there perform'd such Heroick Acts, that his very Name grew terrible to all *France*. The News of these Transactions arriving in *England* caus'd great Rejoicings among the People, both for the Victory in the open Field, and the gaining of so many considerable Places; for which general Processions and publick Thanksgivings were appointed.

Rejoicings in England.

In *England*, during these prosperous Proceedings, *James* the First King of *Scotland*, whose Ransom had been settled in the late Reign, was now fully set at Liberty: But before his Departure out of the Kingdom he did Homage to young King *Henry* in *Windsor* Castle in the Presence of many of the Nobility and Gentry in these Words, *I James Stuart, King of the Scots, will be true and faithful to you Lord Henry, King of England and France, the Superior Lord of Scotland, and to you I make my Fidelity for the said Kingdom, which I hold and claim of you, and will do you Service for the same, so help me God, and these Holy Evangelists*. But notwithstanding this solemn Oath, and the many munificent Presents that were made to him, he did not long continue in the *English* Interest, but afterwards became as firm to the *French* as any of his Predecessors. After *Easter*, in the Third Year of this Reign, by the Advice of the Peers, the young King call'd a Parliament; and going to the House himself, he was convey'd through the City upon a noble Courser, in extraordinary Triumph, the People thronging the Streets to behold the Child, whom they judg'd to have the lively Features and Countenance of his glorious Father, and likely to succeed him in all mighty Qualifications and Abilities, as well as Kingdoms and Dominions. During this Season, *Edmund Mortimer* the last Earl of *Marche* of that Name, and nearest Heir to the Crown of *England*, deceas'd without Issue, and his great Patrimony descended to *Richard Plantagenet* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son and Heir to the same Earl of *Cambridge* that was beheaded in the Beginning of the last Reign. In the Time of this Parliament also Sir *John Mortimer*, Cousin to the deceas'd Earl, either out of Desert or Malice, was impeach'd for High-Treason, and publickly executed; from whose Death there arose no small Murmurings among the common People.

James King of Scotland at full Liberty.

His Homage.

A Parliament.

The Earl of Marche dies.

His Cousin beheaded.

In the mean Time the Amity and Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*, which the *English* had found so advantageous in their Conquests, having otherwise receiv'd some slight Flaws, was now in danger of being utterly broken upon this Occasion. *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*, Protector of *England*, following Advices unworthy of his Person and Station, contracted himself with the Lady *Jaqueline* of *Bavaria*, Inheritrix of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Hainault*, and of many other fair Dominions in the *Netherlands*, notwithstanding that the Duke of *Brabant* her Husband was then living, and that the Suit of Divorce commenc'd by *Jaqueline* was still depending between them. The Duke of *Burgundy* in this Affair join'd with *Brabant*; which soon rais'd the Indignation of the Duke of *Glocester*, who not being us'd to meet with Opposition, went over in Person with an Army to take Possession of *Hainault* in Right of his suppos'd Wife; but finding himself disappointed by the Succours which *Burgundy* sent to the Duke of *Brabant*, he proceeded to challenge the former in Combate, and to call him Traitor. This was accepted, but by the Duke of *Bedford's* Mediation the Challenge fell, and the Matter was accommodated; so that that the Duke of *Glocester*, without performing any Thing for which he came, left his Lady at her Town of *Mons*, and return'd into *England*. Here *Mezzeray* is of Opinion that if this unseasonable Contest had not happen'd, the rest of *France* at this Time

A Breach between the Dukes of Glocester and Burgundy.

They are reconcil'd.

Time had undoubtedly been subdu'd. Not long after the Duke of *Glocester's* Return, the first Marriage which had been made and consummated between the Duke of *Brabant* and the said Lady *Jaqueline*, was pronounc'd lawful and valid by Pope *Martin* the Fifth. Whereupon the Duke of *Glocester*, having sustain'd many Losses both of Friends and Treasure, in Punishment of his Crime of taking another Man's Wife, shortly after marry'd *Eleanor*, Daughter to the Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*; by which he is said to have made her Compensation for that unlawful Familiarity that had formerly pass'd between them.

A. D.

1425.

Reg. 3.

A Dispute between the Duke of Glocester and Bishop of Winchester.

II. By this Time the Court of *England* began to discover the usual Effects of an Infant's sitting upon the Throne, by the dangerous Emulation of the two principal Men in the Nation, the Duke of *Glocester* and his Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester*, the one Protector of the Kingdom, and the other a Tutor to the King. Whether it was that the former hated the Riches and pompous Living of the latter, or that the latter envy'd the great Authority of the former; it is certain that the *English* Court, the City of *London*, and the whole Kingdom was disturb'd by this unhappy Contention: Alterations not to be wonder'd at; for as Thunder foreruns a Storm, so King *Henry's* Misfortunes were not to fall out without a Precedency of many Disorders, which tho' separately consider'd were of no great Moment, yet being join'd were such as at length caus'd his Ruin. The News of these Domestick Disturbances oblig'd the great Duke of *Bedford* to return from *France*, tho' the State of that Realm sufficiently requir'd his Presence. For the Duke of *Bretaign*, notwithstanding his late Renovation of the League with the Regent, growing jealous of the *English* Greatness, suddenly turn'd to *Charles's* Party; and with him the Earl of *Richemont* his Brother. This gave fresh Life to the declining Prince, who made *Richemont* Constable of his Part of *France*, in the Room of the Earl of *Douglafs* slain in the Battel of *Vernevil*; and he to shew his Gratitude gather'd about twenty thousand Men, and suddenly invested *St. Jean*, a Town in *Normandy*, upon the frontiers of *Bretaign*, which the Duke of *Somerset*, Governor of *Normandy* had lately fortify'd and replenish'd with Soldiers. This unexpected Approach of the *French* at first much perplex'd the *English*; but upon better Consideration, they valiantly sallied upon them, both on the Front and the Rear, which struck such a Terror into them, that with the Loss of their Artillery, and many of their Men, they abandon'd the Siege. To redeem which Dishonour *Richemont* turn'd his Fury against the Country of *Anjou*, pillaging and depopulating many Places. The Regent having resolv'd to return into *England*, left behind him the valiant *Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* for his Lieutenant, who was lately arriv'd in *France* with six thousand fresh Soldiers. Having enter'd the City of *London*, the Duke was magnificently receiv'd by the Citizens, and presented with two Silver Basons gilt, and a thousand Marks in Money, as an Instance of their Esteem and Gratitude.

To reconcile which the Duke of Bedford returns into England.

The happy Presence of the Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, was highly useful to the State of *England*. For the Wisdom and Authority of so great a Prince, eldest Uncle to the King, and one whom many Actions had render'd famous, soon allay'd the Dissemper which he found at his Arrival. It was a Work worthy of his Labour, and he found it a Work not easie to be effected by a Labour and Power less than his own. The Differences were debated first at *St. Albans*, then at *Northampton*, and lastly in a Parliament at *Leicester*, which continu'd there till towards the End of *June*. The Duke of *Bedford* himself, to avoid all Marks of Partiality to his Brother of *Glocester*, here would not intermeddle otherwise than in general Words to encourage Amity, but had the whole Cause referr'd to the most considerable Men in the Nation, both for Birth and Wisdom. By the prudent Endeavours of these all their Differences, Grievances and Accusations were equally thrust into one Bag, to be seal'd up by Oblivion for ever; and without Mention of Compensations on either Side,

Reconciliation made.

the

the Duke swore by his Princehood, and the Bishop by his Priesthood, truly to observe the Award, and were for that time fully reconcil'd. This pious and necessary Work of private Reconciliation was succeeded by several Acts of Fe-
 tivity and Honour. For in the same Town of *Leicester*, the young King, not then five Years of Age, was at the high Feast of *Whitsuntide* solemnly knighted by his Uncle the Regent of *France*. Immediately after the King honour'd *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Heir to the late Earl of *Marche*, with the same Order of Knighthood, and about forty more with him. This Earl of *Cam-*
bridge was at this Parliament, by a fatal Error, not only restor'd to his Blood, tainted by his Father, but likewise created Duke of *York*; and he was the Per-
 son that afterwards caus'd the Extirpation of the Male Lines, both of his own and the House of *Lancaster*. And it was more than probable that he would never have made such a bold Attempt, had he not been promoted to this Ho-
 nour, and to other Dignities and Places of Trust, that gave him Opportunity to effect his Purposes. But Providence governs Affairs here below by Means contrary to secular Reason; for while Men weakly imagine that good Turns will extinguish the Memory of past Offences, Examples manifest how often they have been superseded by Interest, Humour and Ambition.

The Earl of Cambridge, Heir to the Crown, made Duke of York.

Now the triple Cord began to be untwisted, and one of the great Supporters of the King's Infancy, the Duke of *Exeter* departed this Life; a Man of no small Wisdom and Abilities, who having no Sons, made the King his Heir, tho' besides the Bishop of *Winchester* his Brother, and the Countess of *West-*
morland his Sister, he had many Nephews. To supply his Room, *Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was constituted Guardian and Tutor to the young King. But he did not immediately return into *England*, for being Lieutenant to the Duke of *Bedford* in *France*, he continu'd there for some Time, and perform'd many noble Actions. He enter'd into the Country of *Main* and took the Town of *Chasteau de Loire*, and after that the Castles of *Maiet* and *Lude*, in all which he put Garrisons and *English* Governors. Here he was inform'd that the *French* were gather'd together in the Country of *Beaux*, upon which he hasten'd to have given them Battel, but they understanding his Design, fled at the Terror of his Name and Nation. The Earl in his Return won the Castle of *Montdu-*
bleau, where leaving the valiant Lord *Willoughby*, he return'd to *Paris*. It would be endless to take Notice of all the Sieges, Skirmishes, and Enterprizes in these Wars both foreign and domestick. There was not a City or Borough in *France* without Garrisons; Forts and Castles were built in all convenient Places, upon Hills, Rivers, narrow Ways and open Fields; every Lord had his Soldiers, or rather his Bands of Robbers, who maintain'd themselves by feeding upon the poor miserable Country People. During these Calamities, Means were us'd by the Duke of *Burgundy* for the Freedom of the Duke of *Alençon*, taken at the Battel of *Vernevil*; and now for the Sum of two hundred thousand Crowns he was set at Liberty; but nothing could induce him to acknow-
 ledge King *Henry's* Title in *France*.

A. D.

1426.

Reg. 4.

The Duke of Exeter dies. The Earl of Warwick suc-
ceeds.

His Actions in France.

The great Duke of *Bedford* having at length worthily establish'd the Peace of *England*, took Shipping with his Lady, and landed at *Calais*; where the Bishop of *Winchester*, who went over with him, receiv'd the Habit, Cap and Dignity of a Cardinal; which Promotion the late King, with a penetrating Eye seeing his boundless Ambition, had more than once defeated. But now the King being young, and the Regent his Friend, he obtain'd his Purpose to his great Profit, and the Impoverishment of the Spiritualities of *England*: For by a Legantine Bull, which he purchas'd from *Rome*, he gather'd so much Treas-
 ure, that he gain'd the Name of the rich Cardinal of *Winchester*. With the Regent there went over a great Number of select fresh Soldiers, under the Com-
 mand of that renowned Lord *Talbot*, whose Victories, says *Polydore*, were so numerous, that his Name was not only formidable to the *French*, but famous throughout the World, even to this present Time. To give a Taste of his Tem-
 per

A. D.

1427.

Reg. 5.

The Duke of Bedford goes into France.

The Lord Talbot's Valour.

per and Fierceness, upon one Side of his broad Sword he had this Motto, *Sum Talboti*, and on the other this boisterous Sentence, *Pro vincere Inimicos meos*. Not long after his Arrival, at *Montarges*, near *Orleans*, a Party of *English* receiv'd an Overthrow with the Loss of about fifteen hundred Men; and in *Bretaign* the *French* sustain'd great Damages from a Commander under the Duke of *Somerset*. After which the Inhabitants of *Mans* in *Maine* had let in the *French* by Night, who barbarously massacred most of the *English* in the Place. *William* Earl of *Suffolk*, Governor of the Town, retiring with some Men into the Castle, sent to the Lord *Talbot* for Succour. He immediately came, and his Men unexpectedly crying out *St. George a Talbot!* the *French* were suddenly reduc'd to the last Extremity, and most of the Soldiers put to the Sword. All the rest were spar'd, only thirty Citizens and thirty five Priests and Religious were beheaded as Traitors, and the City remain'd in its former Condition; and it was hard to judge which of three Things were most commendable in *Talbot*, his Wisdom, his Celerity, or his Valour.

He relieves the
Earl of Suffolk.

A. D.
1428.
Reg. 6.
7.

The Siege of
Orleans by the
Earl of Salisbury.
&c.

The Earl of
Salisbury slain.

The English
Affairs decline
in France.

Above a Year after the Earl of *Warwick* had been declar'd Governor to the King, he left *France* and return'd into *England*; and the Earl of *Salisbury* succeeded him in his Charge, who went over with five thousand Soldiers. Consulting with the Regent, he bethought himself of some Action that might answer the Greatness of his own Name, and the publick Occasions; and the Siege of *Orleans* was by him propos'd in Council. The Credit of the Earl was a sufficient Reason to convince them how practicable it was; and was accordingly furnish'd with all competent Provisions. The Inhabitants of *Orleans*, dreading the approaching Storm, with great Diligence provided for their Defence; and the Suburbs, as large as some Cities, were levell'd to the Ground, that the Enemy might not annoy them from thence; and they wanted not Men, Victuals, Ammunition and a constant Resolution to fight. The Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Talbot*, and a formidable Force under expert Commanders, in a short Time presented themselves before this large and beautiful City. No Enemies appearing abroad, the Earl approach'd near to the Walls; and finding Attacks fruitless, he intrench'd about the City, and to secure his Camp, he cast up Ramparts and other Works of Defence. He seiz'd upon the Fort which stood at the Bridge Foot beyond the River *Loire*, and surrounded the Besieged on every side, so that *Charles* of *France* could send no sufficient Relief to them. When Human Helps fail, God often interposes his Hand, which is generally most conspicuous in the Deliverance of Nations. The City was now reduc'd to the last Distress, the Siege having lasted sixty Days, not without great Bloodshed on both Sides. The valiant Earl of *Salisbury*, impatient of such Delay, propos'd to give a general Assault; and the better to consider of the Manner of it, he stood to take a View at a Window, barr'd with Iron, which over-look'd the City towards the East. Here Providence began to shew it self against the *English* Affairs; for a Cannon Bullet levell'd by a Boy against the Window, struck the Iron Grates, so that the Splinters so wounded the Earl, and one Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, that they both dy'd within a few Days. Here our Authors tell us That soon after this Man's Death the Fortune of War chang'd; and now both mortal and immortal Powers began to look favourably on the declining State of *France*. This to the *English* was said to be the Beginning of Misfortunes, for after this by several backward Steps they lost all their Possessions in that Kingdom; and tho' they sometimes gain'd after that, yet they usually lost three Times as much. For which Reason *Polydore*, after many Encomiums upon the Earl, calls him the Man in whom the Safety of the *English* State consisted.

A. D.
1429.
Reg. 7.
8.

However the Siege of *Orleans* did not end with his Life; for *De la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Talbot* and the rest maintain'd the same all Winter. The Wants of the Camp were reliev'd by a Convoy from *Paris*, under the Command of Sir *John Falstolfe*, and fifteen hundred Soldiers, who safely arriv'd, notwithstanding.

notwithstanding all the Endeavours of ten thousand *French* to intercept them: At length the City offer'd to surrender, but not to the *English*; the Besieg'd were content that the Duke of *Burgundy* should have the Honour: A subtle Artifice to break the Alliance between the *English* and him. The Regent and his Council being sent to, they concluded it unreasonable, since the *English* had been at all the Labour and Charge. The Duke of *Burgundy* secretly repented this Refusal, which ever after pall'd his Relish to the *English* Friendship: Yet the Regent's Answer was just and honest, *That the War was made in King Henry's Name, therefore Orleans ought to be his.*

In these Difficulties were the *French* Affairs involv'd: But while *Charles* of *France* grew more sensible of the miserable Straits of his beloved City, and ignorant how to remedy so near a Misfortune; at *Chenon* a young Virgin of eighteen Years of Age presented her self to him, call'd *Joan* of *Lorraine*, Daughter to *James* of *Arck*, dwelling in *Damremy* upon the *Meause*, an ordinary Shepherdess, who bad him *not to faint*, constantly affirming *That God had sent her to deliver the Realm of France from the English Yoke, and restore him to all his Dominions.* She was not immediately credited; but when the Wisdom of Ecclesiasticks and military Men had put many Questions to her, and she still continu'd to her first Words, uttering nothing but what was modest, chaste and holy, Honour and Belief was at length given to her Sayings. Upon which *Joan* arm'd her self like a Man, and requir'd to have that Sword which hung in *St. Catharine's* Church of *Fierebois* in *Tourain*; which Demand encreas'd their Admiration of her, since such a Sword was found among the old Donaries or Vestive Tokens of that Church. Thus warlikely accouter'd she rode immediately to *Blois*, where Forces and fresh Provisions lay for the Relief of *Orleans*; with which she and the Admiral and Marshal of *France* safely enter'd. This highly encourag'd the declining *French*; and *Joan* the Maid of God, as she was now call'd, wrot this peculiar Letter to the Earl of *Suffolk* then lying before the Town. *King of England, do Justice to the King of Heav'n, in his Blood Royal; deliver up to the Virgin the Keys of all the good Cities you have forc'd. She is come from Heav'n to restore the Blood Royal, and is ready to make a Peace, if you be ready to do Justice: Yield therefore, and restore what you have taken, King of England. I am the Chief of this War, therefore I encounter your Men in France, and will pursue them; if they will obey, I will take them to Mercy. The Virgin comes from Heav'n to drive you out of France: If you will not obey, she will raise such a Flame as has not been known these thousand Years in France. And be assur'd that the King of Heav'n will send to her, and her good Men of Arms, more Forces than you have. Go in God's Name into your Country: Be not obstinate, for you shall not hold France of the King of Heav'n; but Charles shall enjoy it, the King and lawful Heir, to whom God has given it, he shall enter Paris with a noble Train. You Earl of Suffolk, Lord Talbot, Lord Scales, Lieutenants to the Duke of Bedford; and you Duke of Bedford, terming your self Regent of France, spare innocent Blood, and leave Orleans at Liberty. If you do not Justice to them you have wrong'd, the French will perform the greatest Exploit that ever was known in Christendom. Understand these News from God and the Virgin.*

Joan of Arck appears in publick.

She arms her self in the Defence of Orleans.

Her Letter to the Earl of Suffolk.

This Letter was entertain'd by the *English* with Laughter, and *Joan* reputed no better than an Enthusiast or Enchantress; tho' to some it was thought more honourable to the *English* that they were not to be repell'd by Human Force, but by something extraordinary, if not Divine. *Du Serres* gives this Character of the Virgin, That she was of a modest Aspect, sweet, civil and resolute; her Discourse moderate, rational and reserv'd; her Actions demonstrating great Chastity, without Vanity, Affectation or Levity. Whatever her Qualifications were, by her Encouragements and Conduct the *English* soon lost their Hopes of *Orleans*, after they had suffer'd the Duke of *Alençon* to enter

Her Character.

*She relieves
Orleans.*

with new Forces, and with great Loss were constrain'd to break up the Siege. In all Actions she was one and foremost, and she made several fierce Sallies upon the *English*; in one of which being shot through the Arm with an Arrow, she courageously cry'd out, *This is a Favour from Heav'n, let us go on; they cannot escape the Hand of God*: The *English* lost in this Siege the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Molins*, the Lord *Poynings*, and great Numbers of inferior Persons, slain by the Sallies of this martial Virgin. The Lord *Talbot* march'd off in good Order with above nine thousand Men, whom *Joan* would not suffer the *French* to pursue. In Memory of this extraordinary Deliverance the City of *Orleans* erected a Monument, where *Charles* the Seventh King of *France* and *Joan* the martial Maid were represented, kneeling in Armour, elevating their Eyes and Hands to Heav'n, in Token of their Thanks and Acknowledgment.

*A Monument
erected to her
Memory.*

*Barbafon's Fi-
delity.*

Now there was an interchangeable Taking and Recovering of Towns, and Places of Importance on both Sides. The Castle of *Galiard* was surrender'd to the *French* upon Composition, where in a grated Chamber they found the valiant Lord *Barbafon*, who having sworn to be a true Prisoner, could not be induc'd to come out of that Place, 'till Captain *Kingston*, to whom he had given that Oath, was upon safe Conduct recall'd to acquit him, which was accordingly done: A rare Example of Constancy in him, considering how little Regard the rest of the Nation at that Time had to Oaths. The Lord *Talbot* took *Lavall*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* threw himself into *Jergeaux*. To which last Place the Duke of *Alençon* with *Joan* and other great Commanders march'd, and forc'd it by Storm. Sir *Alexander Pool* Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk* was slain, with many others in the Encounter, and the Earl himself was taken Prisoner. After the Duke of *Alençon* had added some other Places to his Conquests, his Numbers were augmented by the Conjunction of the Constable of *France*, the Earl of *Vandome*, the Lord *Dalbret* and others; so that now their whole Army consisted of about twenty three thousand effective Men. With these they suddenly attack'd the valiant Lord *Talbot*, who had not above a fifth Part of their Number, at a Village call'd *Patay*, whom they charg'd so unexpectedly, that his Archers had no Time to fortifie their Stations after their usual Manner, by Palisadoes or Empalement of Stakes, so that they were driven to uncommon Difficulties. After three Hours brave Resistance, the *English* were put to the worst; and the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Rampstone*, and even the Lord *Talbot* himself, after a great Wound in the Back, were taken Prisoners. The Footmen forc'd to trust to their Swords, under the Shelter of such Horsemen as remain'd, retreated in good Order, and got to a Place of Safety, after they had lost about twelve hundred Men, and the *French* about half that Number. This Blow shook the very Foundation of the *English* Greatness in *France*, and awak'd Multitudes, even of those who had before sworn Fealty to King *Henry*; and now having a Colour of Divine Warrant for violating their Oaths, they readily join'd with the Victors for Recovering of the common Liberty. There succeeded an immediate Revolt of several Towns; and it was not long before *Charles* himself issu'd out in Arms, and recover'd the City of *Rheims* in *Champaign*; where, according to the Maid's Direction, he was solemnly crown'd King of *France*. Hitherto the might plausibly be thought prophetic and fortunate; and it seem'd that the chief Part of her Employment was accomplish'd, yet she flourish'd for some Space longer.

*The English
worsted at Pa-
tay.*

*Charles crown-
ed at Rheims.*

*The Regent
prepares against
him.*

The Duke of *Bedford* to prop the declining State of the *English*, upon the unfortunate News of the Relief of *Orleans*, and Captivity of *Talbot*, gather'd his whole Forces together, which amounted to about ten thousand *English*, besides certain Auxiliaries of *Normans*. With these he march'd out of *Paris*, and bravely oppos'd himself against the Current of *Charles's* new Prospects, who now design'd to have attempted that Capital City; being encourag'd by some of the

the Citizens who held strict and secret Correspondence with him. But this Prince, knowing the Regent's Valour and Resolution, suspended the Execution of his Design, as yet having no Hopes to effect it; and being by *Joan* dissuaded from Fighting, the Regent return'd to *Paris*. Shortly after *Compeign* and *Beauvois* voluntarily submitted to the new crown'd King. The Regent having sealed the State and Garrisons of the chief City, pass'd into *Normandy*, to provide for a safe Retreat there, if the *English* should be constrain'd to quit their other Holds and Dominions; of which he began to be apprehensive, because he had Information of many secret Endeavours to win the *Burgundians* from King *Henry's* Side. While the Regent was absent upon this Occasion, *Charles* gain'd the Town of *St. Denis*, not far from *Paris*, but held it not long in Possession. From whence he sent the Duke of *Alençon* with the Maid of *France*, to try their Friends and Fortunes at *Paris*. Here they found none of their expected Success; for the *English* gave them so rough an Entertainment, that *Joan* herself was wounded, and the rest with great Slaughter repell'd. The Regent hearing of these Attempts; entrusted the Coast Towns of *Normandy* to the Care of the Duke of *York*, and *Roan* the Capital City to the Duke of *Somerset*, and hasten'd to *Paris*, where he highly commended the Soldiers and Citizens for not imitating the Disloyalty of their Neighbours.

New Supplies arriving out of *England*, the next Enterprize was to reduce *Compeign* to Obedience; to effect which *John* of *Luxemburg* with the *Burgundians* and some *English* Soldiers invested it. Here all the Glory of *Joan* the Maid of *France* came to a Period; for coming to relieve the Place, she successfully enter'd; but afterwards falling out, her Troops were beaten, and her self, as some say betray'd, taken Prisoner by the said *Burgundian* Knight, who for the Value of her Ransom, which was ten thousand Pounds *Tournois*, and three hundred Crowns annual Rent, deliver'd her into the Hands of the *English*. Notwithstanding the Siege was rais'd; after which they sent *Joan* to the City of *Roan*, where about nine or ten Months after she was burnt alive. The *Roman Clælia* was sav'd by *Porfenna*; and it is not to be doubted but that the Magnanimity of the *English* would have spar'd her, had they not found it necessary to deface the Opinion which the *French* to the highest Superstition had entertain'd of her. The *English* Writers show, how the Course of her Life being legally examin'd by the Bishop of *Beauvois*, in whose Diocese she was taken, and she being for Sorcery, Bloodshed, and unnatural Use of Masculine Habiliments, condemn'd to die, was notwithstanding, upon her solemn abjuring all her lewd Practices, pardon'd her Life, 'till again convicted of a perjurious Relapse, tho' acknowledging her self a Strumpet, and feigning herself with Child, she deservedly met with that Punishment which she thought to have deferr'd. Many of the *French* Writers show the highest Value for her Memory; and *Mezeray* says, that being on the Pile for Execution the foretold the *English*, That the Hand of God was ready to strike them, and that his Justice would not only drive them out of France, but pursue them into England, and make them suffer the same Miseries and Calamities they had inflicted on the *French*. However this is certain, that she was one of extraordinary Valour and Spirit, and the main Restorer of the Kingdom of *France*, and if she did not drive the *English* from thence, as she herself boasted, she was the chief, or at least one of the chief Human Causes why the *English* lost *France*.

The *English* Affairs still more and more declin'd; but to remedy these Misfortunes, it was by the wisest thought necessary for young King *Henry* to come over and be crown'd in *Paris*. He had the last Year with great Solemnity receiv'd the Crown of *England* at *Westminster*, being then about nine Years of Age, and ready to receive all Impressions either of Good or Bad. This Year resolving for *France*, before his Departure, *Richard* Duke of *York* was by a particular Patent made High-Constable of *England* during Life; which gave him a more sensible Taste of Greatness, and secretly whetted his ambitious Appetite.

A. D.

1430.

Reg. $\frac{8}{9}$.

Joan taken Prisoner,

and burnt alive.

Her Character.

A. D.

1431.

Reg. $\frac{2}{10}$.

King Henry
goes into
France.

He is crown'd
King at Paris.

petite. The Affairs of *England* being settled, and new Supplies of Money granted by Parliament, the young King with a Noble Retinue took Shipping at *Dover*, and landed at *Calais*; from whence, after some Continuance, he remov'd to *Roan*, where he was receiv'd with all the Marks of Joy and Triumph. In the Month of *November* he departed from *Roan* in Order to make a publick Entry into the City of *Paris*; all which was magnificently perform'd in the Company of the two great Cardinals of *Winchester* and *York*, and the chief Princes of the Blood, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Prelates, the Flower of the *English*, *French*, *Burgundians* and *Normans*, with a select Body of three thousand Men for the Guard of his Person. It would be tedious to mention with what Honour and Pomp he was receiv'd into this glorious City, and what Pageants, Ornaments and Entertainments were prepar'd to render the Thing more solemn and triumphant. On the seventh Day of *December* he was publicly crown'd King of *France* in the grand Cathedral at *Paris* by his great Uncle the Cardinal of *Winchester*; and in his Return to the Palace he had one Crown on his Head, and another born before him, as likewise one Scepter in his Hand, and a second carry'd before him; implying that he was King of two several Kingdoms. The Duke of *Bedford* entertain'd the great Assembly with a set Speech, in which he declar'd King Henry his Nephew's undoubted Title to the Crown on his Head, and recommended the same to their Fidelities, adding large Promises both of Honour and Advantages. Such of the *French* Nobility as were then present did their Homage; the People had obliging and gracious Words given them, and Quantities of Money, Corn and Wine by way of Donative liberally bestow'd amongst them; and Proclamations made that all *Frenchmen* who came in by a fix'd Day, should be protected.

This great and splendid Feast did not pass without some Displeasure among the *English* Nobility; for the Cardinal of *Winchester*, who at this Time would suffer no Equal, commanded the Duke of *Bedford* to lay aside the Name of Regent, during the King's Presence, alledging, that while he was there in Person, the Power of a Substitute was at an end. The Duke of *Bedford* took such a secret Displeasure at this haughty Proceeding, that he never after favour'd the Cardinal, but oppos'd him in all his Actions; and this was the Root, as some think, of that Division among the *English* Nobility, where their Glory in the Realm of *France* began first to decline. After five Days Continuance in *Paris* from the Coronation, which were spent in publick Tournaments and the most splendid Entertainment, the King was advis'd to leave the Air of *Paris* and remove to *Roan*, where he kept his *Christmases*. Still *Charles* of *France* esteem'd himself no less a King, but daily pursu'd his Affairs; and his Men took the City of *Chartres* by Stratagem, and put the Bishop of the Place and others to the Sword. Nor were the *English* unemploy'd; for the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and *Suffolk*, soon made up the Loss with much Advantage; which was increas'd by the Deliverance of the valiant Lord *Talbot*, who by vertue of an Exchange was now set free. It was observable among Foreigners, and not without Admiration, that the small and distant Country of *England*, under the Government of an Infant, should so long, and so successfully contend with such a potent and populous Kingdom as *France*. But at that Time such was the Valour and Martial Vigour of the *English* Nation, that they scarce knew any Medium between Death and Victory; always preferring an honourable End before a lingering Servitude. This mov'd Pope *Eugenius*, and all the Christian Princes, so often to make Overtures of Accommodation between these two contending Kingdoms, but 'till this Year could effect nothing, but a very imperfect Truce for six Years. Which being agreed upon, King *Henry* took his last Farewel of *France*, and landing at *Dover*, upon the twenty first Day of *February* he was triumphantly receiv'd at *London*.

A Truce with
France.

III. Young King *Henry* being safely return'd from his Foreign Kingdom of *France*, his Uncle the Duke of *Glocester* gave a very faithful Account of his Government in *England*; of which, the Suppression of an Insurrection at *Abington* in *Oxfordshire* was not the least Service. A Weaver, the Bailiff of the Town, was the corrupt Head to which all the Contagion gather'd; who changing his Name, call'd himself Jack Sharp of *Wigmore's Land* in *Wales*. One of his main Designs was to have massacred Priests, whose Heads he said he would make as cheap as Sheeps Heads; for which he deservedly lost his own, and had his four Quarters hung upon Stakes. However his Pretensions were, the mentioning of *Wigmore's Lands*, the ancient Inheritance of Earl *Mortimer*, and now in Possession of the fatal Duke of *York* who from thence challeng'd the Crown of *England*, did insinuate and signifie something further. It is to be wonder'd the Council of State under King *Henry*, hearing that Title so often glanc'd at, provided no better against the Mischief; but the Eyes and Hearts of the wisest are blind, when God reserves a secret Scourge, or designs to hide that Fire which shall afterwards consume a Nation. Unquiet Humours were now abroad as well as at home; for the Soldiers of *Calais*, dissatisfy'd with their Wages, began to be very mutinous and troublesome. But the Regent going there in Person, soon put an end to the Tumult by beheading four of the Ringleaders, and cashiering and banishing a hundred and ten of the rest, as had been formerly done to six-score others. These were inconsiderable Affairs; but the Loss of *France* began to be more conspicuous, and it is worthy to observe the Steps that Providence seems to have us'd in depriving *England* of that Kingdom. In the Regent's Journey, King *Henry's* Interest was apparently depress'd; for being a Widower, and arriving at *Turwin*, without the Duke of *Burgundy's* Privacy, he marry'd the Lady *Jaquet*, about Seventeen Years of Age, Daughter to *Peter* of *Luxemburg* Earl of *St. Paul*, no Friend to the Duke. The Match was injurious to the *English* Affairs; for *Anne*, the Regent's former Wife, Sister to the Duke of *Burgundy*, a strong Ligament of Amity between them, weaken'd the same by her Death; and this second Marriage, unpleasing to the Duke, did still more and more diminish it.

Still the Accidents of War between the *English* and *French* were numerous and various, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, getting and losing, as Opportunities serv'd; which Uncertainties produc'd the ordinary Effects of intestine Convulsions, great Outrages, an unrestrain'd Licentiousness, and a Scarcity of Necessaries for Human Life. It would be both tedious and endless to recount the particular lesser Actions, and almost impossible to describe all the Sieges, Surprises, Skirmishes, and the like, being so confus'dly related by Authors. Yet the Fortune of *Reyner* Duke of *Anjou* and *Barre*, is not to be omitted, because King *Henry* afterwards unhappily marry'd into his Family. His Wife was *Isabel*, Daughter and Heiress to *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, upon whose Death *Reyner* expected to succeed him in all his Dominions; but the Earl of *Vallemont*, Brother to Duke *Charles*, presuming he had a nearer Title, drove the Matter to be decided by War. *Charles* King of *France* was a steady Supporter of *Reyner's* Claim, in Consideration of the like Services done to him in Times of the greatest Difficulty; and the Regent and Duke of *Burgundy* espous'd the Cause of the Earl. The Assistance of the latter prevail'd so far, that *Reyner's* Troops were beaten from the Siege of *Vallemont*, with the Loss of three thousand Men, and himself with two hundred others remain'd Prisoners to the Duke of *Burgundy*, one of whose Subjects commanded in chief in that Enterprize. The King of *France* might seem to have sustain'd a mighty Loss by the Captivity of the Duke; but the *English* gain'd no Advantage by it; for his Persuasions, and private Services on the behalf of King *Charles*, did not a little prepare the Duke of *Burgundy's* Heart in due Time to receive Impressions of Reconciliation. The *French* who liv'd under the Regency, or were

A. D.

1432.

Reg. 10.

A Disturbance in England.

Steps towards the Loss of France.

A. D.

1433.

Reg. 11.

Various Fortunes in that Country.

in

The Miseries of France. in danger of the *English* Power, made Choice of the Duke of *Burgundy* to protect them, from which they could not be fairly debarr'd, because as yet he appear'd to be King *Henry's* Friend. Indeed this Scene and unfix'd State of Affairs was full of Horror and Confusion, which *Polydore* describes after this manner. While the *English* and the *French* contend for Dominion, Sovereignty and Life it self, Mens Goods were violently taken by the Licentiousness of War, Churches robb'd, People in all Places murder'd, wounded or tortur'd; Matrons abus'd, Virgins torn from their Parent's Arms to be ravish'd, Towns daily taken, daily plunder'd, daily defac'd, the Riches of the Inhabitants us'd at the Conqueror's Pleasure; Houses and Villages on all Sides flaming with Fire; no Kinds of Cruelty unpractis'd upon the miserable *French*; omitting innumerable other Calamities, which all at once oppress'd them. Add to this, that the whole Republick, being destitute of the Benefit of Laws, which for the most part are silent in Times of War and Mutiny, floated up and down without any Anchorage of Right or Justice. Nor was *England* her self free from these Calamities, who every Day heard the News of her valiant Childrens Funerals slain in perpetual Skirmishes and Encounters, and found her general Wealth continually ebbing and decreasing; so that the Evils seem'd almost equal, and the whole Western World eccho'd the Groans and Cries of either Nations Quarrels, as being the common Foundation of Discourse and Compassion throughout Christendom.

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12. 13. The Methods at this Time us'd by the *English* did only faintly keep alive the general State of the Regency in *France*, without putting a Period to the War, either by finishing the Conquest, or establishing what was gain'd. Some Persons urg'd to have large Supplies of Men and Mony to be levy'd, that King *Charles* might have no Rest in any Place; of which Opinion was the Regent himself, with the two Dukes of *York* and *Somerſet*. This Counſel was not follow'd, but others in Appearance more frugal, which still fed the Evils, but redress'd none; which shew'd that present Sparings often draw after them infinite Wastes, and that no Husbandry is so pernicious as unseasonable Parsimony. In the mean Time, the Earl of *Arundel* and Lord *Talbot* rang'd about with victorious Forces, terrifying *Anjou*, *Main*, and other Parts, with their several Successes. In *Normandy*, nevertheless the common People gather'd together in great and dreadful Multitudes; of whom were sixty thousand rebelliously combining in *Vex* in *Normandy*, and twenty thousand in *Caux*. Their Design and Pretensions were to drive out all the *English* Officers, and to have favour'd King *Charles's* Interest; but what are a Multitude without Advice or Conduct? To stop their Insolency, and the Progress they made towards *Caen*, the Earl of *Arundel* with Robert Lord *Willoughby*, with thirteen hundred light Horse and six thousand Archers, march'd against them, by the Direction of the Dukes of *York* and *Somerſet*, who had the chief Lieutenancies in *Normandy*. The Earl laid in Ambuscade with two Parts of his Men, while the Lord *Willoughby* drew the Rebels into it with a third. The Consequence was that a thousand of them were cut in pieces, before the Soldier's Hands could be stopp'd to spare the rest, who basely threw down their Arms, and begg'd for Mercy. The Multitudes were permitted to return home, but the Ringleaders lost their Lives by Execution; and all the World could gather from this popular Insurrection was That the *Normans* would gladly be freed from the *English* Government. Not long after, the Earl of *Arundel*, after several noble Actions perform'd during the Wars in *France*, receiv'd his Deaths Wound in a Skirmish at *Gerberoy* in *Beauvoisin*, where *La Hire*, a famous *French* Commander, won the Day.

A. D. 1435. Reg. 14. The Regency still continu'd, and the Miseries of *France* were no ways diminish'd; and nothing could put a Period to them while the Duke of *Burgundy* kept faithful to the *English*. Therefore to prepare Matter for a Separation between the Regent and the Duke, such of the Nobility as went over to the latter insinuated to him That King *Charles* had upon all Occasions spoke his intention

rably of him, and inwardly wisht well to him; and that he never hear'd the Murder of his Father nam'd, but it caus'd him with Sighs and Protestations to declare his Innocence. These and the like mollifying Allegations soon began to operate, when apply'd to the Mind of one whose Affections towards the *English* daily decreas'd, by means of several Jealousies and Aversions; so that there wanted nothing but an outward honourable Occasion to bring him intirely to the *French* Party. In the mean Time, to put an End to the general Calamity, the Deputies of the Grand Council urg'd the *French*, *English* and *Burgundians* to come to a Treaty; and the City of *Arras* was appointed for that Purpose. From the Pope and Council of *Pisa* came the Cardinals of *St. Crasse* and *Cyprus*, with twelve Bishops: For the King of *France* were the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Richemont*, the Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, and many other great and learned Men: For the King of *England* were the two Cardinals of *York* and *Winchester*, the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Huntington*, the Lord *Hungerford*, and several Doctors of Divinity: For the Duke of *Burgundy* were the Duke of *Guelders*, the Earl of *Nassau*, and such a Number of other Noblemen as were sufficient to shew that tho' in Title he was but a Duke, yet in Greatness he was equal to a King. *Mezeray* says that this was the greatest and noblest Assembly that had been known to this Age, where all the Princes of Christendom had their Ambassadors; and the Harbingers took up Stabling for ten thousand Horses. But notwithstanding all this Care, it prov'd ineffectual; for the *English* being in Possession strenuously urg'd the Right of Descent, and the Act of the late King *Charles* the Sixth, by which the Crown of *France* was settled upon *Henry* the Fifth, and the Issue of *Catharine* his Wife; and therefore they propos'd no other Conditions of Peace, but that *Henry* their King should have all, and *Charles* to hold under him. The *French* offer'd intirely the two Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Gascony*; and the Assembly broke up without any further Agreement. King *Charles* therefore resolving to main the *English* Faction upon any Terms, tho' never so mean, sent the Duke of *Burgundy* a blank Paper, bidding him prescribe his own Conditions and Demands; which he did: And his Conditions, says a *French* Author, were so numerous as to fill a Volume, and so unreasonable, that it was amazing that so great a Monarch should stoop so much to his Subject and Vassal. But Necessity urging, they both join'd upon the twenty fourth Day of *September*; and the Duke, transported by Profit, declar'd himself an Enemy to all Opposers of King *Charles*, after he had caus'd the Deaths of three hundred thousand Men in his Quarrel, besides the Destruction of innumerable Cities and Towns.

The Treaty of Arras.

The King of France and Duke of Burgundy reconciled.

This may be said to have been the first parting Blow which separated the *French* Dominions from the *English* Sovereignty; and the Event declar'd, That the *English* had done more politickly, if they had accepted of *Normandy* and *Gascony*, but in those Circumstances they could not in Honour comply; and if Counsels were to be determin'd by the Event, the most foolish would sometimes pass for prudent. By this Conjunction King *Henry* lost not only a powerful Ally, but was constrain'd to rely upon his own single Strength, as well against King *Charles* his declar'd Enemy, as now against the Duke of *Burgundy*, who more than seem'd to have betray'd the Cause. To give a fair Colour to this Fact, the Duke dispatch'd Ambassadors into *England* to King *Henry*, to give the Reasons of his Treaty with King *Charles*, and to persuade him to rest satisfy'd with what had been transacted; which Embassy was so odious to the *English*, that they took the Liberty to call the Duke a *Time-Server*, a *perjur'd Man*, and a *Traitor*; and the popular Fury arose so high against the Duke's Subjects residing in *London*, that many of them were beaten and slain, before a Proclamation could put a Stop to it. The Ambassadors return'd with honest Admonitions to their Master, against which his Fears and his Senses were irresistably fortify'd; for King *Charles* had surrounded and loaded him with Royal-
ties, Privileges, Honours, Money, Cities, Towns, and indeed whole Provinces, that

The Advantages of the Reconciliation.

that were confirm'd to him, only to oblige him to abandon the *English*. His extraordinary Munificence soon made the Duke a true *Frenchman*; and tho' he paid so vastly dear for his Alliance, yet it was worth the Expence, for *Æmilius* tells us, That the Cessation of his Anger redeem'd the *French* from a Foreign Government, as his first Assuming of it made the *English* Lords over *France*. But however the Duke's Indignation for the Murder of his Father had mov'd him first to embrace the *English* Interest, he afterwards, by way of Compensation, subtly converted his Revenge to the Enlargement of his own Riches and Power. After the Return of his Ambassadors, he sent back all Contracts to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*, and renounc'd the Alliance of *England*, declaring *That every Man should look to himself*.

Upon this each Party made new and vigorous Preparations, in order to recover that by Force which they could not obtain by Reasoning: But all Things manifestly favour'd the *French* Designs; for this was the general State of the *English* Affairs. King *Henry* was scarce out of his Childhood, and after that not Man enough to deal with such turbulent Occurrences; the Princes of the Blood weakly united for the common Good; the Protector tho' vigilant over *England*, and the Regent careful for *France*, yet both privately envy'd; *Richard* Duke of *York*, encreasing in Strength, but ambitiously reserving himself for a select Day; many of the great *English* Warriors slain; and in Sum, a declining Inability through the whole Body of the *English* Forces; which tho' otherwise they might have prolong'd the War, and kept their Footing, yet the Death of the mighty Regent doubled the Difficulty, or almost the Impossibility. In removing this triumphant Hero, God made it manifest that he accounted the *English* unworthy and unfit to continue their Empire any longer among the *French*. This Prince, not long after the Revolt of the Duke of *Burgundy*, dy'd in the City of *Paris*, after a fourteen Years Regency; uncertain to some whether out of Grief for the Evils he foresaw, or of some other Distemper. How powerful this Prince was appears in some measure from his Titles, which were Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Alençon* and *Anjou*, Earl of *Maine*, *Richmond* and *Kendal*, and High-Constable of *England*. And what exceeded his Greatness was his being one of the best Patriots and Generals that ever sprung out of the Royal Stem of the *Plantagenets*. His Valour was not more formidable to the Enemy, than his Memory was honourable; for *Lewis* XI. the next King of *France*, being afterwards advis'd by certain envious Persons to demolish his stately Tomb at *Reims*, in which was bury'd all the good Fortune of the *English*, he generously return'd this noble Answer. *What Honour can it be to Us, or You, to deface this Monument, and to disturb the Bones of him, who when living, neither my Father, nor your Progenitors with all their Power, were once able to repel? Who by his Strength, Policy and Conduct kept them all out of the principal Dominions of France, and out of this noble Dukedom of Normandy: Wherefore I say first, God save his Soul, and let his Body now lye at rest; who when he was alive would have terrify'd the Proudest of us all: And as for his Tomb, I think it not so worthy or convenient, as his Honour and Acts deserv'd.* It is observable that none of the Sons of King *Henry* the Fourth did degenerate; a Thing not usual in so large a Family: *Henry* the Fifth dy'd gloriously in the Pursuit of his Conquests, the Duke of *Clarence* valiantly fighting, and tho' *Bedford* of a natural Death, and *Glocester* afterwards of a violent, yet they dy'd not with less Fame than the rest. So as Nature having done her utmost in them, if she fail'd in the present *Henry*, it is not to be admir'd; for having cloath'd him with the inner Garments of Piety, she was sparing in an upper Robe of other Virtues and Fortune.

A. D. IV. The Regent of *France* being dead, the late Treaty between King 1436. *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* soon produc'd Effects most dangerous to the Reg. 14. *English* Cause; for many Towns immediately revolted, and Multitudes of the *French*.

French, who through Fear had been restrain'd, falling away, all the *English* Dominions were fill'd with private Assemblies, Practices and Correspondences with the Enemy. Such *English* as were then in *France* were not altogether idle, but yet, through a fatal Security or Negligence at home, they wanted Recruits to support them. To supply the Vacancy of the great Duke of *Bedford*, *Richard* Duke of *York*, now a prevailing Favourite, was created Regent of *France*; and *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, his perpetual Rival, ſtill continu'd Governor of *Normandy*. This latter violently oppos'd the Advancement of the former to this nice Station; wiſely foreſeeing more than the Protector and all the Council of *England*: Yet his Oppoſition was unſeaſonable and fruitleſs; for *York*'s Carriage had won ſuch a Party about the King, that notwithstanding the Diſadvantage of his latent Title, which alone was ſufficient to have excluded him from great Truſts in a politick Government, he prevail'd. But before he could arrive in *France*, the Capital City of *Paris* was loſt. *Robert* Lord *Willoughby* was then Governor for the *English*, who had not above two thouſand Soldiers with him; for in Caſe of Extremity, the Faith of the Citizens was preſum'd to ſupply all Deſects againſt a common Reſiſtance. But on the contrary the Citizens, perceiving the Declenſion of the *English*, eſpecially after the Regent's Death, conſpired againſt them; and the Treason was carry'd on ſo ſubtly by ſome of the principal Magiſtrates, who artickled for a general Pardon from King *Charles*, that the Deſign took effect before it could be diſcover'd. The Lord *Beaumont* introduc'd the Loſs with his own Miſfortune; for the Earl of *Richmont*, Conſtable of *France*, hovering about *Paris*, in hopes to recover the Place, the Lord *Beaumont* with ſome hundreds of *English*, falling in with him about *St. Denis*, were worſted. While the Ruinour of this inconfiderable Deſeat was freſh, and much aggravated, the *French* advanc'd their Banners up to the City Walls, upon which a Gate was immediately open'd to them by their Partifans. And now the Citizens, who were lately Subjects, ſuddenly turn'd Enemies; and Women and Children attack'd the *English* from their Windows with all ſorts of ſuſlive Weapons, and many were beaten down and maſſacred in the Streets. The Lord *Willoughby*, Governor of the Place, with many others fled to *St. Anthony's* Gate and the *Baſtile*, Places which they had reſerv'd for Defence in Times of Necelſity. Many more had been ſav'd in thoſe Places, but the perfidious Citizens drew Chains over the Streets, and ſtopp'd their Paſſage. At length thoſe in the *Baſtile*, after ſome Shew of Defence, demanded a Parly, and agreed to depart with their Lives and Baggage. They were conducted about the Town beneath the *Louvre*, to embark upon the River *Sein*, and ſo paſs to *Roan*; for they could not ſafely paſs through the City. The People being advis'd of this ran to the Walls, and with great Shouts baited the *English* like Dogs, whom lately they had fear'd and honour'd as their Maſters. Thus *Paris* return'd to its former Government, above ſixteen Years after the Duke of *Clarence* had plac'd a Garrifon there in behalf of his Brother *Henry* the Fifth.

The English Affairs decline in France.

The Duke of York made Regent.

Paris loſt from the English.

Paris was loſt in the worſt Time to march an Army, which was wiſely projected by the *French*, elſe their Deſign might have fail'd; for the Duke of *York* the new Regent, being hinder'd by the Badneſs of the Season, arriv'd afterwards, accompany'd with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and other worthy Perſons, and an Army of eight thouſand Men. But this Regent never did any good Service in *France*; tho' ſtill the *English* Affairs were not come to the laſt Extremity. In the late conquer'd Parts of *France* they held *Normandy* entire, but not without much Trouble; for the People again rebell'd in *Caux*, which Diſturbance was quell'd with a greater and more mercyleſs Deſtruction of the Authors and Actors, than the former. No leſs than five thouſand of them were cut in Pieces and trampled on by the juſt Fury of the *English*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hoo*, and others; who burnt all their Habitations, made Booty of their Goods, and drove

the whole Body of them out of the Country. The Lord *Scales* not long after defeated *La Hire* and his Men not far from *Roan*. The War was manag'd on all Sides without full or compleat Armies; Skirmishes were the ordinary Ways of Fighting; and the *French* were cautious in venturing all upon a pitch'd Battel.

Calais besieg'd by the Duke of Burgundy.

The Duke of *Burgundy* as yet had not in Person given any Proof against the *English* of his Affection to King *Charles*; but now he set himself to an Enterprize worthy that Expectation, which was the Recovery of *Calais*; tho' he is believ'd to have been mov'd to this Action by a Desire of private Revenge. For the *English*, upon his forsaking their Alliance, had endeavour'd to stir up the Inhabitants of *Gaunt*, and other *Flemmish* Towns subject to the Duke, to rise in Rebellion; but the Opinion that King *Henry's* Fortunes in *France* were dangerously declining, made them unwilling to move. However the News of this successless Attempt excited the Duke to a Revenge; and caus'd him to bring an Army of forty thousand Men before *Calais*. The chief Commanders there for King *Henry* were the Lord *Dudley*, who had the Charge of the Castle, and Sir *John Ratcliff* of the Town. The Duke's Design was to have block'd up the Harbour by sinking Ships loaden with Stones; but upon the Ebb-Tide the *Calisians* easily remov'd those Impediments. King *Henry* being inform'd of the Siege of this important Place, the Protector the Duke of *Glocester* was sent over in Person with a powerful Fleet and Army, who bravely challeng'd the Duke of *Burgundy* to meet him in the open Field. Here Authors differ, yet they generally agree in this, That the Duke of *Burgundy* rais'd the Siege without any Battel. Some say that the very Rumor of the Protector's Approach drove him away, and that the Protector came the next Day after the *Burgundians* Flight; and others excuse him by alledging that the *Flemmings* grew mutinous, and resolv'd to return home. The Protector became Master of the Duke's Camp, and spent eleven Days in his Dominions, burning *Poppering* and *Bell*, and doing great Damages about *Graveling*, *Boloign* and other Places; then settling the Affairs of *Calais*, he return'd home with great Honour to his Charge in *England*. The *English* were thought to have created new Work for this active Duke in his own Dominions, where many great Tumults arose, in one of which his own Person was indanger'd at *Bruges*, where *Lisle Adam* the Captain of his Guard was slain. Hence it came perhaps that a Medium was found out, by Contracts made with *Isabel* the Dutcheß, his third Wife and an ingenious Woman, to hold a League with *England*, and yet make no Breach with *France*.

A. D. 1437. Reg. 15. 16.

The Deaths of three Princesses.

The following Year was memorable for the Death of three great Princesses, *Catharine*, Mother to the present King *Henry*, and Sister to the King of *France*; the old Dowager of King *Henry* the Fourth, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*; and the old Countess of *Armanack*, Daughter to the Duke of *Berry*, and Mother to the Duke of *Savoy*; who all dy'd within forty eight Hours of each other. The former of the three, not long after the Death of her Husband *Henry* the Fifth, secretly marry'd to *Owen ap Tudor*, a *Welsh* Gentleman and of the Court, the most noble and beautiful Person of that Nation, who drew his Descent from *Cadwalader*, the last King of the *Britains*; by which Husband she had several Children, two of whom, *Edmund* and *Jasper*, bear a Part in the Royal History. The former, (being afterwards created Earl of *Richmond*, and marry'd to *Margaret*, the Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, who was Grandson to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*) became Father to the famous King *Henry* the Seventh. In the same Year the Dutcheß Dowager of *Bedford*, Widow to the late Regent of *France*, marry'd also below her Degree to Sir *Richard Woodvile*, who became Father to the Lady *Elizabeth*, who had the Honour to marry King *Edward* the Fourth, and by this was both her self a Queen, and a Progenitress of those Kings and Queens that follow'd: For from her and this Match sprung another *Elizabeth*, the renowned Wife of King *Henry* the Seventh, as King *Henry* himself did of the former Match. Both these Matches provid

prov'd most fortunate to *England*; but another happen'd which now threaten'd present Danger to King *Henry*, and that was what *James* King of *Scotland* made with *France*, who marry'd his Daughter *Margaret* to *Lewis* the *Dauphine*, and sent new Supplies of Men against the *English*. He design'd also to have attempted something in Person, but before he could effect it, he was most impiously murder'd by certain bloody Traitors at *Perth*, subborn'd by the Earl of *Athol* his near Kinsman, in hopes to attain the Crown; for which in part of his Punishment he had a red hot Crown of Iron put upon his Head. Tho' King *James* was a Prince of noble Worth and Virtues, yet this horrible Murther is by some Historians accounted as a just and deserved Punishment upon him, for that voluntary Breach of his Homage, Oath and Fidelity made to King *Henry* the Sixth, at the Time when he was set at Liberty after his long Captivity in *England*. And here an *Italian* Author makes this Remark upon the *Scotch* History, That among the numerous Race of Kings in that Nation, about one half of the Number met with untimely Deaths.

James King of Scotland murder'd by his Subjects.

In *France*, the new Regent the Duke of *York* continu'd active, but perform'd nothing memorable, tho' he wanted not Advantages and Opportunities of signalizing himself. For two thousand *French* Horsemen were mutinous, and rang'd about in great Disorder: *Paris* was dreadfully punish'd with Famine, and its usual Attendants, pestilential Distempers: The Countries adjacent lay open and desolate; and the Courtiers were discontented and divided. Still nothing of note was done by the Regent; which some impute to the Opposition he met with from the Duke of *Somerset*, who out of Envy and Disdain incommoded his Dispatches. However the Duke of *Somerset*, accompany'd with the Lords *Talbot* and *Falconbridge*, and other brave Men, and a competent Force laid Siege to *Harfleur* which the *Normans* in the late Rebellion had seiz'd, and maintain'd under *French* Commanders. King *Charles* upon this sent a Body of four thousand Men to relieve the Place, but not being able to effect it, *Harfleur* surrender'd to the Duke. Not long after the Duke of *York* was recall'd, and in November *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* was sent over to succeed him as Regent of *France*: He carry'd with him a thousand fresh Soldiers, and arriving at *Harfleur*, he from thence march'd to *Roan*, now the chief City of the *English* Dominions in North *France*, as *Bordeaux* was in the South; to which last Place the Earl of *Huntington*, with certain Troops of Soldiers, was sent as Lieutenant.

The Duke of York recall'd from France. The Earl of Warwick sent.

This new Regent vigorously apply'd himself to the Business of his Station; and under him the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Forces were driven from *Crotoy*, by the brave Lord *Talbot*: *Abbeville* was freed from the Danger of a Fort with which the Duke had bridled the Town; and the *English* for twenty Days together took their Pleasure in ravaging the Country of *Picardy* about *Amiens* and *Artois*. After this the Earl of *Mortaign* Son to the Duke of *Somerset* arriv'd at *Cherburgh* with four hundred Archers and three hundred Spears, and passing through *Normandy* into the Country of *Maine*, he besieg'd a Castle call'd *Amian*, in which were three hundred *Scots*, besides *Frenchmen*. He soon took this Castle by Storm, slew all the *Scotch*, and hung up the *French*, because they had been sworn to the *English* Government. After these, and many other inferior Actions of the like Nature, at the Sollicitations of the Dutcheß of *Burgundy* and the Pope's Legate, a grand Conference was held between *Graveling* and *Calais*, the Deputies of *England* and *France*, and those of *Burgundy* meeting to treat about a Peace. But the *English* not receding from that Condition, that *Normandy* and their other Conquests should be left to them in full Sovereignty, they parted without effecting any thing. Still the *English* Interest was retain'd in *France*, not only by means of King *Henry*'s Ministers and Forces, but also by the Remissness of King *Charles*, who gave his Son an Occasion to raise a Rebellion against him; but the Fear of the *English* Power, and the wise Management of some, soon produc'd a perfect Reconciliation.

A. D. 1438. Reg. 16. 17.

Various Actions in France.

A. D. 1439. Reg. 17.

Before any great Advantage could be made of this hopeful Breach, the Regent the Earl of *Warwick* after many worthy Actions dy'd at *Roan*; and the Duke of *Tork* was a second Time sent over in Quality of Regent of *France*.

The Earl of Warwick dies.
The Duke of York returns to France.

A. D.

1440.

Reg. 18.
19.

King *Charles* was now fallen into some Disfavour with his People, but to redeem his Credit, he attempted the Recovery of *Ponthoise*, near *Paris*, which the Lord *Clifford* had not long before surpriz'd by a Stratagem; and accordingly he sat down before it with ten or twelve thousand Men, while the Lord *Clifford* made a brave Defence within. The Duke of *Tork* lately landing in *Normandy*, as Regent assembled his chief Forces, consisting of seven or eight thousand Men, and offer'd the King Battel; but he kept himself within his Trenches. The Regent, agreeable to the Humour of the *English*, eager of present Action, unexpectedly pass'd the River *Oyse*, which ran between the two Camps; which caus'd King *Charles* to remove with such Precipitation, that the *French* could hardly excuse him from flying. The Duke having gain'd the Spoil of the *French* King's Camp, reforc'd *Ponthoise*, and attack'd a Fortrefs, where King *Charles* had left three thousand Men to maintain the Appearance of a Siege. But it was judg'd more advantagious to pursue the King who was arriv'd at *Poisse*; where the Duke again very nobly provok'd him to the Field. King *Charles*, finding the Hazards unequal, endur'd the Bravado; so that the Duke was constrain'd to return to his main Charge in *Normandy*. King *Charles* fell into such Obloquy and Contempt with his People by this dishonourable Retreat, especially with the *Parisians*, that if he had not a second Time attempted and prevail'd against *Ponthoise*, it might have endanger'd his whole Fortunes; for a Faction was then ready to make use of any false Step. He therefore return'd in a great Fury to the Siege, and took it by a general Assault, with extraordinary Bloodshed on his own Side, and the Loss of five hundred of the *English*. The King was one of the first that enter'd at the Breach, chusing to be rather thought rash than timorous; by which Exploit he re-establish'd his Reputation with his People.

The French King succeeds.

Both Sides began by this Time to grow weary of the War; and the State of *England* under King *Henry*, whose Softness and Lenity gave way to several dangerous Court Factions, requir'd some Rest: For which Reason Commissioners for a Treaty met at *Calais*; where nothing was concluded but the Freedom of *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, for a Ransom of three hundred thousand Crowns, after he had been Prisoner in *England* about twenty six Years, ever since the famous Battel of *Agincourt*, where he was taken. The Duke of *Burgundy* was a main Agent as to his Enlargement, designing to secure his own Greatness by Acts of Benificence; this high born Prince, for the Murther of his Father, being naturally the Head and Spring of that unfortunate Feud that had most mortally rag'd between the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*. The Duke of *Glocester* prudently foreseeing the Dangers like to ensue upon *Orleans's* Liberty, strenuously oppos'd it, and that upon important Reasons, which he requir'd to have Register'd, that they might remain on Record for a Testimony of the Discharge of his Duty. This great Duke had no better Success when he set about to reform the State of *England*, which suffer'd much from the Mismanagements of the two Cardinals of *Tork* and *Winchester*, especially the latter. For tho' the Duke was Governor of the King and Protector of the Realm, yet the Cardinal of *Winchester*, with the other acted many Things without the Consent of the King or him; in which being greatly offended, he in Writing declar'd to the King how much the Cardinal and the Arch-Bishop had offended both his Majesty and the Laws of the Nation. This Complaint of the Duke's was drawn up in twenty four long Articles, which chiefly imported, That the Cardinal of *Winchester* had continually, through his ambitious Desire of surmounting all others in Honour and Dignity, sought to enrich himself, to the great Damage of the King, as well only defrauding him of his Treasure, but also practising Things highly prejudicial to his Affairs in *France*, particularly by freeing the King of *Scotland*.

The Duke of Orleans released.

A. D.

1441.

Reg. 19.
20.

The Duke of Glocester's Complaints against the Cardinal of Winchester.

on such easie Conditions that his Majesty became a great Loser. Tho' these Things were heard and examin'd before the Council, yet the Cardinal found so many Friends, as not only protected him, but afterwards found means to effect the Duke of *Glocester's* Ruin.

Still the Miseries and Calamities of *France* continu'd, and the Wars were carry'd on with various Success, but yet after a more feeble and languid manner than formerly. The County of *Amiens* was ravag'd by the *English* under the Lords *Willoughby* and *Talbot*; the Regent and the Duke of *Somerset* march'd into *Anjou*, where they loaded their Carriages with much Plunder, and return'd into *Normandy*: After which the Duke of *Somerset* parted from the other, and perform'd several Exploits in and about *Bretaign*. *Dieppe* in *Normandy* being besieg'd by the *English*, was reliev'd by the *Dauphine*, to the great Loss of the former; while the *French* King gain'd some Advantages in and about *Gascony*. During these variable Transactions, *John* the valiant Lord *Talbot*, lately recall'd into *England*, was, for his approv'd Courage and Wisdom, both in *England* and *France*, as well in Peace as War, created Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and with a Body of three thousand Men sent over again into *Normandy*, for the better Defence of that Country. Not long after the Countess of *Cominges* dying, the King of *France* and the Earl of *Armagnack* became violent Competitors for the Inheritance. The Earl took Possession; but fearing the King of *France's* Greatness, offer'd his Daughter in Marriage to the King of *England*, with a large Portion in Money; promising also to deliver full Possession of all such Towns and Castles, as were by him or his Ancestors detain'd in *Gascony*, and had been formerly conquer'd by King *Henry's* Predecessors. The Ambassadors for this Affair were graciously receiv'd by King *Henry*, and honourably sent back: After whom were sent Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Robert Ross*, and others, to conclude all Things; by whom the young Lady was by Proxy affianc'd to King *Henry*. But the King of *France* highly disliking this Match, sent the *Dauphine* with a powerful Army, who took the Earl Prisoner, with his youngest Son, and both his Daughters, and gain'd the Counties of *Armagnack*, *Louverne*, *Rouergue* and other Parts, chasing the Bastard of *Armagnack* out of the Country; by which means the Consummation of the Marriage was deferr'd, and never effected.

In this Distraction of Christendom, many Princes, as the Kings of *Spain*, *Denmark* and *Hungary*, became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*. Ambassadors on all Sides were sent, many Meetings were heard, and many Proposals made; but in Conclusion only a Truce for eighteen Months was agreed on. During this Negotiation, *De la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, a great Favourite and one of the Commissioners for this Peace, took for him a bold Thing beyond his Commission; and without acquainting his Associates treated of a Marriage between the King of *England* and *Margaret* the Daughter of *Reyner* Duke of *Anjou*, and Niece to the Queen of *France*. The *Reyner* now stil'd himself King of *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Jerusalem*; and the Earl of *Suffolk* was so active in this Affair, that it brought the Aspersions of Slandery upon him; and without his Master's Warrant he proceeded so far as to appoint an Interview between the two Kings, which was to be held between *Rouen* and *Chartres*. Upon the Return of the Commissioners, the Earl of *Suffolk* set forth the Beauty and Qualifications of the propos'd Bride, and the Benefits of Peace that would redound to the Kingdom by this Match. The King and many others were easily induc'd to credit the Relation, but the worthy Duke of *Glocester* bravely oppos'd it, partly because it was a manifest Injury to the Earl of *Armagnack's* Daughter, to whom the King had been solemnly affianc'd, which Match was honourable and advantageous; and partly because this latter might bring nothing with it but Loss and Dishonour, as the Delivery of the Duke of *Anjou* and County of *Maine*, Bulwarks to *Normandy*, which now were especially to be retain'd in order to conclude a lasting Peace with *France*.

But

A. D.

1442.

Reg. 20.

Various Fortunes in France.

A. D.

1443.

Reg. 21.

King Henry affianc'd to the Earl of Armagnack's Daughter.

A. D.

1444.

Reg. 22.

yet after that
was contracted
to the Duke
of Anjou's
Daughter.

But all Reasons were of no effect, when the Heav'ns had decreed that for this Cause the Duke should lose his Life, the King his Crown and Dignity, the Kingdom all its foreign Possessions, and the People that Peace at home they had hitherto enjoy'd. King *Charles* understanding that *Henry* had consented, he sent over the Count of *Vendosme* and the Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, who concluded the Contract; and the more to honour this unfortunate Match King *Henry* created three Dukes and one Marquess, which latter was the Earl of *Suffolk*, who for his further Honour was made his Deputy to celebrate the Formality of the Nuptials, and to bring the Bride into *England*.

A. D.

1445.

Reg. $\frac{23}{24}$

The Marriage
completed.

The Character
of the new
Queen.

All Things being in Readiness, the new Marquess went over into *France*, with his Wife and great Numbers of Ladies and Gentlemen gloriously adorn'd, and Letters for the Bride's Father, who tho' he was rich in Titles of imaginary Kingdoms, was not able to send her honourably to her Husband; so that all the Charge, which was vast and extraordinary, fell to King *Henry*'s Share. The noble Company being arriv'd at *Tours*, the Marquess marry'd the Lady in the Name of his Master, in the Presence of the King of *France*, the Queen, and a numerous Train of Princes and Noblemen, among whom were the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Calabria*, *Alençon* and *Bretaign*; and the Nuptials were solemniz'd with magnificent Feasts and Tournaments. After this the Lady in great State was convey'd into *England*, and at *Southwike* in *Hampshire* was solemnly marry'd to King *Henry*. From thence she remov'd to *London*, being met after a most pompous manner by the Duke of *Glocester*, and others of the Nobility; and the famous Poet *John Lydgate* Monk of *St. Edmund's Bury* compos'd the Speeches for such Triumphant Receptions as were made upon her Entrance into the City. A few Days after, on the thirtieth of *May*, she was crown'd Queen at *Westminster* with all the usual Solemnities. *Polydore* gives no improper Character of this beautiful Queen, when he says she was one sufficiently provident, ambitious of Glory, abounding in Discourse, Counsel, Officioufness and masculine Courage; in which appear'd much Ingenuity, Vigilance and Care; but not free from the Humour of Women, which, as he says, is usually vehement and apt to change.

A. D.

1446.

Reg. $\frac{24}{25}$

The Beginnings
of England's
Miseries.

V. The Kingdom of *France* had for above thirty Years suffer'd all the Convulsions and Calamities of War, both Civil as well as Foreign; but those Miseries seem'd to be transferr'd by gradual Steps to *England*, and from this time began the apparent Forerunners of the Nation's Misfortunes. Here some of our *English* Writers very freely tell us, That it appear'd that God was not pleas'd with the late Marriage: For from that Day forward the Fortune of the World began to fall from the King, so that he lost all his Friends in *England*, and all his Dominions in *France*: For in a little Time all was govern'd by the Queen and her Council, to the great Detriment of the King and his Realm, and the no less Obloquy of the Queen, who thereby became expos'd to many false Reports. All which Misery, says *Fabian*, arose from BREACH OF THE PROMISE made by the King to the Earl of *Armagnack*'s Daughter, as most Writers agree: All which Misery, as he adds, will in some measure appear by the Loss of *Normandy*, and the rest of *France*, the Division of the Lords within this Kingdom, the Rebellion of the Commonalty against their Prince and Sovereign, and finally the King himself depos'd, and the Queen with the Prince forc'd to fly the Land, and lose the Government of it for ever. These and many other Evils were the Products of the succeeding Times. However still some Care was taken about the Affairs of *France*; and the Parliament granted Supplies of Money to carry on the War upon the Expiration of the Truce. The Duke of *York* was recall'd from his Regency, and the Duke of *Somerfet*, in an unfortunate Hour, was sent in his Place, with such Provisions as were reputed competent.

The Duke of
Somerfet made
Regent of
France.

The renowned Protector, the Duke of *Glocester*, felt the first fatal Blow of the evil Angel that was sent to punish *England*, and root out her Nobility. This Duke had been a brave Opposer of the late Marriage, and was much hated by the Queen and her Faction, as the only Man who by his Prudence, as also by the Honour and Authority of his Birth and Place, seem'd to hinder that Sovereign Power which they pretended to settle in the King's Person, but design'd indeed, as is usual under soft Princes, to reign themselves in another's Name. The Marquess of *Suffolk*, and several of the Nobility, at the Time of a Parliament held at *St. Edmund's Bury*, were drawn on to concur to his Ruin; not perceiving, that by so doing they pull'd up the Flood-Gate, at which the Duke of *York* enter'd, overwhelming all of them in a Deluge of Blood. Whether they had any real Fear of *Glocester* himself, lest perhaps he should take Revenge upon some particular Persons among them, is uncertain; tho' it seems probable enough, that they had. Besides the Duke's frequent Contests with the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and several others, there were some former Accidents that concurr'd to make Way towards his Ruin. For about five Years before, *Eleanor* his Dutcheß was convented for Witchcraft and Sorcery, and afterwards indited for Treason before the Earls of *Huntington*, *Stafford*, *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and other Lords and Judges; of which Crime she was appeal'd by one *Bolingbrook* an Astronomer, and *Thomas Southwell* a Canon, which last was charg'd with saying Masses over certain Instruments, by which the Astronomer should practise Negromancy against the Life of the King. These being taken, accus'd her as an Accessary, and one who had desir'd the Assistance of their Art to know her Fortune; and Part of this she confess'd, for which she was put to publick and solemn Penance in *London*, upon three several Days, with extraordinary Shame to her Person, and after that she was committed to perpetual Imprisonment under the Care of Sir *Thomas Stanley*. The Duke of *Glocester* her unhappy Lord and Husband, whom by Love-Potions she was said to have enchanted, being provok'd with this Reproach, might reasonably be suppos'd to have stirr'd in this Affair. However it was, his Destruction certainly borrow'd Countenance from that Opinion. The Duke therefore being come to attend in this Parliament at *St. Edmund's Bury*, in the second Day of the Sessions he was arrested of High-Treason by the Lord *Beaumont* Constable of *England*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and others, and all his Followers taken from him, whereof thirty two were committed to several Prisons; and the Day after his Imprisonment he was found murther'd in his Bed. Yet he was expos'd the same Day with a Design to have it thought he dy'd of a Palsie or Impostume, tho' all that saw his Body found that he dy'd of a violent and unnatural Death; some say strangled; some that a hot Spit was thrust up his Fundament; and some that he was stifled between two Feather-Beds. His Corps was convey'd the same Day to *St. Albans*, and there interr'd. Five of his menial Servants being condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, the Marquess of *Suffolk*, to affect Popularity, brought their Pardons, and sav'd their Lives, after they had been hang'd, let down quick, stript naked, and mark'd with a Knife to be quarter'd. By a Pardon granted to one of his Servants may be seen the Pretence made for committing the Murther, namely, he was one of the many Traitors who came with the Duke of *Glocester* to destroy the King, and set his Wife *Eleanor* at Liberty.

Such was the End of this great Prince, who, notwithstanding his Body was expos'd, and many Crimes pretended, was by the People of *England* thought to be doubly murther'd, in his Reputation, as well as his Person. His Death was much lamented by the whole Kingdom, from whom he deserv'd the Surname of *Good*, for he was a Lover of his Country, a Friend to Good Men, a Protector of the Learned, of which himself was one, and so great an Incourager of them, that he built the Divinity Schools at *Oxford*, a Work worthy to be admir'd in all Respects. His main Opinion concerning the Government of

A. D.

1447.

Reg. 25.

The Duke of
Glocester in
Danger.He is arrested of
High-Treason,

and murder'd.

His Character.

King *Henry's French* Dominions was generally oppos'd by the Cardinal of *Winchester*, and some others, who altogether perswaded Peace, to which this Heroical Duke, nicely insisting upon the Honour and Majesty of the *English* Name, was a profess'd Enemy: From which Fountain of divided Councils flow'd innumerable Inconveniencies. Tho' he had many virtuous Qualifications, yet he has been blam'd for Incontinency and Ambition, one or both of which formerly caus'd a dangerous Breach with the Duke of *Burgundy*. After him the Title of *Glocester* was reputed ominous; for the four last *Glocesters* came to violent Ends: *Thomas*, Son to *Edward* the Third, was strangled at *Calais*; *Thomas Spenser* Earl of *Glocester* beheaded at *Bury*; *Humphry* the present Duke dy'd as now related; and *Richard* Duke of *Glocester* afterwards slain in Battel. The Death of the present Duke, prov'd the Queen, who was especially concern'd in it, not to have been so careful or politick as common Reason seem'd to require of her; for while he liv'd his Authority and near Relation to the Crown would easily have stifled the Duke of *York's* Claim: And here were the first Seeds sown between the House of *Lancaster*, whose Badge was the *Red-Rose*, and the House of *York*, who gave that of the *White*. And now, says *Polydore*, Good Men, apprehensive of their own Safeties, voluntarily forsook the Court, into whose Places succeeded many, who for the most Part seeking their own Interest, open'd an easie Way for new Factions. The Duke of *Glocester* was soon follow'd by his great Enemy the Cardinal of *Winchester*, the other chief Counsellor of the Nation; so that the whole Frame of the Government was laid upon the Queen, and such Favourites as the King, by her Recommendation, approv'd of. We are assur'd that when this rich Prelate lay upon his Death-Bed he cry'd out, *Why should I dye that have so much Wealth? If the whole Kingdom would save my Life, I am able by my Policy to get it, or by my Money to buy it. Will not Death be brib'd, nor Money do nothing?* Being dead, he was succeeded in his Bithopricks by a more worthy Person, *William Wanfleet*, so called from the Place of his Nativity in *Lincolnshire*, tho' his real Name was *Patin*; who afterwards founded *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, one of the noblest Foundations in *Europe*.

The Cardinal
of Winchester
dies.

A. D.

1448.

Reg. 26.
27.

The Designs of
the Duke of
York.

The Marquess of *Suffolk* now the chief Favourite, was created a Duke, which render'd him a more conspicuous Mark of Envy than ever, beyond even the Protection of the King or the Queen. And now the Affairs of *France*, where *Somerſet* was Regent, were neither duly inspected, nor the Governors of the Country well advis'd; but the King and Realm of *England*, much more than *France*, lay expos'd to the deep and pernicious Designs of *Richard* Duke of *York*. He, by an Error of the State, being made great, and grown stronger by affected Popularity, perceiving the King to be a Ruler and not to govern, began secretly to allure his Friends of the Nobility, and privately declar'd to them his Title to the Crown; as likewise he did to certain Governors of Cities and Towns; which Attempt was so politickly and secretly carry'd on, that his Provision was ready, before his Purpose was disclos'd. The publick State of Affairs seem'd to favour this fatal Conspiracy: There was a milder King than *England* then deserv'd; a Council out of Favour with the People, numerous Losses and Dishonours abroad; a turbulent and unsetled Condition of all Things at home. Of all which, and many more Mischiefs, the Duke of *York*, having *Henry* the Fourth for a dangerous Precedent, made his pernicious Use, cherishing the popular Aversions, without seeking to redress any Evils, but representing them worse than they were, only to bring about his ambitious Purposes. His Removal from the Regency of *France* did not a little disoblige him, because the Duke of *Somerſet* gain'd it from him; but it was not long before *Somerſet's* ill Management of that Trust, and the declining Fortune of the *English* gave him Occasion to rejoice at the Foil of his dreaded Enemy. Which in short was thus.

During

During the Truce between *England* and *France*, one Sir *Francis Surienne* a Knight of *Arragon*, serving under the Regent, surpriz'd the City of *Fougers*, belonging to the Duke of *Bretaign*, where he met with a Booty of above sixteen hundred thousand Crowns. Upon which Reparation and Restitution was demanded; but the Duke of *Somerset*, a proud Man, contrary to good Discipline, cherishing his Soldiers in their Riots and Disorders, wilfully neglected the Justice of Nations in that Point. After six Months Delays the Duke of *Bretaign* began the Revenge, and by the *French* King's Consent surpriz'd *Pont de Larche*, and Town after Town, so many and so fast, that King *Charles*, after he found no Restitution would be made, uniting his Forces, soon became Master of *Roan* it self, of *Caen*, *Bayeux*, and indeed of all other Places belonging to the *English* in those Parts; to the great Dishonour of the Duke of *Somerset* and the *English* Nation. And thus was all *Normandy* regain'd by the *French*, or rather, as *Mezeray* says, help'd to recover it self, in one Year and six Days; after it had continu'd in the Possession of the *English* above thirty Years from the Conquest of it by *Henry* the Fifth. In this Dukedom were a hundred strong Towns and Forts, all tenable and of Consequence, besides those destroy'd in the Wars; and it also contain'd one Archbishoprick and six Bishopricks. Some are of Opinion that the *English* wanted Strength, either to man the Towns as they ought, or Numbers to inhabit the Country, which was the Reason they could not keep it. Others charge it upon the Avarice of the Duke of *Somerset*, who kept not half the Number of Soldiers for which he was allow'd, and those so ill paid, that he was forc'd to connive at all their Outrages. But the principal Cause, as most agree, was the fatal Divisions within the Kingdom of *England*, where every great Man desiring rather to be reveng'd on his Foe at home, than the common Enemy abroad, no timely Succours could be sent. Yet still if we consider the general Deportment of the *English* Nation, the Concurrence of Martial Men, their Counsel, Discipline and Designs, from the Beginning of *Edward* the First to this Time, which was a hundred and eighty Years; it must be acknowledg'd that they were Men of extraordinary Worth and Valour, and carry'd the Palm of Victory before them wherever they went

A. D.
1449.
Reg. 27.

All *Normandy*
lost from the
English.

The Causes of
it.

VI. After the dishonourable Loss of *Normandy*, the Calamities of *England* began to discover themselves more openly than ever: For while the *French* triumph'd in their new Acquisitions, three cruel Enemies, among many others, grievously urg'd on the Ruin of the Nation at home. One was Presumption in Governing, by some that were most unfit to rule, as the Queen with her Privy-Counsellors and Favourites; next the inveterate Malice and Pride, as well as insatiable Avarice in the States both Spiritual and Temporal; and lastly the general Discontents of the People, who began to sink under the Tedioufness as well as Weight of their Burthens. These finding that by Misgovernment all Things were running towards Confusion, as well within the Realm as without, they began to exclaim against the Duke of *Suffolk*, charging him as the only Cause of the Delivery of *Anjou* and *Main*, the chief Procurer of the Duke of *Glocester*'s Death, the very Occasion of the Loss of *Normandy*, the Devourer of the King's Treasure, the Remover of good and virtuous Counsellors from about the Prince, and the Advancer of vicious Persons, and such as were Enemies to the Publick. The Queen at this apprehending not only the Duke's Destruction, but also her own Confusion, caus'd the Parliament, which had met at *London*, to be adjourn'd to *Leicester*, thinking there, by Force and Rigour of Law, to suppress all the Malice and ill Opinions conceiv'd against the Duke and her self. At which Place few of the Nobility would appear; therefore the Parliament was again adjourn'd to *Westminster*, where there was a full Appearance. In this Session the Commons drew up many Articles of Impeachment against the Duke of *Suffolk*, consisting of several Crimes, as well Treason as lesser Misdemeanors;

A. D.
1450.
Reg. 28.

The Misfortunes in *England*.

The Duke of
Suffolk impeach'd.

demeanors; most of which he deny'd. But when he was charg'd with making the unhappy Marriage for the King, and the Loss of *Anjou* and *Main*, he alledg'd that the very next Parliament after the Consummation of the Match had so well approv'd of it, as to vote him Rewards for his Service. But notwithstanding all his Defence, the Queen justly doubting some Commotion if he pass'd with Impunity, caus'd him for a Colour to be committed to the Tower: Where remaining about a Month, he was again deliver'd, and restor'd to the King's Favour; which so displeas'd the People, that if extraordinary Care had not been taken, innumerable Mischiefs might have happen'd. For the common People in several Places of the Kingdom assembled in numerous Bodics, and chose a Captain for themselves, whom they call'd *Blue-beard*; but before they had perform'd any Enterprize, their Leaders were apprehended, and the Matter pacify'd without any further Damage.

After these Outrages were allay'd, the Parliament was adjourn'd to *Leicester* ^{where} where the King and Queen appear'd in great State, and with them the Duke of *Suffolk* as chief Counsellor. The House of Commons not forgetting their old Resentments, petition'd the King that all such Persons as consented to the Delivery of *Main* and *Anjou* might be duly punish'd. And as privy to that Fact they accus'd the Duke of *Suffolk* as Principal, with *John* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and Sir *James Fines*, Lord *Say*, and divers others. The King perceiving that no common Methods would appease the Peoples Fury, to pacifie their inveterate Hatred, he first remov'd the Lord *Say* from being High-Treasurer, and some others of the Duke's Adherents from their Offices and Places; and after that ^{He is banish'd,} banish'd the Duke himself for five Years, as being the present Annoiance of the Nation. But he was now pursu'd by a more inevitable Vengeance from above: For embarking in *Suffolk* to go for *France*, he was set upon by a Man of War belonging to the Earl of *Exeter*, taken by the Captain, and brought into *Dover* ^{and then murder'd.} Road, where his Head was stricken off in a Cock-boat, and his Body ignominiously thrown upon the Shore; from whence it was taken by one of his Chaplains, and bury'd in the College of *Wingfield* in *Suffolk*. This was the remarkable End of *William de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*; a Person of very considerable Abilities, who had warr'd in *France* forty four Years without Intermission, in seventeen of which he never saw his own Country: When he was taken Prisoner his Ransom cost him twenty thousand Pounds, tho' then he was only a Knight; he was of thirty Years standing of the Order of the Garter, his Father was slain at the Siege of *Harfleur*, his eldest Brother at *Agincourt*, and his two younger in the same Wars; so that it cannot be deny'd but that his Prince and Country did owe much to him, since he spent his Life in the Service of the one, and his Reputation in the Service of the other. But after all, suffering himself to be guided by a prodigious Ambition, he fell into two dreadful Errors, his making of a State Marriage, not only pernicious in itself, but contrary to an exprefs Contract before; and his contributing towards the worthy Duke of *Glocester's* Murther: For which he met with such a Punishment, as look'd more like the Hand of Heav'n, than the Hatred of the People.

The Death of this Minister was highly prejudicial to the King, who greatly ^{The Duke of York's further Designs.} stood in need of his Service and Support; and this Chance did much animate those of the Duke of *York's* Faction, who now spar'd no Pains to render the King despicable, and the Queen odious. They also insist'd upon the Duke's brave Management in *Ireland*, where at present he resided as Governor, and where by his Wisdom and Valour he had in a manner tamed a savage People, and reduc'd them to that Discipline and Obedience, that he thereby shew'd how much *England* wanted such a King. These Insinuations were not only privately whisper'd, but publicly dispers'd; and every Man had the Vanity to blaze 'em abroad, to shew their Wisdom, and their Affection to the publick Weal. The Duke of *York* before the Death

Death of *Suffolk* had wrought the End of *Adam Molleins* Bishop of *Chichester*, and Lord Privy-Seal; for fearing that a Man of his Integrity might oppose his Designs, he caus'd him to be assassinated by Fishermen at *Portsmouth*, that he might be thought to be slain by the outrageous Commotion of that baser sort of People. But these Things tending more to the ruining than the raising of his Projects, he design'd to begin his Work with some popular Sedition, which precipitating the Rebels into a Crime unpardonable, and the Fear of Punishment making them obstinate, he might use them either collected or diffus'd as Occasion should serve. For that End the common People of *Kent* were excited to take up Arms, under the Conduct and Command of *Jack Cade*, who had formerly been a Servant to Sir *Thomas Dagre* a *Sussex* Knight, and killing a Woman with Child, abjur'd the Land and turn'd *French*; and returning was an Instrument to hang out *Mortimer's* Name, as a Flag, to draw in a Party, feigning himself of that Family, and to be a Cousin to the Duke of *York*. A pestilent Contrivance to found the Affections of the Multitude, and to proclaim that Title to the Crown, which the Duke as Heir to the Family afterwards challeng'd: For who would not ask what should move him to use the Name of *Mortimer*?

This *Cade*, a Man of no small Courage, having drawn great Numbers together, encamp'd at *Black-Heath* by *Greenwich*, and in his Writings stil'd himself the *Captain of Kent*, and Captain *Mendall*; and his Pretences, like those of all other Rebels, were the publick Good of the Nation. The King and his Council being mov'd at the News of this dangerous Insurrection, this Captain sent a large Roll of Complaints and Demands to his Majesty. One of which was, That *Richard* Duke of *York* should be recall'd out of *Ireland*, and with the Duke of *Buckingham* and certain others be principally us'd in Council. Another was, That as the Duke of *Glocester* had been falsely proclaim'd Traitor, so the Authors of his Death might be punish'd. Besides these and other plausible Demands, great Complaints were made of many Grievances and Extortions, proceeding from the Courts of the Kings-Bench and the Exchequer, with many other Particulars too numerous to recite here. These Matters being insisted upon with extraordinary Insolence and Bravados, the King soon became sensible of the Indignity and Danger; and raising an Army of fifteen thousand Men, march'd in Person against the Rebels. Upon which *Cade* politickly withdrew his Forces into *Sevenoke* Wood; upon Notice of which the King retir'd again to *London*; but the Queen longing for a Dispatch, sent the two *Staffords*, Sir *Humphry* and *William*, with many fiery Youths of the Court, to follow the Rebels. But these were soon cool'd; for they found the *Kentish* Captain in good Order ready to receive them, and in the first Encounter slew Sir *Humphry*, and afterwards his Brother, and put all the rest to Flight. The King's Forces being at *Black-Heath*, could neither by Threats or Intreaties be oblig'd to march to their Rescue; but rather wish'd the Queen and her Favourites to meet with the *Staffords* Fate: Or that the Duke of *York* were in *England*, to assist his Cousin *Mortimer*; and many of them stole away to the Rebels, whose Numbers from *Sussex* and *Surry* daily increas'd. And now the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Buckingham* were sent to expostulate with the Rebels about their Demands; to whom *Cade* gave civil Language, but directly deny'd a Cessation from Arms, unless the King in Person would hear the Grievances of his Subjects, and pass his Royal Word for the Redress of them. This Resolution being made known to the King, who was not sure of his Soldiers Fidelity, he and his Queen retir'd to *Kenelworth* Castle in *Warwickshire*; having first committed the Tower to the Custody of the Lord *Scales* and the renowned *Matthew Gouge*, and the City of *London* to the Fidelity of Sir *Thomas Charlton* Lord Mayor.

Jack Cade's Rebellion in Kent.

The King marches against him.

Cade is successful.

The King retreats to Warwickshire.

The *Kentish* Captain taking Advantage of the King's Absence, march'd into the Borough of *Southwark*, where he quarter'd his Men, strictly charging them

Cade enters
London.

to commit no Outrage, nor do Injury to any; which was duely obser'd. The next Morning, being the second of *July*, he march'd to *London* Bridge, where without Resistance he caus'd his Men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-Bridge; and so in good Order march'd into the City, and coming to *London-Stone*, he struck his Sword upon it, crying, *Now is Mortimer Lord of London!* The Lord Mayor, standing by his Door, bad him *Beware of attempting any thing against the Peace of the City*; to whom he made Answer, *Let the World judge of our honest Intentions by our Actions.* And indeed this orderly Behaviour of himself and his Company gain'd him an extraordinary Opinion among the common sort of People. And now assuming to himself the Place of Chief, he sent out his Letters of safe Conduct to such as he thought fit to employ; among others he wrote to *Thomas Cock*, Woollen-Draper of *London*, commanding him to bring him a certain Number of Arms and Horse, and a thousand Marks of Mony at the Charge of the *Genoese*, *Venetian* and *Florentine* Merchants; and threatening to take the Heads of all that refus'd Payment: All which was perform'd by those Foreign Merchants. At Night he return'd into *Southwark*, where *Robert Poinings*, Esq; was his Sword-Bearer and

His Tyrannical
Behaviour.

Carver. The next Morning he return'd into the City, and immediately sent to the Lord *Scales* to bring his Prisoner the Lord *Say* to *Guild-Hall*, to which Place he summon'd the Lord Mayor and his Brethren. Before these he caus'd the Lord *Say* to be arraign'd, who desiring to be try'd by his Peers, was suddenly taken from his Keeper, hurry'd to the Standard in *Cheap-side*, and had his Head stricken off, which upon the End of a Pike was born before him to *Mile-End*, where he went to confer with the Rebels of *Essex*; and in the Way meeting with Sir *James Cromer*, High-Sheriff of *Kent*, and lately marry'd to the Lord *Say's* Daughter, he also caus'd his Head to be taken off, and carry'd before him in Derision. The next Morning he again enter'd the City; where after publick Execution done upon some of his Associates, who had acted contrary to his Proclamation, upon some Displeasure conceiv'd against Alderman *Malpas*, he sent and seiz'd upon all his Wares and Coods, and fin'd Alderman *Horn* five hundred Marks.

He is invested
at London
Bridge.

The chief Citizens now finding the intolerable Insolence of *Cade*, and that they had born too much before, secretly sent to the Lord *Scales* in the Tower for Assistance; and the brave *Matthew Gouge* with some Forces in the Night came to them. The Rebels in *Southwark* hearing that their Entrance would be disputed, ran furiously to Arms, and *Cade* endeavour'd to open his Passage by Force; but notwithstanding all his Power, the Citizens made good and defended *London* Bridge against him, tho' with the Firing of several Houses, and the Loss of many honest and valiant Men, for the Conflict continu'd all Night, till nine in the Morning. Among such as were slain on the King's Side were *John Sutton* Alderman, *Robert Heyland*, and *Matthew Gouge* himself: Which last, an Esquire of *Wales*, was a Man of admirable Virtue, Manhood and Zeal for his Country, and of great Renown in the Wars of *France*, where he had nobly serv'd for above twenty Years; and his Deserts at this Time merited a Statue in the City, for whose Deliverance he spent his last Blood. To give quick Dispatch to these Troubles, Impunity was proclaim'd for all Offenders, and sent them in the King's Name by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Lord-Chancellor, under the Great-Seal of *England*. The Rebels were soon dispers'd with this Assurance of their Safeties, and every Man retir'd in Peace from following such a pestilent Impostor. *Cade* afterwards attempting new Troubles in *Kent*, a thousand Marks were promis'd to him who kill'd or took this counterfeit *Mortimer*; and *Alexander Eden*, a Gentleman of *Kent*, had the good Fortune to discover and kill him by main Force at *Hothfield* in that County. His Body was brought to *London*, and beheaded and quarter'd; his Head set upon *London* Bridge, and his Quarters dispers'd in divers Places in *Kent*; to which Country the King came shortly after in Person, where tho' five hundred were found

Cade taken and
slain.

found guilty, only eight were executed. Tho' *London* was the chief Stage of this Rebellion, yet other Countries were not free, especially *Wiltshire*; for the Rebels there proceeded so far as to draw *William Askot*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, from the High Altar, when he was saying Mass in *Edington* Church, to the Top of the Hill; and there in his Episcopal Robes most inhumanly murder'd him.

The Rebellion ended.

The *Kentish* Rebellion being thus pacify'd and ended, far greater and more dangerous Troubles succeeded, as it is usual to Human Bodies, which by Reverses are shaken more terribly than ever. All these Troubles had their prime Source from *Richard* Duke of *York*, the true Son of that *Richard* whom *Henry* the Fifth had created Earl of *Cambridge*, and loaden with Wealth and Favours; but as no Bounty nor Benefits can change a treacherous Disposition, so he contriv'd the Death of his Benefactor *Henry* the Fifth, as the Duke of *York* his Son labour'd to depose the present King *Henry* his great Advancer. The Humours of the People were in the last Commotion not obscurely discover'd; and the Commonwealth had really some Enormities, through the Mismanagement of great Officers, but yet such as the Malady was far less pernicious than the Remedy. Upon Intelligence of which the Duke of *York* came suddenly out of *Ireland*, and to begin his usurp'd Authority, he apprehended *John Sutton* Lord *Dudley*, *Reginald* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and another, and imprison'd them in his Castle of *Ludlow*. *Edmond* Duke of *Somerfet* was the Man, who after *Suffolk's* Death, most supported the King's Interest by his Vigilance, Hazards and good Counsels, endeavouring by all Methods to clear the Realm from Factions, and to preserve the Kingdom in Quiet. *York* seeing this, soon found that *Suffolk* perish'd in vain, if the same Favours were conferr'd upon *Somerfet*; against whose Person he had a particular Pretence of Quarrel, because the City of *Caen* in *Normandy*, the Duke of *York's* own Charge, was by him delivered to the *French*, when the *English* Affairs became desperate in those Parts; *Sir David Hall*, then Lieutenant to the Duke of *York*, not allowing it, tho' the renowned *Talbot* was present at the Surrender, and became a Hostage for Performance of Articles. The Duke of *York* hereupon consulted with his chief Friends the Earl of *Salisbury* and his Son, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Cobham* and others, how he might best get into the Throne of *England*, and how to ruin the Duke of *Somerfet*, from whom they were to expect the greatest Opposition. At length they agreed to have recourse to Arms, but to smother the mention of the Duke of *York's* Title, they publish'd to the World, That they design'd all Honour and Obedience to King *Henry*, but only would remove certain ill Men from about his Person, who oppress'd the People, and made a Prey of the Publick. Which to gain the more Credit, and to blind the easie King, the subtle Duke in a Proclamation us'd these Hypocritical Words: *God knows, from whom nothing is hid, I am, have been, and ever will be, his true Liege-man, &c. For Proof of which, I offer my self to be sworn on the blessed Sacrament, and receive it as a Pledge of my Salvation at the Day of Doom.* Because it was the Misfortune of the Duke of *Somerfet*, that *Normandy* was lost during his Regency, his Enemies had the more Opportunity to asperse him with the People, who forbore not at his Return to offer him several Injuries and Indignities, till upon Pain of Death they were restrain'd, for the Breach of which Proclamation one was beheaded in *West-Cheap* in *London*.

A. D.

1451.

Reg. 29.

The Duke of York proceeds in his former Designs.

He takes up Arms.

Notwithstanding all the winding Artifices of the Duke, the King saw so much of his Designs, as not to rely upon his plausible Pretensions; but by the Advice of his Friends, and chiefly of the Duke of *Somerfet*, he soon gather'd a more numerous Force than the Duke, and march'd against him towards *Wales*; in which the King acted wisely, but not so much as the Occasion requir'd: The Duke having Notice of the King's Approach, turn'd aside, and with the utmost Expedition march'd towards *London*; but that City, the vain Hope of all Rebellions,

The King does the same.

bellions, would not harken to them. Upon which he retir'd with his Forces into *Kent*, the Place of his greatest Interest, and incamp'd at *Brent-Heath* near *Dertford*, about twelve Miles from *London*, designing to fight the first Opportunity. The King with no slow Marches return'd back, and pitch'd his Royal Standard upon *Black-Heath*, with a full Purpose to teach his Cousin of *York* more Duty and Loyalty. Here we may see the Fate of *England*; when God had put an excellent Opportunity into the King's Hands of rooting out all Hazards and Dangers that threaten'd his Family, for the Duke was far inferior in Numbers. Such therefore as secretly favour'd him, fearing his Overthrow, were ready to advise the King to an Accommodation; and Messengers were daily sent between the two Armies. The Duke in a Letter to the King, after his usual Manner, pretended Loyalty and particular Injuries, *as that the King's Servants, Sir John Talbot at Holt Castle, Sir Thomas Stanley in Cheshire, and others in other Places, were sent to be Spies upon him. That by two of the Norris's, Bulkley, Gurst, Bould and other Gentlemen, he was forbidden to land at Bewmaris, or to have any Refreshment, affirming to him that he was against the King's Intentions, and as a Traitor.* The King condescended to answer this Letter, letting him understand, *That the Suspicion universally conceiv'd of his Behaviour produc'd those Effects: Nevertheless, in regard of the humble Obedience he had lately protested, he, for the easing the Duke's Heart, does declare, repute and admit him as a true and faithful Subject, and as his well-beloved Cousin.* The Duke upon this advanc'd one Step further, and wrote to the King, *That Justice might be done upon all Persons of what Degree soever, which were guilty, or reported to be guilty of Treason;* aiming at the Duke of *Somerset* in particular, whom he doubted not to overwhelm with Sights and Calumnies, as he and his Adherents had done to the Duke of *Suffolk*.

*The Duke par-
lies with the
King.*

*The King an-
swers him.*

A. D. 1452.
Reg. 31. The poor King, relying upon weak and treacherous Counsels, was contented that *Somerset* should be commanded Prisoner to his own House, and that the Duke of *York*, having first disbanded his Forces, should come in Person, and put himself into the King's Hands. All this being done, in the King's Presence he exhibited a grievous Complaint against the Pride and Avarice of the Duke of *Somerset*, and very artfully accusing none but him, he sought the Favour and good Opinion of all others: A most subtle Project, by which he threw upon his Enemy all the Envy of the People, and left him singly to stand against the Effects. *Somerset*, a Prince of great Wit and Spirit, resolving as well for his own Honour as the Interest of the Publick, not to endure such an Indignity, bravely presented himself before the King, Face to Face answer'd the Duke of *York*, and in express Terms accus'd him of the highest Treason, *as having conspir'd to depose the King, and usurp the Sovereignty himself:* Vehemently urging, *That the Duke might be committed and arraign'd, that by his deserved Death, and the Incapacity of his Posterity, all civil War might be extinguish'd; finally praying, That Heaven would not suffer the Enemy of the Kingdom to escape the Hand of Justice.* This in probability had been effected, but the publick Faith seem'd engag'd for the Duke's Indemnity, as having come upon the King's Word, and also that the Hearts of the People were not well assur'd to the King, which by executing the Duke might have been more unsettled, because they would have been ready to believe, that he was sacrific'd to *Somerset's* Repentments, and not for the Safety of the Nation. Upon these Considerations, and the Reports of the Duke's Son being ready with an Army to rescue his Father, the Duke was no longer kept under Restraint, as he had been by *Somerset's* weighty Accusations; but to assure the gentle and indulgent King of his Allegiance, he made a formal Submission, and solemnly took his Oath to be a true, faithful and obedient Subject. This was first done in *St. Paul's Church* in the Presence of the King and most of the chief Nobility, as the Dukes of *Buckingham, Norfolk* and *Somerset*, nine Bishops, two Bishops,

*The Duke of
Somerſet accus-
es him of Treason.*

*The Duke of
York submits
and swears Al-
legiance to the
King.*

many Barons, both the Arch-Bishops of the Realm, and three Bishops. The Form of Words to which he swore and subscrib'd, were long, express and most solemn, and may be seen both in *Hollingshed* and *Speed*; which being afterwards reiterated by him at *Westminster*, and then at *Coventry*, the Breach of them do manifestly display the highest Degree of Perjury, Treachery and Treason.

As it were to divert these domestick Rancors and Disturbances, two French Noblemen came secretly over from *Gascony* into *England*, petitioning for an Army into their Country, declaring that *Bordeaux* and the *Gascoigns* would readily return to the *English* Subjection, if they were duely supported against the *French* King. Upon which an Army was soon decreed for their Reduction; and the renowned *Talbot*, first Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was made General in that Enterprize; who landing in *Gascony*, the Fame of such a Soldier caus'd several Places to yield. The City of *Bordeaux* it self secretly open'd a Gate to him, which the *French* Garrison perceiving, fled out at a Postern; but many being overtaken, were cut in pieces by the Lord *L'Esparre* and the *English*. After which new Supplies and Provisions arriv'd, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s younger Son; and *Bordeaux* being well mann'd and fortify'd, the Earl receiv'd Advice that the *French* had laid Siege to *Castillon*, a Place of Importance upon the River *Dardonne*. To that Place the Earl directed his March; but too adventrously charging the Enemy upon unequal Terms, he was there, together with his Son, unfortunately slain. The *English* Fortunes and Hopes which began to revive, with this Commander made an unhappy Conclusion, to the infinite Loss of the *English*, and the great Affliction of the *Gascoigns*, who generally mislik'd the *French*, and approv'd of the *English*, as having so long and honourably govern'd those Dominions. This was the End of that mighty Earl, in the eightieth Year of his Age, after he had serv'd his King and Country in the *French* Wars for twenty four Years with the highest Commendations; a most noble and valiant Man, by whose Virtue the *English* Name did principally become formidable to *France*. *Bordeaux* it self, and all other Places after this, were by Siege reduc'd again to the *French* King, who prosecuted those Affairs in his own Person. From that Time forwards the *English* never obtain'd any further Hold or Footing in those Parts, the Fortune of this Attempt breaking all further Combinations of the *Gascoigns*. This Dukedom of *Gascony* or *Aquitain* was a large Province, containing four Arch-bishopricks, twenty four Bishopricks, fifteen Earldoms, two hundred and two Baronies, and above a thousand Captainships and Bailiwicks; so that the World may easily conjecture how great the Loss was of such a noble Inheritance, which had continu'd *English* for about three hundred Years. Here in a great Measure ended all the *English* Sovereignty in *France*, when all the martial Men were recall'd from that Country, to carry on more unfortunate and calamitous Designs in their own. At this Time a *French* Captain scoffingly ask'd an *English* Man *When they would return again into France?* to whom the latter made this memorable Answer, *When your Sins are greater and more crying than ours:* A Sentence worthy the Notice of all *English* Men to this Day.

A. D.

1453.

Reg. 31.

Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury sent into Gascony.

He is slain there.

His Character.

Gascony and France quite lost to the English.

A memorable saying.

In this fallen Estate of the *English*, the Queen, upon the thirteenth Day of *October*, was deliver'd of a first Son, whose Name was *Edward*; proving the Child of Sorrow and Infelicity. And as this was an unfortunate Year to *England*, so it was no less to all *Europe* by the great Progress of the *Turks*, who in the same Year became Masters of the famous City of *Constantinople*, and finally dissolv'd the *Grecian* Empire, after it had lasted from *Constantine* the Great eleven hundred and twenty three Years.

Constantinople taken by the Turks.

VII. After all the Losses and Misfortunes of the *English* abroad, they soon felt greater at home, and the long Miseries and Calamities of *France* seem'd to be all transferr'd to the Kingdom of *England*. The grand Occasion and Founda-

A. D.

1454.

Reg. 32.

The Duke of York still pursues his old Design.

Foundation of them was the subtle and ambitious Duke of *York*, who ever restless in his Designs, now contrary to the most religious and solemn Oaths, resolv'd to mount the Throne of *England*. He doubted that King *Henry's* known Goodness and Piety would render the Business extreamly difficult; especially since he held the Crown not by any Usurpation of his own, but by two successive Descents from Father and Grandfather, and both worthy Princes. This Consideration so far prevail'd as long to keep him within the Bounds of Dissimulation; for knowing how dangerous it might prove if he made known his Designs, he thought it best to make the World believe that he acted for the publick Good, when he only fought his own Ends. He knew also that by reviving his Pretensions against the Duke of *Somerset*, he might revenge himself of a mortal Enemy, free himself from his greatest Obstacle, deprive the King of his greatest Supporter, and at the same time purchase the Love of all Men; the Love of the People, by ruining a Man detested for the Loss of *Normandy*, and the Love of the Nobility, by reducing him who for his exorbitant Authority was highly envy'd by most of them. But not contented with this, he forbore not to vilify King *Henry's* Reputation, representing him to be poorly spirited, and affirming the Condition of the present Times requir'd a King that would not be govern'd by his Wife, or any Third Person, but by his own Judgment, a wise Man and vigorous, and Master of such Virtues as were not to be found in him. Having by these Means prepar'd the Peoples Inclinations, he firmly secur'd to himself two extraordinary Men, the Father and Son, the one the Earl of *Salisbury* whose Daughter he had marry'd, and the other the Earl of *Warwick*; the first celebrated for his wise Counsel, and the latter for his invincible Resolution. By the Assistance of these two, he caus'd the Duke of *Somerset* to be arrested in the Queen's own Lodgings, and sent to the Tower; to which he was more embolden'd by reason of the King's being at that Time sick; whose double Weakness both of Body and Mind encourag'd him, and assisted his working himself into the Government.

He arrests the Duke of Somerset.

A. D.

1455.

Reg. 33.

The Duke of York raises an Army.

But as soon as King *Henry* recover'd his Health, understanding that Malice and Design were the chief Causes of *York's* Accusations, he not only set the Duke of *Somerset* at Liberty, but also made him Governor of *Calais* with the County of *Guines*, the only Remainder the *English* had in *France*. This gave new Occasions of Disgust, and *York* finding that he had twice fail'd in his Endeavours to ruin him, retir'd into *Wales*, where having gather'd a considerable Army, he march'd towards *London*, accompany'd with the fore-mentioned Lords, and many others. The King so much distrust'd the Fidelity of that City, that he would not stay for the Duke's coming there, but went and encamp'd with his Forces at *St. Albans*, where the Adversary presented himself to give him Battel. The King had in his Camp the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Ormond*, *Pembroke*, *Stafford*, *Northumberland*, *Devonshire* and *Dorset*, with the Lords *Clifford*, *Ludley*, *Berners*, *Ross*, and others; and proceeding according to his pacifick Disposition, he sent some to the Duke to know why he came in that hostile Manner. The Duke in a Letter to the King requested *That he would deliver up such Persons as he should name to deserv'd Punishment*. The King, to let him know his Authority, return'd this Answer, *That he and the rest of his Adherents were Traitors; and rather than they should have any Lord from him at that Time, he himself would live and die in the Quarrel*. Upon this the bold Earl of *Warwick* unawares attack'd the Vantguard Royal, and disorder'd it before the Duke of *Somerset* could remedy the same; so that the Forces on both Sides falling in, a bloody Battel ensu'd; in which, on the King's Party were slain the Duke of *Somerset* himself, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Stafford*, and the Lord *Clifford*, with about five thousand of the inferior sort, and about six hundred on the other Side. The King himself was shot in the Neck with an Arrow, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Scales* in the Faces, and the Lord *Dorset*

The first Battel at St. Albans.

was so wounded, that he was forc'd to be carry'd away in a Cart. The King's Army being at length all dispers'd or slain, the King himself, unguarded, fled to a poor thatcht House not far off; of which the Duke of *York* having Notice, he with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, the Father and Son, approach'd him on their Knees, humbly craving his Royal Pardon; declaring, *That since the common Enemy was dead, they had no more to require.* Upon which the poor King with Trembling answer'd, *Let there be no more Bloodshed, and I will do what you'll have me.* This first Battel of *St. Albans* was fought upon the twenty third Day of *May*, and thirty third Year of this Reign; and the Bodies of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Clifford* were bury'd in the Chappel of that Town. And now the Duke of *York* in the King's Name commanded a Cessation from further Hostilities, and with a great Appearance of Reverence convey'd the King to *London*, where they kept the Feast of *Pentecost* together.

*The King was-
sted.*

A Parliament was immediately call'd, in which all Things were decreed directly opposite to what had been enacted in former Parliaments, to testifie that the late Government had been unjust, and the King abus'd by the Malice of those who counsell'd him; *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester* was declar'd to have been Loyal to the King, and Faithful to his Country; all Grants whatsoever, whether by Patent from the King or by Parliament, beginning from the first Day of the present Reign, were revok'd as Things that impoverish'd the Crown and diminish'd its true Lustre. And that the late Insurrection, tho' condemn'd by all Laws, might be thought meritorious, Declaration was made, That the Duke of *Somerset*, the Lord chief Justice *Thorp*, and *William Joseph*, were the grand Occasions of it, by detaining a pacificatory Letter, which if it had been deliver'd to the King, it would have remov'd the Foundation of the fore-said Disorders; wherefore the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* and their Adherents ought not to be blam'd for the future. These Pre-tences thus pass'd over, they proceeded more directly to their Business by framing a Triumvirate for the Groundwork of their design'd Monarchy; *York* caus'd himself to be created Protector of the Kingdom, *Salisbury* Lord Chancellor, and *Warwick* Governor of *Calais*; so that the Political Authority remain'd in the First, the Civil in the Second, and the Military in the Third: Whilst *Henry*, King only in Name, was depriv'd of all Authority and Safety; all that had a Dependance upon the King were gradually remov'd from his Council, and from all Places of Trust and Honour; and *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter* was by Force taken from *Westminster*, whither he was fled for Sanctuary, and sent Prisoner to *Pomfret* Castle; a Sacrilege not formerly ventur'd on by any King.

*A Parliament
call'd.*

*The Duke of
York increases
in Power.*

The King was now in a very declining Condition, and the Queen so suspicious, that she durst only trust those, who being injur'd, were to run the like Fortune with her Husband. Yet the Respect due to the King was not so much diminish'd, nor his Majesty so much darken'd, but that the young Duke of *Somerset*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and other Lords, resolv'd no longer to endure the Injury done to him, and to quit themselves of the imminent Danger that threaten'd them: For every Man now saw *York's* Designs to be the Usurpation of the Crown, and that his Delays proceeded from the Apprehensions of Danger; for the King by Reason of his Piety being reverenc'd by the Best, he thought he could not suddenly compass his Designs without direct Scandal; and being oppos'd by the greatest Part of the Kingdom, if that happen'd, it might for the present ruin, and for the future totally lose all his Hopes. After a Consultation had with the Queen, who was of a high Spirit and impatient under Subjection, a great Council was call'd at *Greenwich*, wherein it was resolv'd, that since the King was no Child, and consequently needed no Protector, nor was so void of Understanding as to be govern'd by other Mens Discretions, therefore the Duke of *York* should be freed from his Protectorship, and the Earl of *Salisbury* from being Lord Chancellor, and that he should surrender the Great Seal

A. D.

1456.

Reg. 35.

*The King reas-
umes his Power*

to whom the King should think fit. The Duke of *York* could not fence himself from this sudden Blow, being taken unprovided; and it was strengthen'd with Reasons not to be gainsaid without a direct Rebellion; so that he was now forc'd to endure it, but not without the great Dislike of his Adherents, who were not wanting to add new Fuel to the Fury of the People. This they did by causing them to rise in a Tumult in the City of *London*, occasion'd by a Dissention between a Merchant and an *Italian*; but tho' an Insurrection was made, yet Matters did not succeed as they expected; for after having pillag'd many Houses of the *Venetians*, *Florentines* and other Foreigners, the Tumult was appeas'd, and the Authors of it punish'd.

A. D.

1457.

Reg. 35.

The Scots and
French insult
the English.

The Duk of *York* left the Court confirm'd in his former Designs by this new Affront, while the *Scots* took the Opportunity to enter *England* in one Part, and the *French* in two other. The *Scots* having endamag'd the Borders, retir'd with their Booty into their own Country; the *French* pillag'd some Houses, surpriz'd *Sandwich*, took some Ships and return'd to *Normandy*; but the Surprize of *Sandwich* did them no great Service, they finding it not tenable against so many Enemies. *England* was now like a Body oppress'd by a general Distillation, malignant Humours dispers'd themselves in every Part, and the vital Faculties the Laws had not Force enough to repel them; for while one Party endeavour'd to destroy the other, all Care of the Common-wealth was laid aside, and Justice and Equity clearly banish'd the Realm. Many Quarrels happen'd between the Nobility; particularly between the Baron of *Egremont* and the Earl of *Salisbury's* Sons, in which a considerable Number of People were slain and hurt. In the mean time the Queen, not being able to secure her self, the King and Kingdom, but by the Ruin of the Duke of *York* and the two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, nor yet able to work their Ruin but by Fraud and Stratagem, caus'd the King to go to *Coventry*, under Pretence of passing away his Time in Hunting and Hawking, and of changing the Air. She found that *London* was too much inclin'd to support their Interests, therefore feigning some grand Affair, she sent for these three Persons by express Letters from the King, requiring their immediate Presence at *Coventry*, to which Place without Suspicion of Danger they obediently resorted. But being admonish'd by private Friends of what was design'd against them, they by Flight avoided that Danger, which otherwise might have been fatal to them. So without taking Leave they departed from Court; the Duke to *Wigmore* in the Marches of *Wales*, the Earl of *Salisbury* to his Castle of *Midleham* in the North, and the Earl of *Warwick* to *Calais*. And tho' these Three were separated in their Persons, yet they continu'd firmly united in Hearts and Interests, and kept an uninterrupted and faithful Correspondence with each other.

A. D.

1458.

Reg. 36.

The King proposes
an Accommodation.

The good King was much displeas'd at these Proceedings of the Queen, being contrary to his pious Inclinations; wherefore returning to *London* he call'd a grand Council, where having stated the Condition of the Kingdom, he shew'd *That the late Divisions had encourag'd both the Scots and the French to assault him at home, and therefore a Reconciliation was necessary, which if the Failings of particular Men, and those of his own Family were likely to obstruct, he for his Part would forget the Injuries done to himself, and would endeavour for his Relations Agreement with them, who in the late Contests had shed their Blood; promising That the Duke of York and his Friends should in this Affair have nothing to do, but barely to ask and desire.* Upon this obliging Declaration, choice was made of proper Persons to be sent to the chief Men of both Parties, many of whom had forborn coming to Court since the Battel of *St. Albans*; and these were desir'd to come and treat of Things necessary and expedient for the publick and private Peace. The Duke of *York* accordingly came to *London*, and with four hundred well appointed Men lodg'd at his House call'd *Baynard's Castle*; the Earl of *Salisbury* with five hundred lodg'd at his House call'd the *Herbour*; the Duke of *Exeter*, lately releas'd,

All Parties
meet at London.

and the Duke of *Somerset* with eight hundred more were lodg'd within *Temple-Bar*; the Earl of *Warwick* with six hundred, all in one sort of remarkable Habit, were lodg'd at the *Gray-Friars*; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the Lords *Egremont* and *Clifford*, with fifteen hundred Men were lodg'd in *Holborn*: Such was the Custom of that military Age. Upon the seventeenth of *March* the King and Queen came to *London*, and were lodg'd at the Bishop's Palace; and *Godfrey Bolein*, the Mayor and Ancestor to the famous *Anne* Queen to *Henry* the Eighth, having five thousand Men in Readiness, with a competent Number rod daily round the City, for the Preservation of the King's Peace. The Lords lodging within the City, held their Council at *Black-Friars*; the other at the Chapter-House in *Westminster*.

After a few Meetings, by the prudent and pious Exhortations of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other worthy Prelates, the Parties offended were induc'd to a Communication, and afterwards to a final Agreement, upon several Articles in Writing, of which the King himself, as a Person of Impartiality and Integrity, was made the sole Arbitrator of their Differences. Certain particular Satisfactions were awarded to be made by the Duke of *York*, and his two Friends the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, upon the Account of the Death of the Duke of *Somerset*, and others slain in the Battel of *St. Albans*. And the said Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Clifford*, slain at *St. Albans*, were declar'd true Liege-men to the King at the Day of their Deaths, as well as the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*. Many other healing Articles and Awards were made in order to reconcile and unite the alienated Hearts and Affections. The Rejoycings for this hopeful Accommodation were extraordinary among all good *Englishmen*, who in great Multitudes throng'd to the publick Celebration of it. For upon the twenty fifth of *March*, a most solemn Procession was made into *St. Paul's Cathedral*, where the King, adorn'd with his Crown and Royal Robes, went in Person, before whom walk'd the Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Salisbury* in one Rank, the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Warwick* in another, and so one and one of each Party, 'till they were all marshall'd: And behind the King himself, came the Queen led by the Duke of *York*, with the most obliging Marks of Satisfaction on both Sides.

*They come to a
hopeful Agree-
ment.*

*The Solemnity
of it.*

VIII. The Affairs of the Publick for a short Time seem'd to have been in a peaceable and happy Condition; but Providence had still reserv'd far greater Punishments for the *English* Nation, which were to be brought about by the Head and Hands of *Richard* Duke of *York*. It is not to be doubted, but a Man of his profound Thought and restless Ambition, still continu'd his Designs for the Crown, notwithstanding all his varnish'd Pretences, and did only seem to lay it aside, because he presum'd the Time incommodious. On the other side the Queen, who was the Head and Life of the contrary Party, in regard of herself, her Husband and Son, may probably be thought to have omitted any Thing rather than that Vigilance and Jealousie which former Perils, and the Enemy's present Power might justly keep alive in her. The thin Athes therefore which cover'd these glowing Coals were easily unrak'd and blown away, and particularly by means of this Accident. While the King and many of the Lords continu'd at *Westminster*, there happen'd, or perhaps was design'd a Quarrel between one of the King's Servants and an Attendant of the Earl of *Warwick*, who hurt the King's Servant. Upon which his Fellow Servants of all sorts, and with all Kinds of Weapons, in a great Disorder assaulted the Earl himself, as he was coming from the Council; in which Contest many were hurt, and the Earl with great Difficulty escap'd into a Barge, and gain'd the City. The Queen immediately commanded the Earl to be committed to the Tower, but he foreseeing the Danger, posted into *Yorkshire*, where he acquainted the Duke of *York* and his Father the Earl of *Salisbury* of all the Occurrences, with the Queen's inve-

A. D.

1459.

Reg. 37.

*The Earl of
Warwick in
Danger.*

terrate Disposition, advising them to stand upon their Guard, and provide against the approaching Storm. The *Yorkists* directly charged the Queen with all this as a Plot laid for the Earl's Destruction; and *Warwick* hasten'd to *Calais*, and being then Lord Admiral, he took with him all the King's Ships that were in Readiness; and scouring the Seas, met with five great Carricks, three of *Genoa* and two of *Spain*, and after two Days Fight took three of them, which he carry'd into *Calais*. There unloading their Freight he found it worth ten thousand Pounds in staple Commodities, besides the Ships and Prisoners. Shortly after the young Duke of *Somerset* was sent to be Governor of *Calais*; but *Warwick* refus'd to resign, notwithstanding the King's Commands, alledging he was constituted by the Parliament. So that *Somerset* was rejected not only with Danger to his Person, but with the Loss of several of his Mens Heads, which *Warwick* commanded to be cut off. These were bold Proceedings in this Earl; whom yet the unskilful and impetuous Multitude highly extoll'd and applauded.

The Civil War
begins.

The Duke of *York* in the mean Time, and *Warwick* with his Father the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Triumvirate of *England*, carefully consulted of their Affairs: *Salisbury* resolv'd with Sword in Hand to expostulate the Danger and Injury offer'd to his Son at *Westminster*. The Queen, a Lady of great Magnanimity and Penetration, being justly sensible, that now King *Henry* or the Duke of *York* must perish, and that one Kingdom was not capacious enough for both their Families, actively stirr'd her self to maintain the Possession of the Crown, and advance her own Son Prince *Edward*, by ruining the other's House, whose whole Building consisted of *Lancastrian* Beneficence. Therefore she daily consulted, sent, spoke, gave, and strengthen'd her self with Friends on all Sides, especially in *Cheshire*; causing her Son to distribute Silver Swans, as his Badge and Device, to all the Gentlemen of that County, and to many others throughout *England*. In a short Time *Salisbury* set forwards from his Castle at *Mid-dleham* with four or five thousand Men; but *James Touchet* Lord *Audeley*, by the Queen's Orders unadvisedly encounter'd him upon *Blore-Heath* near *Muckel-jonk*. The Fight was long and bloody, but at length King *Henry's* evil Fortune gave the Advantage to the Earl of *Salisbury*; where, besides the valiant Lord *Audeley* himself, were slain no fewer than two thousand four hundred Men; but the chief Loss fell upon the *Cheshire* Men, who wore the Princes Livery. This was the second Battel fought between the Families of *York* and *Lancaster*, which was the Chance that ruin'd both Parties, tho' for a while it was fortunate to *York's* Successor; for God, after having chastis'd one Side and the other, was pleas'd at length to appease his Anger, by uniting both the Houses, and putting a Period to the Civil Wars.

The Second
Battel at
Blore-Heath.

By this last Action the Earl of *Salisbury* open'd himself a Passage to *Ludlow*, where the Head of their Combination the Duke of *York* employ'd himself in gathering of Forces; and being met, they concluded, that since the Contest was become Mortal, they would act no longer in Clouds, but fight it out to the last Extremity. Men were drawn out of all Parts with large Hopes and Promises of sharing in their Fortunes; and the Earl of *Warwick*, leaving his Charge at *Calais*, with the valiant Captain *Andrew Trollop*, and a Troop of select Men, came to the general Rendezvous of the *Yorkists*, at the Castle of *Ludlow*. The King in the mean Time, according to the Exigency of his Affairs, assembled a great Number of faithful Subjects; and being attended by the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, and others of his choice Friends, march'd against his Enemies. He began first with offering them a general Pardon; which they utterly refus'd, calling it a *Staff of Reed*, or a *Glass-Buckler*. Upon which the King commanded his Standards to advance towards the Enemy; but during this March a Letter fill'd with the usual hypocritical Pretences was deliver'd to the King, in which, among many other Insinuations, were these also: *Most Chryslom King, right, high and mighty Prince, and our most dread Sovereign Lord,*

The Duke of
York's Letter
to the King.

we sent unto your good Grace by the Prior of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, and divers other Doctors, and among others by M. William Linwood Doctor of Divinity, who severally minister'd to us the Blessed Sacrament of the Body of Jesus, upon which we all of us depos'd of our said Truth and Duty. But the Letter made no Overture of any Conditions upon which they would yield to lay down their Arms, alledging, *They would but make their Way to the King for Redress of Abuses; and that they were constrain'd to stand together for their own Defence, against such great Courtiers and Favourites as design'd their Destruction;* meaning in Reality such Persons whose Vigilance and Valour might protect and guard him from their violent Practices.

The King now came in sight of his Foes, when the Triumviri, *York, Warwick and Salisbury*, being strongly intrench'd before *Ludlow*, design'd to attack him. Upon the Approach of the Armies, the King generously caus'd Proclamation to be made, *That whoever would abandon the Duke of York, should be receiv'd into Mercy, and have Pardon.* Upon this the brave *Andrew Trollop*, finding himself deceiv'd by the Duke and his Party, who pretended nothing but the King's Preservation, abandon'd the Duke's Camp at Midnight, and with all his select Men, not only presented his Service to the King, but also discover'd all the Duke's Counsels. This extreamly discourag'd the Duke, who resolv'd to betake himself to flight; but whether it proceeded from his Fear of *Trollop's* Valour and Wisdom upon whom he had much rely'd, or from the Fear that his Example should induce others to follow his Steps, is uncertain. However, taking his younger Son the Earl of *Rutland* with him, he fled into *Ireland*: The Earl of *Marche*, his eldest Son and Heir, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, with much Difficulty escap'd to *Calais*; which Place, as *Polydore* observes, if *Henry* had in Time taken from his Enemies, they had without Question been irrecoverably ruin'd. The Multitude that serv'd under the Triumvirate found Mercy; but their Tenants were many of them executed, maimed, or for the most part pillag'd. The Town of *Ludlow* itself was plunder'd to the bare Walls, and the Dutcheffs of *York* depriv'd of all her Goods; and nothing less could be the Effects against the Friends of such Adversaries, upon so publick an Act and Advantage. The Cause was pursu'd more severely against the great Offenders in the next Parliament, which was held at *Coventry*: Where *Richard* Duke of *York*, *Edward* Earl of *Marche* his eldest Son, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland*, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Alice* his Wife, by whose Right he was Earl, two or three Lords, nine Knights, and certain others, were publickly and solemnly attainted of High-Treason, and their whole Estates confiscated.

The Duke and his Adherents disperse and fly.

They are declared Traitors in Parliament.

The Earl of Warwick keeps Calais.

Thus was *Henry* once more absolutely King, and *Somerſet* was made Governor of *Calais*, who with the Lords *Ross* and *Audley* were sent over with Forces to take it from *Warwick* and his Adherents. Their Success was unfortunate, for *Somerſet* was forc'd to fly, his Soldiers were pillag'd by *Warwick's* Men, the Lord *Audley* was taken into the Town, and the Lord *Ross* could hardly escape. Letters were hereupon written from the Court into Foreign Parts, desiring, *That no Relief might be given to the Traitors that kept Calais against the King;* and all Men at home were forbidden *to transport any Victuals or Refreshment to that Place.* The Duke of *Somerſet* being at *Guisnes*, a neighbouring Castle, daily disturb'd the *Calistans*; but *Warwick's* main Business was to contain the Duke of *York* in *Ireland*, who now had that Kingdom at his Command. But hearing that the King had certain Ships lying at *Sandwich* to transport Supplies and Succours to *Somerſet*, that he might not leave such Danger behind him, he sent away Sir *John Denham* with a Company of Soldiers more valiant than numerous, who with a Wind as favourable to them as contrary to their Enemies, enter'd the Haven and Town of *Sandwich*, which being unguarded and her Inhabitants asleep, he took the Lord *Rivers* and his son in their Beds, and tho' the Soldiers awakened, made head and wounded

Den-

His Success. *Denham* so as to lame him, he notwithstanding worsted them, and plunder'd many Houses; and being favour'd by the Mariners, he made himself Master of the King's Ships, furnish'd with all warlike Provisions, and brought them with several Prisoners into *Calais*. With these Ships *Warwick* convey'd himself into *Ireland* to the Duke of *York*; and in his going and coming, he was so favour'd by the Winds that he spent not above thirty Days in his whole Voyage. The Duke of *Exeter* was made Admiral, with Orders to intercept his Passage; but he fail'd in the Attempt, and many of his Men deserting him, he durst not attack the Earl, nor was he willing to attack the Duke, upon Pretence that he was of the King's Blood: Such was the Artifice and Subtlety of the *Yorkists*, to pretend Reverence to that Blood they most desir'd to shed. Five hundred fresh Soldiers waited at *Sandwich*, to be shipp'd over to the Duke of *Somerset* for his safe Conduct into *England*; but *Warwick's* Men came suddenly upon them, slew *Montfort* their Commander, with many others, and disarm'd the rest. Such was the distracted State of miserable *England*, through the Pride and restless Ambition of one or two presumptuous Men. And tho' nothing was more true, than that the Duke of *York* sought the Crown of *England*; yet nothing was more plain than that his Friends pretended the contrary: For the Veneration of King *Henry's* Piety and Purity was likely to turn greatly to their Prejudice and Disadvantage.

The Yorkists Remonstrance.

The King failing thus to gain the Person of the Earl of *Warwick*, or his Town of *Calais*, the *Yorkists* sent over certain Articles into *Kent*, in which they subtly complain'd of certain general Enormities concerning Injuries done to the Church, and the ill Administration of Justice, Abuse of Purveyors, the King's Poverty by the Corruption of his Officers, and other Things of the like plausible Nature. Where they mention'd the Person of the King, they freed him from all Exceptions, as being of *as noble, virtuous, righteous, and blessed a Disposition as any Earthly Prince whatever*. When they mention'd their Enemies, who were the King's faithful Friends and Subjects, they nam'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Wiltshire*, and the Lord *Beaumont*, as principal Persons concern'd in the Attainders of the *Yorkists* at *Coventry*. Where they spoke of themselves and their Intentions, *they profess'd all Sincerity and Loyalty to King Henry*, and that they only meant to come upon their Guard to speak with him concerning the Common Good, and their own Satisfaction; and that now they would attempt the same again in the Name of the Land, and not suffer such Mischiefs to gain upon them. In the Conclusion of their specious Pretences they had these Words; *Requiring you, on God's Behalf, therein to assist us, doing always the Duty of Liege-men in our Persons to our said Sovereign Lord, to his Estate, Prerogative and Preeminence, and to the Security of his most noble Person, to which we have ever been, and will be as true as any of his Subjects alive; whereof we call God, our Lady St. Mary, and all the Saints in Heav'n to Witness*. With these treacherous and impious Proceedings they prevail'd upon the unthinking Multitude; and the Lord *Fauconbridge* was sent over to sound their Affections, and draw the purulent Matter to a Head; and shortly after, the Earls of *Marche*, *Warwick* and *Salisbury* landed in *Kent*. But the People were not the only deluded Persons; for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and other venerable Men, believ'd they spoke Truth; which that they might do effectually, the Earl of *Warwick* publicly took an Oath upon the Cross of *Canterbury*, *That they had ever born true Faith and Allegiance to King Henry*. The King before their Arrival had quitted the City of *London*, as not greatly trusting the Affections of the Citizens, who hated several of his Ministers, and appointed the Rendezvous of his Forces at *Northampton*, where he resided. The Enemy advanced that way; and in the mean Time their Accomplices endeavour'd to take the Tower of *London*, in which were several Loyal Noblemen, as the Lord *Scales*, *Hungerford*, *Vescie*, *Lovel*, *De la Ware*, and others.

The King quits London.

In the mean Time the Queen, with the King in her Company, had gather'd a considerable Army at *Northampton*; and among other Lords in the Army were the Duke of *Somerset* lately return'd from *Guisnes*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, who were no sooner arriv'd but they heard of the Enemy's Approach, therefore passing the River, they went and encamp'd in the neighbouring Fields. The Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick*, being deny'd Admittance to the King's Presence, proceeded to a new Piece of Subtlety, and order'd a Cry to go through the Field, That no Man should lay Hands upon the King, nor the common People, but upon the Lords, Knights and Esquires. Early in the Morning the Earl of *Marche*, urg'd on by his Youth and Valour, began the Battel, which was very bloody and obstinate for five Hours together, without any great Inequality. At length, the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen* running over to the Earl's Side, the King was defeated with the Death of ten thousand Men; a great Loss, but not of such Consequence had he not lost himself; for being depriv'd of his Defenders who were slain round his Person, he fell into the Power of his Enemies. This dreadful Battel was fought upon the ninth Day of *July*, in which the King's Ordnance could not play by reason of the Rains, wherein were slain the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who fighting valiantly did not degenerate from his Father, the Lord *Egremont*, the Vicount *Beaumont*, besides many other Knights and Gentlemen: And the Prisoners were very numerous, especially among the Knights and Gentlemen; for being alighted from their Horses to fight on Foot, they had no means to escape. The Queen, with Prince *Edward* her Son and the Duke of *Somerset*, fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham*. The Victors being return'd to *London*, inflicted such Punishments as usually attend the Injustice of Civil Wars; among such of their Adversaries as were found in the City, those who could escape had the best Fortune. *Thomas Thorp*, second Baron of the Exchequer, endeavouring to escape in the Habit of a Monk, was taken and committed Prisoner to the Tower, and after that by the Commons beheaded at *High-Gate*. Those in the Tower had yielded upon certain Conditions, which forc'd the Lord *Scales* to endeavour to take Sanctuary at *Westminster*; but being upon the *Thames* he was murder'd by certain Watermen belonging to the Earl of *Warwick*, and his Body wallowing in Blood was stript of all its Apparel, and left to the publick View of all Men. Yet still the two Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* continu'd their usual Hypocrisy to the King, now in their Possession, and thus address'd themselves to him, *Most noble Prince, be not displeas'd that God has granted us the Victory over our mortal Enemies, who by their inveterate Malice have unjustly excited your Highness to banish us from the Land, and would have put us to final Shame and Confusion. We come not to disquiet or afflict your Highness, but to please your noble Person, tenderly desiring the Prosperity of that and all your Realm, and to be your true Liege Subjects as long as our Lives shall endure.*

A. D.

1460.

Reg. 38.

The third Battel at Northampton.

The King defeated and taken Prisoner.

The Hypocrisy of the Victors.

In the mean Time *Scotland*, by reason of the late Affinity with the House of *Beaufort*, whose Head was the Duke of *Somerset*, descended from *John* of *Gaunt*, was a special Support to King *Henry* in all his tempestuous Adversities; but now that Refuge was much hazarded. For King *James* the Second, partly in Favour of King *Henry*, laid Siege to *Roxborough* Castle, then in Custody of King *Henry*'s Enemies; where going into the Trenches to see the *Lion*, a famous Piece of Ordnance, and the other Artillery discharg'd, one of them broke, and with a Shiver of it slew the King, and dangerously wounded the Earl of *Angus*. This unfortunate Accident happen'd upon *Sunday* the third of *August*. The Queen of *Scotland* nevertheless maintain'd the Siege, and gain'd that Place as well as the Castle of *Warke*, both which she in Revenge laid level with the Ground. *James* the Third, a Child of seven Years of Age, succeeded his Father, as well to the Support of the distressed *English*, as to the Crown of *Scotland*. The Death of the King of the *Scots* was follow'd by that

The Death of James the Second of Scotland.

James the Third succeeds.

of

*The Death of
the French
King.*

of *Charles* King of *France*, which tho' it was not violent, was no less strange and unusual. Being sick, some of his Flatterers, to manifest their Zeal, put an Imagination into his Head that some Persons design'd to poison him; which caus'd him to abstain from all Sustenance for several Days. And when his Physicians told him that his Weakness proceeded from Want of Meat, and not from any Sickness, he endeavour'd to eat but could not; for the Channels through which his Meat should pass were clos'd up; whereupon he dy'd with Hunger, and left his Kingdom to his Son *Lewis* the Eleventh.

*The Duke of
York's Entry
into London.*

The News of the Battel of *Northampton* being convey'd to the Duke of *York* in *Ireland*, he now resolv'd to throw off the Mask he had so long worn, and with all Expedition came to *London*, where the Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* had summon'd a Parliament to meet in the King's Name upon the Eighth Day of *October*. He made his Entry with numerous Troops of Men, and Trumpets founding before him; causing the Sword to be carry'd before him as Kings usually did, only with this Difference, that it was now carry'd naked, whereas in the Presence of Kings it us'd to be sheath'd. He alighted from his Horse at the King's Palace at *Westminster*, and entring into the upper House of Parliament, he laid his Hand a considerable Time upon the Throne, as if by that Act he had taken Possession of it; and when he remov'd his Hand, he turn'd to those that were by, as desirous to read his future Success in their Countenances; and, as it is usual for Men to flatter themselves in what they most passionately desire, he thought they approv'd of this Action. But the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* standing up and asking him *if he would be pleas'd to go and see his Majesty*, he chang'd Countenance and angerly answer'd him, *He knew none in the Kingdom to whom he ought that Duty, but on the contrary all Men ought it to him.* The Arch-Bishop going forth to acquaint the King with his Answer, who lay in the Queen's Lodgings, the Duke likewise went forth and boldly enter'd the King's Lodgings, and broke open all the Doors and Locks, to the great Indignation of many. After this, without any Reserve, he made his Claim to the Crown of *England*, notwithstanding the most solemn Oaths and Engagements to the contrary; and publish'd it in open Parliament, together with his Pedigree. Most of the House stood amaz'd, both to find him seated on the Royal Throne, and for this unexpected Challenge. But the Duke, tho' at first he fully design'd to have depos'd King *Henry*, and crown'd himself by the first of *November*, yet finding such Astonishment and Silence, he sent them his Pedigree and his Claim in Writing, that they might better consider of it; yielding, as he pretended, to submit to their general Determination.

*He claims the
Crown of En-
gland.*

*The Substance
of his Claim.*

The Substance of the Duke of *York's* Claim to the Crown of *England* was as follows. 'King *Edward* the Third had seven Sons, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *William* of *Hatfield*, *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester*, and *William* of *Windsor*. *Edward* the Eldest dy'd during his Father's Life, and left one Son, King *Richard* the Second, who dy'd without Issue, as also did King *Edward's* Second Son *William*. *Lionell* the Third Son had only one Daughter nam'd *Philippa*, who being marry'd to *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *Marche*, she had by him *Roger* Earl of *Marche*, who afterwards had two Sons and two Daughters, of whom three dy'd without Issue; only *Anne* the sole Heiress of the House marry'd to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Son of *Edmund* Duke of *York*, the fifth Son of King *Edward* the Third, which Earl of *Cambridge* begot *Richard* Duke of *York* the present Claimant. On the other Side *John* of *Gaunt*, the Fourth Son of King *Edward* the Third, and younger Brother to *Lionell*, had a Son nam'd *Henry*, who immediately after King *Richard's* Resignation, unrighteously enter'd upon the Throne; because *Edmund* Earl of *Marche*, Son to *Philippa* the Daughter and Heiress of the foresaid *Lionell* elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, was then alive; and the said *Henry*, Son to

John of Gaunt, and his Successors, had hitherto held the Crown of *England* unjustly, because the said *Richard Plantagenet*, the present Duke of *York*, was the lawful Heir, as being the Son of *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* and *Anne* before mentioned.

This was the Substance of the Duke of *York's* Title and Claim, which as to Matter of Genealogy was undoubtedly true; tho' in Bar to this Claim King *Henry's* Friends, without denying any Part of the Premises, had not a little to plead for him; and among other Things they alledg'd 'That King *Richard* the Second resign'd up his Crown and Authority at large; and that no other making Claim but *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, Son of *John of Gaunt*, he was admitted to the Throne by the Consent of the three Estates of the Land: 'That *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* was attainted of High-Treason and executed, and his Issue render'd incapable of any Inheritance; that *Richard* his Son now challenging the Crown of *England*, being restor'd and advanc'd by the meer Clemency and Goodness of King *Henry* the Sixth, had voluntarily acknowledg'd him for his lawful Sovereign, and solemnly swore to the same; and that the same *Richard* after that had been justly attainted for Treason, and adjudg'd incapable of inheriting. They further alledg'd several Acts of Parliament to establish the Right of the Line of *Lancaster*; the Succession of three Kings, *Henry* the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, the politick Government of the First, the noble Victories of the Second, and the pious Life of the Third; which three Kings Reigns contain'd no less than sixty Years, in which Number this was the thirty ninth of King *Henry* the Sixth, who was descended from the Male Line, and the Duke of *York* but from the Female, which Line had never been in Possession of the Crown. These were thought great and weighty Points, and the more considerable, because King *Henry's* Person being no better than a Prisoner, no Act of his to establish the Duke's Title could bind in Law or Conscience; and the less, because he had a Wife and a Son both at Liberty, and ready to free him by Force of Arms, or to hazard the Destruction of the *English* Name. But they who on the Duke's Behalf abstractedly disputed these high Questions, insisted upon a Rule of Law, *That the Rights of Blood are not to be alter'd by Civil Powers*; and the *Lancastrians* were not without their speculative and remote Considerations, to countenance the Particulars of their Cause. By which it appear'd that in Monarchies, tho' the noblest Form of Government, where Lineal Succession is the Rule of Inheritance, there sometimes happen as great and as indeterminable Difficulties, as where Election designs the Successor: Of which both *France* and *England* have been miserable Instances.

While this weighty Controversie was debating, there happen'd this surprising Accident: A Crown that was hung up for Ornament in the Parliament House, without the least Touch or Blast of Wind suddenly fell down; as likewise did another which for the same Cause was plac'd upon the highest Tower of *Dover* Castle: Which was generally believ'd to portend That King *Henry's* Reign was ended, and that the Crown should be transferr'd from one Line to another. The Lords forgot not the Duke's Demands, and to take the better Directions, divers of them both Spiritual and Temporal with many grave and wise Persons of the Commons, daily met at the *Black-Friars*, and other Places, to treat of this Matter, that was of so great Importance. During which Time the Duke of *York*, tho' both the King and himself were lodg'd in the Palace Royal, would by no Inducements once visit his Majesty, till some Conclusion was made in the Affair; declaring *That he was subject to no Man, but only to God, under whom he had no Superior*. After a long debating of the Matter, and deliberate Consultation among the Peers, Prelates and Commons, upon the Vigil of *All-Saints* it was thus concluded and determined, 'That sofar as *Henry* had been acknowledg'd King for the Space of thirty eight Years and more, he should enjoy that Name and Title, and the Possession of the Kingdom, during

The Answer to it.

The Controversie determined by Agreement in Parliament

his natural Life. And if he either dy'd, or resign'd, or forfeited the same by breaking or violating any Point of this Contract, then the said Crown and Dignity should immediately be devolv'd upon the Duke of *York*, and the lawful Heirs of his Body, excluding all those of King *Henry*. This solemn Agreement being put into divers Articles, was ingross'd, sign'd, seal'd and sworn to by the King and Duke, as likewise all enacted in this Parliament. For Joy of this, the King, accompany'd with the Duke of *York*, on *All-Saints* Day, rode in solemn Procession to the Cathedral of *St. Paul's* with the Crown upon his Head. And upon the *Saturday* following, the Duke of *York* was by Sound of Trumpets solemnly proclaim'd Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, and Protector of the Realm.

The Queen and her Friends stand out.

The active Queen, now in the North, would by no means allow of this Determination, so prejudicial to her self and Posterity; therefore when the King, at the Duke of *York's* Instigation, sent for her to repair to him at *London*, she relying upon the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, and other Royalists, utterly refus'd; and *Henry* being still acknowledg'd as King, the Arms taken for his Deliverance had the greater Justice. The Duke of *York* missing his expected Prey, left the King at *London* with the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Warwick*; and taking with him his young Son the Earl of *Rutland*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and five thousand Men, he march'd towards *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire* to pursue the Queen and her Son, sending Orders to the Earl of *Marche* to follow with all his Power. In the Castle of *Sandall* within view of *Wakefield* the Duke took up his Quarters upon *Christmas* Eve, waiting for the Encrease of his Army. The Queen being advis'd of this, thought it Wisdom to fight before the Duke grew too strong; and thereupon advanc'd with an Army of eighteen thousand Men, led by the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, the Earls of *Devonshire* and *Wiltshire*, the Lords *Nevill*, *Clifford* and *Ross*, and in effect all the Northern Nobility. Part of the Army presented it self before *Sandall* Castle, in order to provoke the Duke to Battel; who fir'd with this Bravado, and perhaps ignorant of his Enemies Multitude, resolv'd to meet them, tho' the Earl of *Salisbury* and Sir *David Hall* earnestly urg'd him to stay 'till his valiant Son the Earl of *Marche* came up with his numerous Forces. But the Vengeance of Heav'n would forbear him no longer, but like a strict Master resolv'd to call him to an immediate Account; by which he might find whether all the Kingdoms in the World were worth the least Sin, much less a wilful Perjury.

The fourth Battel at Wakefield.

The Duke of York slain.

The Queen therefore added Policy and Stratagem to her Power, that his Ruin might be inevitable; for which Cause, on the last Day of *December*, the Earl of *Wiltshire* upon one Side of the Hill, and the Lord *Clifford* upon the other, lay in Ambuscade to get between him and the Castle; while the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter* drew up in open Field. This Design had its desir'd Effect; for the Duke issuing out of the Castle with his small Army down the Hill, soon found himself surrounded; and tho' he shew'd great Valour and Bravery, within half an Hour his whole Forces were defeated, himself with many of his dear Friends beaten down and slain. There lay dead about him the Lord *Hartington*, Sir *Thomas Nevill* Son to the Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *David Hall*, with several Knights, and others to the Number of two thousand eight hundred Men; among whom were the Heirs of many Southern Gentlemen of great Account, whose Blood was shortly after severely reveng'd. The Duke's Chaplain, and Tutor to the Earl of *Rutland*, a hopeful Lad of twelve Years of Age, seeing the ill Success, led his Charge out to save him; but the Lord *Clifford* observing his rich Habit, follow'd, and with a Dagger in his Hand demanded who he was. The unfortunate Youth struck dumb with Fear, with Knees, Hands and Eyes begg'd for Mercy and Pardon; and the Chaplain, who by naming him thought to have sav'd him, told him who he was, and *That if he would save his Life, he would spend it in his Service*; but *Clifford* swore dread-

dreadfully, *That as his Father had slain his, so would he serve him and all his Progeny*, and then struck his Dagger into his Heart, rejoicing at the most barbarous and inhuman Revenge that ever cruel Man took. And not satisfy'd with this, casting himself upon the dead Body of the Duke he cut off the Head, and crowning it in Derision with a Crown of Paper, he presented it to the Queen, who poorly and ungenerously made her self merry with that gasty and bloody Spectacle. This was the fatal End of the famous *Richard*, who contrary to all Oaths and other Obligations, had caus'd infinite Mischiefs to the *English* Nation; of whom it was said by the Duke of *Somerset* his former Antagonist, *That if he had not learn'd to play the King by his Regency in France, he had never forgot to obey as a Subject in England*. The Earl of *Salisbury*, here taken Prisoner, was with other Prisoners beheaded at *Pontfract*, and their Heads together with the Duke's set upon the Gates of *York*; while the Victors triumph'd and rejoic'd, who not many Days after bewail'd their own Calamity, as did the Queen, or shar'd in the like Fortune, as did the Lord *Clifford*.

His ignominious Treatment.

The Earl of *Marche*, Son and Heir to the deceas'd Duke of *York*, hearing of this tragical Adventure, with a Mind full of Grief and Revenge, and an Army of twenty three thousand Men, resolv'd to march against the Queen. But he found more immediate Imployment; for being inform'd that *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, half Brother to King *Henry*, and *James Butler* Earl of *Ormond* and *Wiltshire*, had with them a great Force of *Welsh* and *Irish* to intercept his March; this youthful and valiant Man, whose amiable Presence and Behaviour render'd him gracious to the People, especially to the Female Sex, resolv'd first to try his Fortune against those Earls. He therefore suddenly turn'd back from *Skrewsbury*, and at a Place call'd *Mortimer's Cross* near *Ludlow*, he engag'd the Enemy on *Candlemass-Day*. In the same Morning, we are told there appear'd three Suns in the Heav'ns, that suddenly join'd in one; which fortunate Omen exceedingly fir'd the Earl of *Marche*, and was judg'd to be the Reason why he us'd for his Badge, or Royal Device, the *Sun in his full Brightness*. The Armies maintain'd the Fight with great Fury; but at length the Earl of *Marche* obtain'd a compleat Victory, with the Deaths of three thousand eight hundred of his Enemies; the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Wiltshire* saving themselves by Flight. But Sir *Owen Tudor*, Father to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and Husband to King *Henry* the Fifth's Queen, with several other Prisoners of Note were beheaded at *Hereford*, as a Sacrifice to the Manes of his Father the Duke of *York*.

A. D.
1461.
Reg. 39.

The fifth Battel at Mortimer's Cross.

The Queen on the other Side being encourag'd by her late Victory, after she had settled her Affairs in the North, march'd towards *London* with an Army consisting of *Scotch*, *Welsh* and *Irish* as well as *English*. But when her Soldiers were once South of *Trent*, as if that River was the utmost Limits of their good Behaviour, they proceeded to ravage the Country after a barbarous manner. Advancing near to *St. Albans*, they were inform'd that the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick*, with the King in Person, were prepar'd to give them Battel; whereupon they hasten'd to march through the Town. But being not suffer'd to pass, they furiously attack'd their Enemies in the Field call'd *Bernard-Heath*; where perceiving the main Battel to stand still and not to advance, as it was manag'd by the Treachery of *Lovelace*, who with the *Kentish* Men had the Command of it, they soon caus'd the Southern Men to betake themselves to flight; upon which the rest, doubtful of each others Fidelity, made the best of their Way. The Lords about the King's Person, perceiving the Danger, withdrew themselves; only the Lord *Bonville* coming in a complimentary manner to the King, and declaring his Affection to his Majesty, was unfortunately importun'd by him, together with Sir *Thomas Kyriel* a *Kentish* Knight, to stay with him; he passing his Royal Word that their Stay should be no Injury to them. Upon which Promise they staid, but to their Ruin; for the

The sixth Battel, which was the second at St. Albans.

Queen hearing how the Commons had beheaded Baron *Thorp* at *High-Gate*, without considering her Husband's Word, in Revenge caus'd both their Heads to be taken off at *St. Albans*. So that there were slain in this Battel about twenty three thousand Men, but none of any Note or Name, but only Sir *John Gray*, who the same Day was Knighted, with twelve others, at the Village of *Colney*. This Battel was the sixth fought in these unhappy Civil Wars, and the second at *St. Albans*; it being upon *Shrove-Tuesday* the seventeenth of *February*.

*The King set
at Liberty.*

And now the King was advis'd to send a Messenger to the Victors to let them know, That he would gladly come to them, if it might be done with Safety and Conveniency; upon which the Earl of *Northumberland* appointed several Lords to attend him to the Lord *Clifford's* Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met him with extraordinary Joy. But it was now observ'd, as if it were in the Destiny of King *Henry*, that tho' he was the most Pious Prince in his Age, yet no Enterprize of War did ever prosper where he was present; which shews that Human Prosperity is not inseparable to Piety. At the Queen's Request the King honour'd thirty Gentlemen with Knighthood, who the Day before had fought against that Part of the Army where he was: The young Prince, now eight Years of Age, was also Knighted. After which they went to the Monastery, where they were receiv'd with Anthems, and likewise a humble Petition to be protected from the Outrages of the loose Soldiers; which was promis'd, and Proclamation made accordingly, but to small Effect, for the Northern Men alledg'd, That by Agreement they were to have all the Spoil in every Place after they had pass'd the *Trent*, and so acted like lawless People, to the great Damage, or rather Ruin of the King's Affairs. For about this Time the Queen sent Commands to the Lord Mayor of *London* to send her in Provisions for her Men, which he obey'd; but the People oppos'd him, and stopp'd the Carts at the City Gates: Which shews the Error that deludes some Princes, when they promise themselves Obedience from a dissatisfy'd People, and who without Fear of Punishment have already begun to disobey. The Magistrate laid open all the Mischiefs that might ensue, but could not prevail; for still they cry'd out the more, *That the City had no Occasion to relieve them that came with a Design to pillage it.* This Disobedience grew yet more obstinate by reason of an insolent Troop of Horse, who at the same Time came from *St. Albans* to pillage the Suburbs; and many of them hastening to *Cripple-Gate*, where the Carts were stopp'd, and endeavouring to enter, they were beaten back, and three of them slain, to the great Concern of the wiser sort; for it was fear'd that the Queen being in Arms, and so many ways offended, would rigorously resent it. The Mayor sent to excuse himself to the Council residing at *Barnet*, and the Dutchess of *Bedford* accompany'd by the Lady *Scales* and some Prelates, went to the Queen to pacifie her. They perswaded her that some Lords might be sent, with four hundred armed Men, who riding about the Streets might appease the Tumult, and that part of the Aldermen should come to meet her at *Barnet*, to bring her and the King peaceably into the City.

*The People a-
gainst him.*

But all these hopeful Designs suddenly vanish'd at the News of the Defeat of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Wiltshire*, and that the Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* were join'd, and marching towards *London*, with a Force not easily to be resisted. This so terrify'd the Queen, that she suddenly return'd towards the Northern Parts, where she had most Friends; impolitickly leaving some Marks of Severity and Cruelty behind her. The Earl of *Marche* on the contrary, who for his amiable Qualifications was in every Man's Mouth and Affections, hearing of the Queen's Retreat, march'd directly to *London*, where, upon the twenty eighth Day of *February*, he was receiv'd with the universal Applause of the People. On *Sunday* the second of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick*, a zealous Friend to the Earl of *Marche*, muster'd all his Army in *St. John's Fields*, and having drawn them in a large Ring, and read aloud to them the Agree-

*The Earl of
Marche, Son to
the Duke of
York, enters
London.*

ment of the last Parliament, and then demanded, *Whether they would have King Henry, who had violated that Agreement, to reign over them?* They all cry'd out, *No, no!* Then he ask'd them, *Whether they would have the Earl of Marche, who according to the same Agreement ought to be King, to reign over them?* They with a great Clamour answer'd *Yea, yea!* Upon which some Commanders, and others of the City repair'd to the Earl of *Marche* at *Baynard's Castle*, to acquaint him with what had pass'd; who at first seem'd to excuse himself, as unable to execute so great a Charge: But being animated by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he at last consented to take it upon him. On the next Morning he went in Procession to *St. Paul's Cathedral*; and after *Te Deum* sung, he was in great State convey'd to *Westminster*. There seated in the most conspicuous Place of the great Hall, with the Scepter of *St. Edward* in his Hand, he made a Declaration of his double Title to the Crown: *First, By Descent, as Heir to the third Son of King Edward the Third: Secondly, By Authority of Parliament, which upon the Examination of the Duke of York's Title, had conferr'd the Crown immediately on him and his Heirs, when Henry the Sixth should make Forfeiture of it, by Death, Resignation, or Breach of that Agreement there solemnly sworn by them. And that this Agreement was broken, the Slaughter of the Duke of York at the Battel of Wakefield, did sadly manifest. Nevertheless he protested himself ready to give up the Justice of his Claim, rather than enter upon it without their free Vote.* At which, with loud Applauses, all cry'd, *King Edward, King Edward!* transported when they found their Voices were requir'd to confirm him King, who had declar'd he would not receive that Title without their Suffrage. The Formality of this second Election thus past, he went in Procession to the Abby Church; whence after much Solemnity, and Homage from the Nobility present, he return'd by Water to the Bishop of *London's* Palace, and was immediately proclaim'd King throughout the City by the Name of *Edward* the Fourth. This was done upon the fourth Day of *March*, after King *Henry*, now near forty Years of Age, had pass'd over an unfortunate and inglorious Reign of thirty eight Years, six Months and four Days.

He is proclaim'd King.

Here in the Course of all Writers ends the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, of whom it is observ'd, That never any came to be King so soon after his Birth, nor cess'd to be King so long before his Death; the former being but eight Months, and the latter twelve Years. It has also been truly observ'd, That all the Sons of King *Edward* the Third, as well as himself; all the Sons of *John* or *Gaunt*, and all the Sons of *Henry* the Fourth, were compleat Hero's, Men the most renown'd in their Age for Personal Strength, Courage and Bravery: But when this Heroical Disposition was at the Height in *Henry* the Fifth, how it came to degenerate in *Henry* the Sixth, is attributed to his Mother, who tho' a Woman of a noble Spirit, yet being descended from a crazy Father, it was no Wonder if she prov'd the Mother of a crazy Issue. Yet as to his Person he was comely and well proportion'd, and had Virtues sufficient to make a Saint; no King ever showing more Piety and Devotion than himself. He had one humanity peculiar to himself, that no Man could ever be reveng'd on him, because he never offer'd any Man an Injury. He was so chaste and modest, that when in a publick Mask some Ladies presented themselves before him with their Breasts uncover'd, he immediately rose up, and exclaim'd against their Behaviour: So merciful, that when he saw the Quarters of a Traitor over *Cripple-Gate*, he caus'd them to be taken down, declaring, *He would have no Christian so cruelly treated for his sake*: So free from Swearing, that he never us'd any Alleveration but *Forsooth* and *Verily*: So patient, that to one who struck him when he was taken Prisoner, he only said, *You wrong your self more than me, to strike the Lord's Anointed*: So devout, that on the chief Holy Days, he us'd to wear Sack-Cloath next his Skin: And so innocent in general, that his Confessor declar'd, *That for ten Years Space he never found*

The End of King Henry's Reign.

His Character.

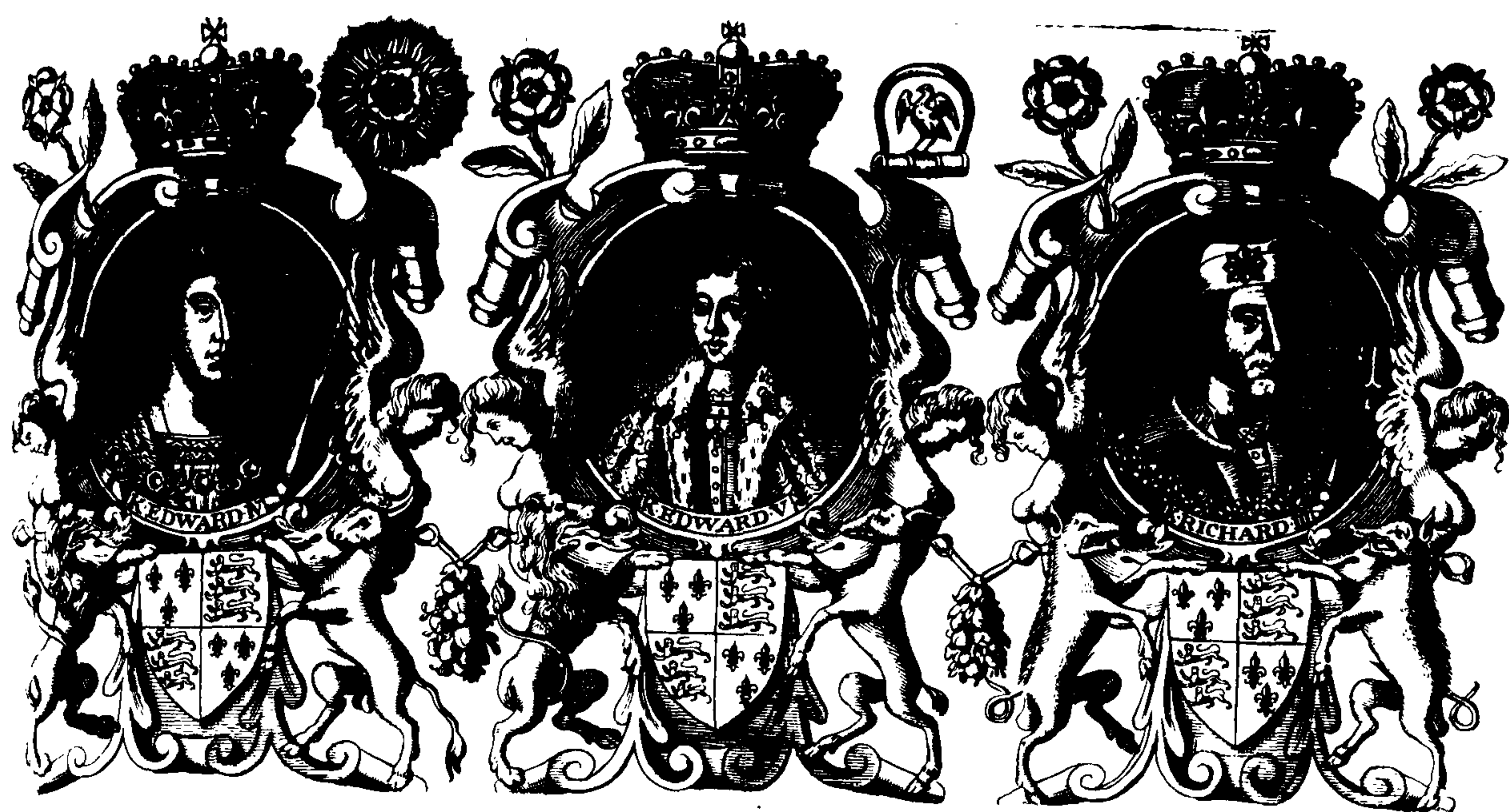
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any thing he had said or done, for which he might justly enjoin him Penance. And herein consisted his Happiness, that he was the only Prince perhaps in the World that never distinguish'd between Adversity and Prosperity; being so intent upon his Devotion, as to think nothing Adversity that did not interrupt that. But this brought him under the sole Power of others, and made him fitter for a Priest than a King; and had his Virtues been as useful to the Publick, as those of his pious Father, neither the Duke of *York*, nor his Son durst have contested with him for his Kingdom. Not to exclude Providence, the Peoples Inclinations was then the only thing which took the Kingdom from one, and gave it to the other; which may teach Princes that long Possession, without the Practice of Princely Actions, is not sufficient for their Conservation. In him was confirm'd that wise Sentence, *Wo to that Nation whose King is a Child*, and rather shows it means in *Government* more than in *Years*: For as long as he continu'd a Child in Years, his Kingdoms flourish'd by the Care of his Uncles; but when he ceas'd to be so in Years, and continu'd to be so in Government, all Things ran to ruin both in *France* and *England*; and a great Part of his Time was a Reign of Disgrace, Misery and Blood. And notwithstanding his extraordinary Piety, his manifest Breach of Faith to the Earl of *Armagnack* ought not to pass uncensur'd by a Christian Historian; and the great *Raleigh* observes, that as he refus'd the Daughter of that Prince, by which he might have defended his Inheritance in *France*, and marry'd the Daughter of *Anjou*, by which he lost all that he had in that Country; so in condescending to the unworthy Death of his Uncle of *Glocester*, the main Pillar of the House of *Lancaster*, he drew on himself and his Kingdom the greatest Loss and Dishonour, that ever it sustain'd since the *Norman* Conquests.

Matters of
Note in his
Reign.

Notwithstanding this Reign was both troublefom and calamitous, it was remarkable for many pious and charitable Foundations, and for several eminent and worthy Men. The King himself founded two famous Colleges, the one in *Cambridge* called the *College Royal* or *Kings-College*, and the other at *Eaton* near *Windjor*; to the Maintenance of which he gave three thousand four hundred Pounds *per Annum*; and the glorious Chappel of the former shews of what wonderful Magnificence the whole should have been, had the Founder reign'd to finish it. In the twenty eighth Year of this Reign Queen *Margaret* began the Foundation of *Queens-College* in *Cambridge*. Three Colleges in *Oxford* were also founded in this Reign, *All-Souls*, *Bernard* and *Magdalen*, the two first by *Henry Chicheley* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the latter by *William* of *Wamfleet* Bishop of *Winchester*; as also the famous Divinity School by *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*. There were many other Foundations and Buildings made in other Places, as the College of *Tatshall* in *Lincolnshire* by *Ralph* Lord *Cromwell*; *Leaden-Hall* in *London* by *Simon Eyre* Mayor; the Standard in *Cheapside*, &c. As to Men of Valour, we have already taken notice of the chief, such as the Duke of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and others; so that it may be said, as there was never a more Heroical King of *England* than *Henry* the Fifth, so never any King had more Heroical Subjects than *Henry* the Sixth, who had been train'd under his Father and Grand-father. As to Men of Learning, they are too numerous to be particulariz'd; we shall only mention *John Leland* the Elder, who wrote divers Treatises for Instruction of Gramarians; *Peter Basset*, Esq; one of the Privy-Chamber to *Henry* the Fifth, whose Life he wrote; *Thomas Walsingham*, *Thomas Radburn*, *John Capgrave*, and *John Wethamsted*, all Writers of some Parts of the *English* History; *John Lydgate*, a Monk of *Bury* and celebrated Poet; *Richard* and *Robert Flemming*, *Thomas Dando*, and *Robert Bale*.

Here Ends the Royal Line of Lancaster.



C H A P. V.

*The Plantagenets divided. The Royal House of York:
From the Deposition of King Henry the Sixth, to the
Death of King Richard the Third, and the Union of
the two Families.*

Containing the Space of about 24 Years.

S E C T. I.

The Reign of King EDWARD the Fourth.

Containing 22 Years, 1 Month, and 5 Days.

I. IN the midst of the Miseries of an unfortunate Nation, we are now arriv'd at the History of the Second, yet nearest great Branch of the *Plantagenets*, that sat upon the *English* Throne. And from the fourth Day of *March*, in the Year 1461, according to the common Computation in those Days, commenc'd the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, who was then about twenty Years of Age, in the prime of his Youth and Beauty, and whose charming Looks and Behaviour render'd him the Object of all Peoples Love and Affection. Yet great Numbers were still intire Friends to the depos'd King *Henry*, who was now with his Queen raising a powerful Army in the North; and not a few in *London* it self, as King *Edward's* Jealousie gave him cause to suspect: Of whom one *Walker* a substantial Citizen and a Grocer was an unhappy Proof, who only for Words spoken concerning his own Son, That he would make him Heir to the Crown, meaning the Sign of the Crown in *Cheapside*, was on the eighth Day of this King's Reign apprehended, and beheaded in *Smithfield*. And tho' the Words only contain'd an unseasonable Jest, and no real Treason; yet it being a Time when the Crown lay at Stake, the Law was stretch'd, and somewhat more, to remove the Man that spoke 'em.

A. D.
1461.
Reg. 1.

King Edward's
severe Begin-
ning.

This

This severe Beginning caus'd many to believe, that they had injur'd themselves in wronging King *Henry*; which Opinion was more confirm'd by *Edward's* retaining a large Sum of Money borrow'd of the Staplers-Merchants, and disburs'd in his Affairs, the Restitution of which he utterly deny'd with an angry Command to surcease their Demands.

Oppositions in
the North.

And now hearing how King *Henry* was belov'd in the North, and what Numbers were gather'd to recover him the Crown, upon the twelfth Day of *March* he with a compleat Army set out from *London*, accompany'd with his two Brothers, and many other Noblemen. Then marching towards *Pontfract* in *Yorkshire*, he there appointed the Lord *Fitzwater* to keep the Passage of *Ferri-bridge*, omitting no Directions of a worthy Commander. King *Henry*, tho' no ways warlike, thought it best Policy to employ such Commanders whom the Thirst of Revenge had animated against the House of *York*; such were the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whose Fathers had been slain in the first Battel of *St. Albans*: Which last, tho' in Degree the least Man, yet sought to raise his Fame with the first; and therefore to leave no Enterprize unattempted, he so suddenly attack'd the Party appointed for *Ferribridge*, that he not only defeated the Men, but also slew the Lord *Fitzwater*, with the Bastard of *Salisbury*, and many others, before they well knew whence the Disturbance arose. The Noise of this Defeat came first to the Ears of the stout Earl of *Warwick*, who too much transported at the evil Fate of the first Attempt, rode almost breathless to King *Edward*, and killing his Horse in his Presence, he cry'd out, *God have Mercy upon the Souls of those, who for your sake have already lost their Lives! Let him fly that will fly.* Then kissing the Hilt of his Sword, he said, *By this Cross, I will stand by him that stands by me.* The valiant Lord *Fauconbridge*, fearing that this Beginning should prove dangerous, soon got over the River at *Castleford*, three Miles from *Ferri-bridge*, designing to surround the late Victors; which *Clifford* perceiving, sought to avoid; and whether out of Haste or Heat, he put off his Garget, when suddenly an Arrow without a Head, shot from an unknown Hand, pierc'd through his Throat, stuck in his Neck, and put a Period to his Life. A Death too honourable for him; since the innocent Blood of the Earl of *Rutland* requir'd one foreseen, painful and cruel. But his Son met with the Punishment he escap'd; who being sav'd by a poor Shepherd, liv'd a Beggar during three Reigns, till he was restor'd by King *Henry* the Seventh.

The eventful
Battel between
the House of
Lancaster and
York, at Tow-
ton.

The next Day, more fatal for *England's* Blood, being *Palm-Sunday*, early in the Morning both Armies came in sight of each other; a dreadful Meeting, which like the Soul and Body never parts but by Death. The Field was between *Caxton* and *Towton*, from the latter of which this Battel afterwards took its Name. Upon a full Survey of King *Henry's* Army, so formidable for Numbers, Proclamation was made in King *Edward's* Camp, *That whoever fear'd to fight might immediately depart, but if any remaining Soldier should endeavour to fly, he should be slain by his next Fellow, who should receive a great Reward.* And further it was proclaim'd, *That no Quarter should be given, nor Prisoner taken.* A necessary Cruelty, and not to be avoided without Hazard of King *Edward's* Ruin; in regard the common Soldiers, in Hopes of Spoil or Ransom, might be wanting in their Duty. About nine in the Morning both Armies drew near; sixty thousand for King *Henry*, then in *York*, and for King *Edward* scarce forty thousand; only the Presence and Courage of the latter made an Equality. The experienc'd Lord *Fauconbridge*, to whom the Van was committed, immediately before the Battel, commanded his Archers, as soon as they had shot their first Flight, to fall some Steps back, and make a Stand; by which they might avoid their Enemies Arrows. Which Stratagem had its design'd Success; for the Northern Men with a sudden Fury answer'd the Onset, and having empty'd their Quivers, hasten'd to a close Battel: But the Arrows they had discharg'd, not having reach'd their Adversaries, turn'd
now

now to their Annoiance and Distraction, and so far gaul'd them by the Splinters sticking in the Ground, that they were forc'd to a confus'd Stop. In this Trouble the Southern Men shot another Flight; and the Wind conspiring with their Policy, blew a Storm of Hail and Snow in their Faces; so that the Vanguard, led by the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Andrew Trollop*, gave back. Yet the Main Battel did not stir with this Motion; but as if the Enemy had gain'd no Advantage, continu'd with the first Constancy.

For ten Hours together the Victory hung in Suspence; equal Courage on both Sides; equal Hopes in the good, and equal Despair in the bad Success; which occasion'd so much Obstinacy and Cruelty in the Battel. But at length, after a most pitious Slaughter, the Northern Men began to hope for Safety only in Flight; nor did they yield to the prevailing Fortune of the Enemy, 'till their Courages were disinay'd with the Sight of so many eminent Men slain before their Eyes. For the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, the Lords *Beaumont*, *D'acres*, *Gray*, *Scales* and *Wells*, with many others of greatest Reputation for their Rank and Courage, had already fallen; and in their Deaths taught the Survivors what to expect. The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, seeing all Things desperate, the greater Part of the Army slain, the rest broken and flying, posted to *York* to carry the fatal News to the unfortunate King *Henry*; whose Virtue still had a Patience greater than his Ruin. In no Battel since the Conquest was ever shed so much *English* Blood; so that the Fields were not only disinally stain'd, but the Rivers also ran red for a great Distance: For in this and the preceding Day were slain no less than thirty six thousand seven hundred Persons; all of one Nation, many near in Alliance, some in Blood, fatally divided by Faction, yet all animated by the same Zeal to maintain their Prince's Right: Which being so difficult to determine nicely, doubtless it made the Contest on both Sides, how ruinous soever to their Families, not unsafe to their Consciences. And it is worthy of Observation, that in this long and cruel Conflict between the two Royal Families, never any Stranger of Note was present at their Battels; as if the *English* had disdain'd to conquer or perish by any other Weapons than their own.

The Yorkills prevail.

The Greatness of the Bloodshed and Victory.

After this great Victory King *Edward* rode to *York*, from whence King *Henry* was fled, where he was receiv'd with the utmost Solemnity; and first he caus'd the Heads of his Father, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and other of his Friends, to be taken from the Gates and bury'd with their Bodies: And then he caus'd the Earl of *Devonshire*, and three others, to be beheaded, and to have their Heads put on the same Places. In the mean time the unfortunate King *Henry* hasten'd with his Wife and Son to the Town of *Berwick*; and leaving the Duke of *Somerset* in that Place, he went into *Scotland*, begging the Counsel and Assistance of the young King of that Nation. He was receiv'd with all Humanity, and had Provision made for him of a certain Pension by the King of the *Scots*, who likewise agreed that the Princess *Margaret* his Sister should marry to Prince *Edward*, Son to King *Henry*, tho' this Marriage was never after consummated. And *Henry* to requite these Civilities, did more than he would in Time of Prosperity, and gave up the Town of *Berwick* to King *James*; a Place very advantageous to the *Scots*, and long desired by them. The Queen his Wife went with her Son into *France*, to procure Assistance from her Father *Reyner*, Duke of *Anjou*; and she obtain'd also of King *Lewis* of *France* free Access for as many *English* as were of her side, and Banishment for those of the contrary Party; Matters of no great Consequence. And thus we find the unfortunate King *Henry*, after above thirty eight Years Reign, not only to have been driven from his Throne and Crown, but also out of all his Dominions.

King Henry flies into Scotland.

In the Interim King *Edward*, with as glorious a Triumph and dilated Joy as Victory could beget, march'd towards *London*, where the Citizens, who were deeply interested in his Fortune, receiv'd him with great Splendor and Magnificence. And on the twenty eighth Day of *June* he was with great Solemnity crown'd

King Edward's
Coronation.

Establishments
in Parliament.

Favours con-
ferr'd.

Punishments
inflict'd.

A. D.

1462.

Reg. 2.

Advantages
abroad.

A. D.

1463.

Reg. 3.

The Attempts
of King Henry's
Queen for his
Restoration.

crown'd at *Westminster*, where in *St. Peter's Church* it was the next Day again solemnly set on his Head, and the third so crown'd he came to *St. Paul's Cathedral*, and there was cens'd with the extraordinary Applause of the People. That no Circumstance of Sovereignty might be wanting, a Parliament was summon'd to meet in *November*; by which his Title to the Crown was confirm'd, King *Henry* and his Son disinherited, his Friends rewarded, and his Enemies punish'd. And tho' private Respects were his chief Business, desiring to disannul all Acts made in Prejudice of the House of *York* and its Adherents, yet his outward Pretensions were the Safety and Quiet of the Realm. For he publickly profess'd that his only Care was to have such wholsom Laws enacted, as might redress Disorders crept into the State, by the free Liberty given to Rapines in the former Troubles. By which Appearance of earnest Care for quieting a disturb'd Republick, he gain'd Authority among the Wise, and founded a Belief in all, that his Government in Peace would be as fortunate as his Proceedings in War. Having by his Wisdom and Care thus won the Opinion of the Generality, he proceeded to confer his Favours on particular Persons whom Blood and Service had render'd dear to him. He created his two Brothers, *George* and *Richard*, Dukes; the Elder of *Clarence*, and the Younger of *Glocester*. He made the Lord *Nevill*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, Vicount *Montague*; *Henry Bourchier*, Brother to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Earl of *Essex*; and the Lord *Fauconbridge*, Earl of *Kent*; giving others the Title of Barons, and honouring many with that of Knighthood. The Conclusion of this great Assembly was with several Punishments: For *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Aubrey Vere* his Son, Sir *John Tiddenham* Knight, *William Tyrrel* and *Walter Montgomery* Esquires, were without Answer convicted of Treason, and beheaded: A formidable Proceeding, and too much manifesting the Actions of a Conqueror.

Affairs thus happily settled for King *Edward's* Interest, to check the Insults of transmarine Neighbours, who had thrown Injuries on the Nation when weaken'd with Discords, the new-created Earls of *Essex* and *Kent*, with the Lord *Audley*, were sent with ten thousand Soldiers to scour the narrow Seas; who first landing in *Bretaign*, took the Town of *Conquet*, and afterwards in the Isle of *Ree*, pillag'd that little Country, and return'd with Victory. By which Enterprize, tho' of no signal Consequence to his Affairs, yet King *Edward* let the *French* know how unsafe it was to irritate the *English* when govern'd by an active Prince, who might hereafter appear in Person, for the Recovery of those Provinces, which nothing but the Nation's Dissentions could have lost; and likewise struck some Terror into all foreign States which should adhere to King *Henry*, who both in Courage and Fortune was so far his Inferior. And now was the Prosperity of *Edward* in so much Splendor, and so dark a Cloud hung over the House of *Lancaster*, that *Henry* Duke of *Somerset*, and Sir *Ralph Percy* forsook the Ruins of that Family they had so long endeavour'd to support. The Submission of two such Persons of Interest and Power, was as pleasing to King *Edward* as a Victory; and they by his Favour were immediately restor'd to full Possession both of Honour and Estate; and the same Grace was promis'd to any others, whom their Example should persuade.

Yet did not the indefatigable Queen lose any Part of her Spirit or Endeavours; but in *France* us'd all Means and Methods to gain Succours towards the Restitution of her Husband. At length, having obtain'd an inconsiderable Number of *Frenchmen*, she pass'd over with them to *Scotland*, and from thence with the Shew of a great Enterprize, she sail'd for *England*; and touching upon the Bay of *Tinmouth*, out of some peculiar Apprehensions, she and her *French* put back to Sea, where such a sudden Tempest overtook them, that had not the Queen in a small Vessel got into *Berwick*, she had lost her Life, or fallen into her Enemies Hands. Her *French* Forces, by the Bastard *Ogle* and other

other Friends of King *Edward*, were driven into *Holy-Island*, where many were slain, and four hundred put to their Ransoms. This feeble *French* Enterprize, tho' it enervated the Minds of many, yet it no ways daunted the Courage of the Queen, whose chief Hopes were founded upon the *Scotch* Valour. So leaving her Son *Edward* in *Berwick* for Safety, she with the King her Husband and a *Scotch* Army furiously enter'd into *Northumberland*, took the Castle of *Bamburgh*, and so pass'd into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, their Forces daily increasing by the Confluence of such *English* as favour'd King *Henry*. Among these the Duke of *Somerset*, and Sir *Ralph Percy*, with other of King *Henry*'s Friends, revolted from King *Edward*, and came over to this Army. But many others came over in Hopes of Spoil; for his Army pillag'd and burnt Towns, and destroy'd Fields wheresoever they came.

King *Edward* hearing of these Commotions in the North, made Preparations both by Sea and Land, and with his two Brothers and many Noblemen march'd to the City of *York*: From whence he sent the new Viscount *Montague* with a considerable Party to secure the Loyalty of the *Northumbrians*; who passing forwards, at a Place call'd *Hegley-Moor*, he was suddenly attack'd by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Roos*, and Sir *Ralph Percy*. But *Montague* bravely stood the Assault, and in the first Encounter repuls'd the Lords, and at length slew the said *Percy*, who would not be driven from the Field, but in dying cry'd out, *I have sav'd the Bird in my Bosom*, meaning his Oath made to King *Henry*. *Montague* finding Fortune thus prosperous, advanc'd forwards; and learning by his Spies that *Henry*'s Army lay incamp'd in a fair Plain call'd *Livels* near *Hexham*, he hasten'd his March, and so valiantly attack'd their Camp, that after a great Slaughter, he totally defeated their Army, with the Loss of two thousand Men. The unfortunate King *Henry* fled into *Scotland*; but the Duke of *Somerset*, the Lords *Roos*, *Mollins* and *Hungerford*, with other Persons of Note, as unfortunately fell into the Hands of their Enemies, and were afterwards, according to the usual Proceedings of these miserable Times, beheaded in cold Blood. Sir *Ralph Gray* was first solemnly degraded from his Honour of Knighthood, and then led to Execution. Thus was the white Rose in every Place dy'd red with the Blood of the Nobility; and the red Rose turn'd pale with Horror to view the Calamities occasion'd by this Dis-sension.

The eighth Battle at Hexham. The Yorkists victorious.

King *Edward* having with a little Water extinguish'd a Flame which was like to have set all *England* on Fire, fortify'd all the Frontiers, and built Forts upon such Parts of the Sea as were fittest for Landing; he threaten'd heavy Punishments against any who should favour or harbour King *Henry*, Queen *Margaret*, or any of their Adherents. He us'd the like Care in other Places of his Kingdom, especially in the Southern Parts, where Landing was easiest for such as should come from *Normandy*. In the Rooms of the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, who were fled with *Henry*, he created *John Nevill* Viscount *Montague* Earl of the former, and *William Herbert* Earl of the latter. But the former being afterwards restor'd, *Nevill* gave up the Title, and was rewarded with that of a Marquess. In the mean Time King *Henry*, hurry'd on by his own Fate, pass'd into *England* in disguis'd Apparel; where in a short Time he was betray'd, while he sat at Dinner in *Waddington* Hall, from whence he was carry'd to *London* after a disgraceful manner, with his Legs bound under the Horse's Belly. Here, with Doctor *Manning* Dean of *Windsor*, he was arrested by the Earl of *Warwick*, his gilt Spurs taken off, and he committed close Prisoner to the Tower of *London*. A sudden and strange Alteration of Estate, when he that was once the most potent Monarch for Dominions that ever *England* had, was not now Master of a single Spot of Ground, nor Owner of his Liberty. So various are the Changes and Fortunes of this transitory Life; which appear'd further from his distressed and disconsolate Queen, who with her Son was driven once again to fly for Shelter into *France*.

King Henry taken,

and made Prisoner in the Tower.

A. D.

1464.

Reg. 4.

King Edward's
Regulations in
the Publick.

His Ordinances.

II. The Imprisonment of King *Henry*, the Absence of his Queen and Son, with the Deaths, Flight and Banishment of the chief of their Party, for a long Time secur'd King *Edward* in his Throne. This Calm afforded him Occasion of reforming many Disorders in the Publick, to which the late Troubles had given Birth. For several Days together he sat publicly with his Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, on the King's-Bench, to acquaint himself with the Orders and Proceedings of the Court, either at Bench or Bar. He likewise order'd the Officers of the Exchequer to take more moderate Fees, and to be more intensive of their Duties, for the Benefit of the Subject, than their own Profit; and not under Colour of preserving the King's Revenues, to enrich themselves and oppress the Nation. And to shew his Liberality and Gratitude to those who had serv'd him, he distributed the confiscated Goods of the late Delinquents to as many as had merited Reward; in which he dealt so wisely, that none were dissatisfy'd. Then to gain the Love of all Men, he shew'd himself more familiar both with the Nobility and Commonalty, than as some thought was convenient either for his State or Dignity. To his Affability he added Clemency, and pardon'd all those who in what manner soever had formerly oppos'd his Greatness, provided they would abandon all who persisted in their Averseness to him: By which means he won such an Opinion of the People, that afterwards, by their Assistance, he surmounted Difficulties which otherwise would have been insuperable. The Laws of the Realm he in part reform'd, and in part augmented; and the Coin both of Gold and Silver he new invented and divided; for the Gold he nam'd Royals and Nobles, and the Silver he call'd Groats and Half-Groats. He ordain'd penal Statutes against excessive Pride in Apparel, particularly against long pick'd Shoes then usually worn, which grew to that Extream, that the Pikes in the Toes were turn'd upwards, and with Silver Chains or Silk Laces ty'd to the Knees. But among many good Provisions one prov'd injurious; for concluding a League with the Kings of *Castile* and *Aragon* in *Spain*, he granted them Liberty to transport certain Numbers of *Coteswold* Sheep, which so much increas'd, that it afterwards prov'd a great Hindrance to the *English* Merchants in the Sale of their Woollen Cloths in the *Levant* Seas.

The Earl of
Warwick sent
to treat of
Marriage in
France,

The publick Affairs being thus establish'd, King *Edward* descended to what more particularly concern'd himself; and that was to provide a Queen, by whom he might have Issue and a sufficient Alliance against the Power of King *Henry*. Three Marriages were propos'd to him; *Margaret* Sister to *James* King of *Scotland*; *Isabel* Sister to *Henry* King of *Castile*, and *Bona* Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, and Sister to the present Queen of *France*. The two former were set aside for particular Reasons, and the last approv'd of in Council; and none was thought more fit to solicit this Affair than the mighty Earl of *Warwick*, a Man esteem'd as a King in Power and Revenues, and exceeding all in Magnificence and Hospitality; in whose House at *London* six Oxen were spent every Day, and most Taverns in the City were full of his Meat and Provisions. This Earl in great State arriv'd at *Tours*, and his Message known, was accordingly entertain'd in the *French* Court, where he wrought the Queen herself to be the chiefest Agent, who engag'd her Sister *Bona* with recommending the State and Stile of a Magnificent Queen, and her Husband *Lewis* with the Assurance of a Wise and Potent Ally; a Subject sufficiently pleasing to this soft-natur'd Prince. In a short Time all Parties were fully satisfy'd, and the Earl of *Warwick* dismiss'd with no small Compliments; and the Earl of *Damp-Martin* was to pass into *England* for the final Conclusion.

But while the Earl of *Warwick* highly valu'd himself for his Success abroad, King *Edward*'s Affection was working another Way at home. For the young amorous King after Hunting coming to visit the Dutches of *Bedford* at her Manor of *Grafton* near *Stony-Stratford*, was solicited by a fair Petitioner, the Lady

Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Daughter to the Dutcheſs, and Widow of Sir *John Gray*, ſlain on King *Henry's* Behalf at the Battel of *St. Albans*. The King could deny no Requeſt made by ſuch an eloquent Tongue, and conquering Beauty; and immediately himſelf became as earneſt in ſolliciting her, but in a more unlawful Suit. But ſhe arm'd her ſelf with a Modeſty ſufficient to deſtroy the moſt violent Batteries of Luſt; and tho' ſhe was on all Sides attack'd by the moſt inſinuating Temptations, ſhe repulſ'd her Enemy ſo nobly, that he offer'd to parly upon honourable Terms. For when the King perceiv'd her adorn'd with Chaſtity ſtrong enough to reſiſt him, who ſcarce ever fail'd in ſuch Attempts, he became enamour'd on the Beauty of her Mind, and concluded that her Virtue was Dowry enough to marry her to the higheſt Monarch upon Earth. The Reaſons of State were directly againſt this Marriage, which ſhew'd the Danger of exaſperating ſo potent an Allie as the *French King*, and ſo dangerous a Subject as the Earl of *Warwick*, as likewise the Inconveniencies of raiſing a Widow to his Bed, who could bring nothing but Poverty and an unprovided Iſſue; who if not advanc'd would be a Scorn to his Children, and if otherwiſe a Charge to his Exchequer, and an Envy to the Nobility. Yet the charming Object, and his unbounded Paſſion prevail'd ſo far, that notwithstanding the Dutcheſs of *York* his Mother moſt violently oppos'd him, by throwing the higheſt Calumnies upon the Lady *Gray*, and alledging a Pre-contract with the Lady *Lucy*, he broke through all Difficulties, and marry'd her privately. Not long after, upon the twenty fixth of Day of *May*, he crown'd her Queen with the uſual Solemnities. Her Mother was *Jaquellin* Daughter to *Peter of Luxemburg* Earl of *St. Paul*, and Dutcheſs to *John Duke of Bedford* Regent of *France*; after whoſe Death ſhe marry'd to Sir *Richard Woodville* Knight, and among others bore him this celebrated Lady.

King Edward falls in Love with the Lady Gray.

A. D.

1465.

Reg. 5.

He marries her.

None were pleas'd with this Match, the Nobility leſs than the Commonalty; their Grandeur being obſcur'd by the ſudden Splendor of the Queen's Relations: Her Father was created Earl of *Rivers*, and ſhortly after made High-Conſtable of *England*: Her Brother *Anthony* was enrich'd by the Marriage of the Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Scales*, which Title was likewise conſerr'd upon him: Her Son *Thomas Gray*, whom ſhe had by her former Husband, afterwards marry'd the Daughter of the Lord *Harrington*, and was created Marquels of *Dorſet*. Hiſtorians obſerve many Calamities that were caus'd by this Marriage; as the Deaths of innumerable *English Men*, King *Edward's* Expulſion from his Dominions, his Children declar'd ſpurious, and murder'd, and the Queen's Houſe extirpated. All which begun from the proud Earl of *Warwick*, who being by this deceiv'd and wounded in his Reputation, parted from *France* with ſuch furious Reſentments, as he could not wholly conceal from the *French King*. Being return'd into *England*, he ſo behav'd himſelf with King *Edward*, that he ſeem'd not at all diſoblig'd; while the preſent Injury reviv'd the Remembrance of many formerly receiv'd. He ſaw how the King apprehended his Greatneſs, and grew jealous of his Power; that his Deſign was to depreſs him, when himſelf was better eſtabliſh'd; that he thought himſelf no King, while Men judg'd him as neceſſary to the Conſervation of the State, as he was in the obtaining of it; and that he ſought all Occaſions to bereave him of Mens good Opinions. All which caus'd him to believe that he was ſent into *France* for the ſame purpoſe. To which ſome add, that King *Edward* had provok'd him by attempting the Chaſtity of his Daughter or Neice; thereby endeavouring to diſhonour the Family of his Kinfman, Servant and Benefactor. Theſe Conſiderations join'd together, begot in him ſuch a Hatred that all *England*, *France* and *Iſlanders* could never extinguiſh; ſo that he reſolv'd to depoſe him, and reinthroned King *Henry*, as ſoon as a fit Occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelf. In order to which, by the King's leave he retir'd to *Warwick*, under Pretence of Indispoſition of Health; yet the King made ſome Diſcovery of his Diſcontents, but not ſufficient for his own Security; for he thought him not ſo able to drive him from, as to liſt him into a Throne.

The Earl of Warwick enraged at it.

His Deſign.

In

A. D. In the following Year the Queen was deliver'd of a Daughter, named *Elizabeth*, who afterwards put a happy Period to the Civil Wars, by marrying with
 1466. King *Henry* the Seventh. In which Year King *Edward* concluded a Treaty
 Reg. 6. of Alliance with the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, who upon Occasion might
 King Edward's by way of Diversion assist him in *Gascony* and *Languedock*; and likewise for
 Alliances. the same Respect, he concluded a Truce with *Scotland* for fifteen Years. But
 the Alliance of the old Duke of *Burgundy* was that which most avail'd him,
 and which re-establish'd him in his Kingdom when he had lost it. This Prince
 had a Son, *Charles* the Count *Caralois*, who by two several Wives having
 but one Daughter, his Father desir'd to marry him a third Time, hoping to se-
 cure the Succession by Issue Male. He bethought himself of *Margaret*, Sister
 to King *Edward*, a Princess of admirable Beauty, and endu'd with a Spirit not
 usual to her Sex; but her being of the House of *York* made him stagger in his
 Resolutions, because he was nearly related to the House of *Lancaster*. Yet
 since he could make no Alliance more formidable to *France*, or more advanta-
 1467. gious to the *Low-Countries*, he sent over *Anthony* the Eldest of his Natural
 Reg. 7. Sons, commonly call'd the Bastard of *Burgundy*, with some others, as Am-
 bassadors into *England* for this Purpose. He came with a pompous Retinue of
 four hundred Horse, with rich Liveries, and richer Furniture; and was graci-
 ously receiv'd by King *Edward*. The Affair being propos'd in Council, none
 withstood it but the disoblig'd Earl of *Warwick*; for forming the Rebellion
 he had formerly design'd, he conceiv'd the Match would be injurious to King
Lewis, on whom he intended to rely, and beneficial to King *Edward*, whom
 he intended to destroy. But he having but a single Vote, the Ambassador's Re-
 quest was granted, and King *Edward* promis'd Amity to the Friends of *Burgun-*
A Marriage dy, and threaten'd Enmity to his Adversaries. He presented his Sister to the
 between the Lord *Anthony*, and the other Ambassadors, who kiss'd her Hand, as their
 Duke of Bur- Princess, and presented her with many rich Jewels, which she accepted with
 gundy and King Terms of Gratitude both to her Father-in-Law and Husband. The Entertain-
 Edward's Sister Margaret. ments made upon this Occasion were great and magnificent; and Challenges at
 Tilt pass'd between *Anthony* and the Lord *Scales*, Brother to the Queen, and
 between his Followers and the *English* Gentry. In the midst of these Rejoy-
 cings, News was brought of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Death, which much
 afflicted the Lord *Anthony*; so taking leave of the King, with rich Presents he
 pass'd over into *Brabant*, and made such a Relation of the Princess to the new
 Duke his half Brother, as abundantly satisfy'd him; who in the following Year
 desir'd King *Edward* to send her over to him, according to the Articles of the
 Contract; which accordingly was perform'd. After a solemn and magnificent
 Departure, she took Shipping at *Dover*, attended by five hundred Horse, and
 accompany'd by her two elder Sisters the Dutchess of *Exeter* and *Suffolk*. She
 landed at *Sluce*, and went from thence to *Bourges*, where the Marriage was con-
 summated.

A. D. The high Earl of *Warwick's* Resentments against King *Edward* still daily
 1468. encreasing, he resolv'd immediately to perform what he had long design'd; and
 Reg. 8. because dangerous Resolutions are not to be undertaken without great Supports,
 he judg'd the Assistance of his two own Brothers most proper, the Arch-Bishop
 of *York* and the Marquis *Montague*. Discouraging with them of the Reasons
 that mov'd him to this Undertaking, he made an odious Parallel between *Henry*
 and *Edward*, magnifying the Gratitude and Goodness of the Former, and ag-
 gravating the Ingratitude and Wickedness of the Latter, *Who when their Family*
The Sum of *had been foremost to spend their Lives and Estates in the Service of his Fa-*
Warwick's Re- *ther and himself, he had not recompenc'd them according to their uncommon*
sentiments. *Deserts; and durst still upbraid them with his being the Raiser of their Fa-*
mily, when next to Heaven they ought their chiefest Honour to King Henry:
That not contented to vilifie them, he had endeavour'd to disgrace them in a
most tender Point, by attempting to violate the Honour of a Daughter of
their

their Family. That he had thrown such an Affront upon him relation to the Match with the Lady Bona, as he would not have done to the most despicable of his Subjects; and that he no ways excus'd it, but pass'd it over in Silence, not considering that a Man's Honour was more dear to him than his Life. Since therefore he had acted so contrary to Justice and Gratitude, his Resolution was to use all Means to take that Crown from him, which he had plac'd on his Head, and put it again upon Henry, a good and lawful King. That since they were Sharers in the Injuries, they ought to be so in the Revenge; which might easily be effected, if they would be as vigorous and as hearty, as many of the chief Nobility of the Nation, as also several foreign Princes. This unexpected Proposition surpriz'd the two Brothers, who seem'd averse to a Compliance. But the Arch-Bishop after long Disputes giving way, the Marquess with much Difficulty suffer'd himself to be persuaded, but still with great Unwillingness. Which Ambiguity was the Ruin of them all; for being not able to deny his Brother, nor to betray his Prince, he did amiss on both Sides: He assist'd *Edward* by not cordially assisting his Brother, and betray'd his Brother by not resolutely betraying *Edward*.

His two Brothers join with him.

The Earl of *Warwick* having thus laid the Ground-work of his ruinous Building, he pursu'd the Fabrick with the King's second Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, who being then a Male-content, he resolv'd to found the Bottom of his Inclinations. But he partly anticipated the Earl's Complaints by exclaiming against the King his Brother, *That he was in his own Nature disobliging and ungrateful, and chiefly to such as had most oblig'd him: That since he had no Esteem for his own Brothers, much less would he show any to his other Friends; but more valu'd his Wife's Blood, than his own. That he had disposed of three of the richest Heiresses of the Nation to her Son, her Brother, and the Lord Hastings, three upstart Lords; and that without any Regard to his own Brothers.* Continuing such like angry and threatening Discourse, he gave the Earl Occasion to lay himself open to him, and to offer his Daughter to him with a Portion equivalent to those he had nam'd, with innumerable other Promises and Prospects. The Duke at this Time blinded with Passion and Resentment, contrary to all Reason and Policy, join'd with the ambitious Earl in a Design which might easily and naturally prove the Ruin of them both. The Order they took was to retire themselves to *Calais*; and that the Arch-Bishop of *York* and the Marquess *Montague* should privately procure some Insurrection in the North of *England*, and give the Occasion of the War, while they being beyond Sea, might not be thought the Authors of it. Being thus repair'd to *Calais*, and having sworn by the Holy Sacrament to all Things agreed between them, the Duke upon the foresaid Promises and Expectations marry'd the Earl's Daughter.

He gains the Duke of Clarence to his Party.

The two Brothers being gone to *York*, of which one was Arch-Bishop, and the other President, fail'd not to put in Execution what was agreed among themselves. The first Occasion of Arms was rais'd from the Abuse of a Charity in an Hospital dedicated to St. *Leonard* in the City of *York*, whose Revenue consisted chiefly of Corn, which several factious Persons alledg'd was misapplied, and given from the Poor to the Rich. To redress which Grievance, one *Robert Huldern* enter'd into Action, and with fifteen thousand strong attempted the City of *York*, where the Marquess *Montague* was President for King *Edward*, who with a select Body of Men issu'd out against the Enemy, repuls'd them, and struck off the Head of their Captain before the Gates of the City: But whether he did this in Policy to gain Credit with the King, or else in Duty or Irresolution, as not thoroughly moulded to this Commotion, is uncertain. But however the Rebels were no ways discourag'd at *Huldern's* Death, but became more resolute and vigorous in pursuing what they had begun. To which end they chose themselves two Commanders of greater Note, and of eminent Calling, which were *Henry*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitz-ugh*, and Sir *Henry*

A. D.
1469.
Reg. 9.

A Rebellion rais'd.

ry Nevill, Son and Heir to the Lord *Latimer*, the one being Nephew and the other Cousin-German to the Earl of *Warwick*. These being but young, and not fully experienc'd in Arms, chose for their Conductor Sir *John Convers*, a Knight of such Conduct and Valour as was scarcely to be found in all the North; who designing to strike at the Head, determin'd to march directly for *London*, proclaiming in his Passage, *That Edward was neither a just Prince to God, nor a profitable King to the Nation.*

King Edward's
Preparations.

King *Edward* hearing of these Northern Proceedings, and that his own Brother and *Warwick* were preparing against him, sent for the Lord *Herbert*, whom he had created Earl of *Pembroke*, to be General in the North; who joyfully undertook the Service, partly to deserve the King's Favour, and partly in Revenge to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had hinder'd his Son from marrying with a rich Heiress. So taking with him his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, a valiant Gentleman, and six or seven thousand well arm'd *Welshmen*, he advanc'd forwards, and was join'd by the Lord *Stafford* with eight hundred Archers. Understanding that the Northern Army was near *Northampton*, he march'd that Way; and desiring to know their Number and Order, Sir *Richard Herbert* offer'd to make the Discovery. He with two thousand *Welsh* Horse took Shelter in a Wood, by which they were to pass; and having view'd them, and desirous to return with the Relation to his Brother, he could not withhold his Men from charging them on the Rere; which marching in good Order, as expecting such an Attack, fac'd about, and fighting valiantly, slew many of them, took many Prisoners, and dispers'd the rest, now too late sorry that they had not obey'd their Leader.

Dissentions in
the King's Ar-
my.

King *Edward* understanding this ill Beginning, muster'd his Subjects on every side, designing to ingage with the Northern Forces in Person; and the Earl of *Warwick*, as vigorous on the other Side, gather'd his Friends to encounter with *Pembroke* and the *Welsh*. But before any Supplies came to either of them, Fortune brought the two Armies together upon a fair Plain call'd *Danes-More* near the Town of *Hedgecot*, within three Miles of *Banbury*. The Earl of *Pembroke* and the Lord *Stafford* were lodg'd in *Banbury*; where to avoid Disputes, they agreed each of them to take such Lodgings as Chance should present them. *Stafford* being lodg'd to his Satisfaction, the Earl, forgetting his Agreement, and using Authority, oblig'd him to give Place and remove; which he unwillingly obey'd, because by this he was to quit the Company of a fair Gentlewoman in the same Place. However to show his Resentment, he basely abandon'd the Town with all his Men, and left the Earl destitute of the Archers, who were the most necessary Part of the Army; which still did not discourage the Earl, who resolv'd to suffer any Mischief rather than retreat. Early in the Morning the Lord *Latimer's* Son Sir *Henry Nevill*, one of the Northern Leaders, thinking he had been too idle, went forth to skirmish, being attended by a Company of light Horse; but pressing on too eagerly, he was taken Prisoner, and soon after put to Death in cool Blood; his Youth, Nobility and Valour not being sufficient to save him. This Act of Cruelty highly incens'd the Northern People, who resolving to revenge his Death, let fly their Arrows with their utmost Fury, and soon forc'd their Adversaries to come to a general Battel, which was very sharp and bloody. The Earl of *Pembroke*, who fought with Disadvantage, thought it not sufficient to execute the Part of a Commander, but also of a common Soldier; while his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, hurry'd on with a prodigious Impetuosity, so behav'd himself, that the true Story of his Valour is not to be exceeded in fabulous Romances: For forcing his Way through the Enemies Troops with his devouring Sword, he twice pass'd the Length of their Army, returning to his own Men, if not untouched, yet without any mortal Wound: Occasion'd, as it was believ'd, by his uncommon Worth, which being admir'd by all who saw it, by joining Delight with Danger, and Wonder with Delight, restrain'd the Hands of all Men from hurting

The ninth Bat-
tel at Danes-
More, or Ban-
bury Field.

hurting him. The Victory seem'd wholly on his Side, 'till *John Clapham*, a Servant to the Earl of *Warwick*, coming in with a few fresh Soldiers, and crying out *A Warwick, A Warwick!* so much terrify'd the *Welsh*, that believing *Warwick* was arriv'd with all his Forces, they betook themselves to Flight, leaving a bloody Field, cover'd with five thousand slain upon the Spot. *The Lancastrians prevail.*

This Battel, like the rest of those in these miserable Times, was succeeded by something more dreadful and shocking than War it self; which was the sedate Execution of many great and worthy Men. For the Earl of *Pembroke*, with Sir *Richard* his Brother, and many other Gentlemen of Note were taken Prisoners, and without any Trial at Law beheaded at *Banbury*. The Earl who was appointed to suffer first, pathetically addressing himself to *Coniers* and *Clapham*, who sat as Judges, petition'd them in Behalf of his Brother; alledging his Youth and graceful Person answerable to his martial Mind; that his Valour, even by themselves admir'd, might one Day be serviceable to his Country. But the Death of *Henry Nevill* had so far exasperated them, that it occasion'd not only the Execution of these two, but also of many others; a deplorable Tragedy represented by so many worthy Men. Their Cruelties did not cease here; *Great Severities.* for those of *Northampton* having chosen one *Robert* of *Riddisdale* for their Commander, and joining certain others with them, they surpriz'd the Earl of *Rivers*, Father to the Queen, and his Son *John*, in his Mansion-House of *Grafton*, brought them to *Northampton*, and without any Process of Law beheaded them: That deformed Body hark'ning to no Arguments but those of Blood and Fury. An envy'd Life and a cruel Death was the Sum of all those Favours which Fortune conferr'd upon this Earl, who esteem'd himself so happy in his Marriage with the Duke of *Bedford's* Widow, and in that of his Daughter's with the present King. For as his Ascent to these extraordinary Heights was ever view'd with malignant Eyes, so his Descent was ruinous and fatal; not any one of his seven Sons leaving behind him Issue to perpetuate his Name; some of them likewise coming to violent Ends. A Misfortune either seldom hap'ning, or not observ'd in meaner Families. As to the Lord *Stafford*, the Cause of this Overthrow, he met with a deserved Punishment from King *Edward's* Party; for by diligent Enquiry being found in *Devonshire*, he lost his Head at *Bridgewater* without any Process.

In the mean Time the Victors were retir'd to *Warwick*, where the Earl of that Name was arriv'd with a great Body of armed Men; and understanding that King *Edward* was marching towards him, he gave Advice of it to the Duke of *Clarence*, who immediately join'd him with a considerable Force. They were ready to come to Battel with all Speed, according to the usual Custom of the *English*, had not some great Persons, desirous of Peace and the publick Good, interpos'd to find some Way of Accommodation. This Negotiation made King *Edward* so careless, that confidently trusting to a Peace, he neglected all the Duties of military Discipline, and began in his Camp to taste the Pleasures of a Court; while *Warwick*, more wary than he, being certify'd by his Spies of the Negligence of the Guards and all the rest, who behav'd themselves as if they had no Enemies, set upon the King by Night, and without any Resistance took him Prisoner. *Warwick takes King Edward Prisoner.* Thus was King *Edward* betray'd into the Hands of an insulting Enemy, who in the most insolent Terms upbraided his Prisoner with Ingratitude to his great Merits; and boasted *It was now both in his Power and Resolution to plain that Mountain he had rais'd, and to elevate the Valley of King Henry's Fortunes to the Throne he once possess'd*: And immediately sent away the King Prisoner to *Middleham* Castle in *Yorkshire*, there to be kept by the Arch-Bishop of *York* his Brother. But as through Negligence he fell into this Condition, so by good Fortune he freed himself from it; making use of his wonted Affability, by which he caus'd the Arch-Bishop to treat him like a King, not a Prisoner, allowing him not only the Liberty of the Castle, but the Freedom to hunt, setting but a small Guard upon him, who either could not

He makes his Escape. or would not secure him. For *Edward* having sent to Sir *William Stanley* and Sir *Thomas Burgh* his faithful Friends, to come with a select Body of Men to rescue him; they successfully perform'd the Service, whilst he was a hunting, meeting with no Resistance from the Guards, who were either too weak, or else, which is more probable, were brib'd to this Behaviour. The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this Escape, was at first distracted with a thousand Imaginations; but finding no Remedy, made use of Necessity, and gave it out *That himself had so caus'd it, having the Power to make and unmake Kings at his Pleasure.*

A Parly between King Edward and the Earl of Warwick. King *Edward* immediately repair'd to *York*, where he was receiv'd with great Honour and Satisfaction, which made him reasonably hope for a further Supply of Men and other Necessaries; but failing in that Point, after a short Stay, fearing the Arch-Bishop's Pursuit, he with a small Train posted to *Lancaster*, where he found the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlain well strengthen'd for his Convoy. His Spirits then reviv'd, and his Train daily increasing, with speedy Journies he got to *London*; where all his Studies and Consultations were, how to be reveng'd on these disloyal Lords, his Brother *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*: And they on the other side, enrag'd at the Arch-Bishop's Folly and Neglect, sought Means to increase their Party and Interest against the King. The miserable Nation thus torn by these unnatural Divisions, and no Estate sure to enjoy what was their own, the Nobility again began to solicit both Parties to an Accommodation. To that end having first obtain'd Liberty to ride freely without Molestation, and so effectually laid open the State of the Land, whose Ruin was become so imminent by these intestine Wars, that the Natives languish'd, Foreigners rejoic'd, and God in his Displeasure had made the *English* in an unnatural Rage turn their Swords into their own Bowels, they at length so far prevail'd, that the Duke and Earl upon perfect Confidence came to *London*, accompany'd with small Numbers in respect to their great Danger. Here falling into a formal Conference with *Edward* at *Westminster*, he severely tax'd them with Disloyalty, and they him with Ingratitude; so that their Resentments were nothing appeas'd, but much more exasperated; upon which with angry Words they departed, the King to *Canterbury*, and they again to *Warwick*.

A. D. 1470. Reg. 10. The enraged Earl of *Warwick* now caus'd new Commotions to be rais'd in *Lincolnshire*, under the Guidance of Sir *Robert Wells*, an expert Soldier, and Son to the Lord *Wells*, who with thirty thousand Men in Arms disturb'd the Country, and in every Place proclaim'd King *Henry*; and at length encamping not far from *Stamford*, he there resolv'd to wait for the Approach of his Opposers. King *Edward* hearing of this Insurrection, sent for the Lord *Wells* his Father, and getting him into his Possession, commanded him to write to his Son to desist; and then marching towards *Stamford*, he took this Lord in his Company, hoping that the Son would not bear Arms against his own Father in the Field. But whatever he wrot, or the King conceiv'd, Sir *Robert* proceeded in his former Designs; which so enraged King *Edward*, that he beheaded the Lord *Wells*, with Sir *Thomas Dymock* who had marry'd his Daughter, tho' he had given them his Promise for their Lives and Safeties. An Action barbarous and unfaithful! the Report of which generally clouded the Reputation of King *Edward*; but in Sir *Robert Wells* it begot nothing but Fury and Revenge; who without staying for *Warwick*, who was preparing for his Assistance, set furiously upon King *Edward* and his Army near *Stamford*, where between both Parties was fought a most terrible bloody Battel. At length Sir *Robert* was taken Prisoner, with Sir *Thomas Deland* and others, which so discourag'd the *Lincolnshire* Men, that throwing off their Coats they all fled; upon which Account it was afterwards call'd *The Battel of Loose-Coat Field*, in which were slain at least ten thousand Men. After which Victory King *Edward*, proceeding in the usual Practice of these calamitous Times, commanded

The tenth Battel at Stamford call'd Loose-Coat Field.

The Yorkists prevail.

Wells

Wells and many others of Note to be put to Death, as the chief Cauſers of theſe dangerous Commotions.

This untimely Conflict and Overthrow drove *Clarence* and *Warwick* to the laſt Extremity, who being unprovided to encounter King *Edward's* Forces, gave way to Neceſſity, and from *Dartmouth* embark'd themſelves and their Ladies, both to apply themſelves to King *Lewis*, no Friend to *Edward*, and to ſecure themſelves in *Calais*, where *Warwick* was Governor. Theſe caſting Anchor before the Town, and giving Notice that they were ready to land, the Lord *Vauclere*, a *Gascoign* whom *Warwick* had made his Deputy, to their great Surprize diſcharg'd ſome Canon againſt them, and let them know that they ſhould not enter there. In the mean Time the Dutcheſs of *Clarence* fell in Labour, and on Shipboard was deliver'd of a Son, which Child *Vauclere* would hardly ſuffer to be baptiz'd in the Town, nor without much Entreaty permit two Flaggons of Wine to be convey'd to the Dutcheſs in the Haven. For which Uſage and Service King *Edward* by his Letters Patents made him chief Governor of *Calais*, and diſcharg'd the Earl as a Rebel and Traitor. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who hated *Warwick* for hindering his Marriage, was alſo ſo well ſatisfy'd with *Vauclere*, that he ſent Thanks to him with a Promise of an annual Penſion of a thouſand Crowns, if he would be true and faithful to King *Edward*, as he had already ſhown himſelf. But tho' *Vauclere* gave both his Word and his Oath to be faithful to King *Edward*, he privately ſent Word to *Warwick* of the Danger he would meet from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and from *Duras* the King's Admiral, ſo that to land there would turn to his final Confuſion. His Advice was therefore that he ſhould haſten into *France*, where the King was his particular Friend, but as for the Town of *Calais* he wiſh'd him to take no Thought, but promis'd to give him a good Account of it, when Time ſhould ſerve. Upon this Advice he ſail'd towards *Dieppe* in *Normandy*, and in his Paſſage took ſeveral Ships belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and gain'd a conſiderable Treafure towards his preſent Occaſions. Arriving at *Dieppe*, by the Command of King *Lewis* he was receiv'd with great Reſpect, and after that by him met at *Amboiſe*; where cauſing him to be provided with all Neceſſaries, he promis'd him his beſt Aſſiſtance, and cauſ'd many Ships to be fitted out for him, well furniſh'd with Soldiers and Mariners. And this he did the ſooner, becauſe the Duke of *Burgundy* had threaten'd him, if he aſſiſted *Warwick*, or any other againſt his Wife's Brother King *Edward*. King *Henry's* Queen *Margaret* came to meet him as ſoon as he heard of his Arrival, and with her the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Oxford*, the laſt of whom had lately eſcap'd out of Priſon in *England*. King *Lewis* to have the ſtronger Obligation, cauſ'd Queen *Margaret's* Son Prince *Edward* to marry with *Anne* the Earl of *Warwick's* ſecond Daughter; ſo that *Warwick* took for his Son-in-Law the Son of him whom he formerly depos'd, that he might now depoſe him who he had plac'd in his Room. Upon this Marriage, *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* took an Oath never to put a Period to the War, 'till King *Henry* or his Son *Edward* ſhould recover his Kingdom; and Queen *Margaret* promis'd to make them two Governors of the Nation, 'till her Son ſhould be of full Age.

Clarence and Warwick leave the Nation.

They are receiv'd by the French King.

They make new Alliances.

King *Edward*, in the miſt of his Pleaſures, hearing of this Confederacy againſt him, began to rouse himſelf, and deal more ſeverely with thoſe of the *Lancaſtrian* Faction; ſo that many of them daily took Sanctuary, or yielded themſelves to his Mercy: Among whom the Marqueſs *Montague*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick* was one, who with fair Promiſes was receiv'd into Favour. But while both Parties were making their Preparations, a ſubtle and ingenious Gentlewoman was ſent over to *France*, who under Colour of viſiting the Dutcheſs of *Clarence*, might prevail upon her Husband. Being arriv'd at *Calais*, ſhe impos'd upon *Vauclere* by making him believe that Affairs were near to an Accommodation, and that King *Edward* had ſent her over for that purpoſe; which cauſ'd him freely to give her a ſafe Conduct. Having gain'd Acceſs

A Gentlewoman ſent over to the Duke of Clarence.

Who prevails
with him to
quit War-
wick's Inte-
rest.

cess to the Duke of Clarence, the Secret to be deliver'd was to counsel him *not to cause the Destruction of his own Family, by again setting up the House of Lancaster, but to remember their ancient Hatred and Division; adding, That he might well assure himself that the Earl of Warwick, having marry'd his Daughter to the Prince of Wales, and already done Homage to him, would by all possible Methods seek to make him King; not only to the Ruin of the King his Brother's Interest, but also to his own.* This Gentlewoman so wisely executed the Charge committed to her, that she won over the Duke of Clarence, who promis'd to revolt to King *Edward*, immediately after his Return into *England*: Which shows of what little Efficacy Oaths and Alliance are, when a powerful Interest comes in place. She was a Person nicely advis'd, and of few Words, and by reason of her Sex had leave granted to pass to her Mistress, when a Man would have been refus'd; and notwithstanding the profound Cunning of *Vauclere*, she went beyond him, and was the sole Manager of an Enterprize, which at length ruin'd *Warwick* and his whole Faction.

Warwick and
his Party land
at Dartmouth.

And now all Things being in Readiness, as Ships, Men and Mony, supply'd by the *French King*, the Admiral of *France* was sent to secure them from the Duke of *Burgundy's* Fleet, which with great Numbers and Forces lay in the Mouth of the *Seine*, to fight with *Warwick*, when ever he began to set Sail. But here Providence gave a remarkable Turn to King *Edward's* Affairs, and sent such a Storm against the Duke's Fleet, the Night before the design'd Expedition, as destroy'd several of them, and dispers'd the rest, some into *Scotland*, and some into *Denmark*. Shortly after the *English* set Sail with a fair Wind and a calm Sea, and landed at *Dartmouth*, from whence they had been driven into *France* almost six Months before. King *Edward* relying upon *Burgundy* abroad, and imagining all to be Friends who flatter'd him at home, by Day gave himself up to Hunting and Hawking, and at Nights to Dancings and amorous Addresses to fair Ladies; little regarding the Approach of them, who design'd to destroy all his Pleasures. For *Warwick* being landed, proclaim'd King *Henry*, commanding all from sixteen to sixty, upon the severest Penalties to take Arms against *Edward* Duke of *York*, the most unjust Usurper of King *Henry's* rightful Crown; and it was almost incredible to see the Confluence of them who came daily in to him, and who not long before applauded and approv'd of none but King *Edward*. Thus marching towards *London*, his Numbers continually encreas'd; which the youthful and vigorous King seem'd little to regard; but conceiving he had now *Warwick* in a Snare, wrote to the Duke of *Burgundy* to secure the Seas against his Retreat, and to the Lords of *England* to attend him in his Wars. But most of them neglected his Commands, and very few repair'd to him; which soon gave him such a Sight of his Danger, that with his Brother of *Glocester*, the Lords *Hastings* and *Scales*, he suddenly retir'd from *London*, and hasten'd towards *Nottingham*, there to determine what Methods to follow.

His Progress
and Success.

King Edward
retires.

In the mean Time the Bastard *Fauconbridge* in the West, and the Earl of *Pembroke* in *Wales*, proclaim'd King *Henry*; and at the same Time Doctor *Godard* preaching at *Paul's-Cross*, declar'd by reading of Bills and other Proofs, that King *Henry* was the true and undoubted Heir to the *English* Crown. Nor was the Marquis *Montague* the same Person he lately shew'd himself, who having gather'd six thousand Men in the Name of King *Edward*, and brought them near *Nottingham*, suddenly drew back his Forces, alledging, *That Edward was ungrateful, and regardless of his Friends, of whom himself was an Example, who having served him in many bloody Battels, was only rewarded with the bare Title of Marquis, without any Maintenance at all: And therefore he had just Cause never more to draw his Sword in his Quarrel, and those who did would receive no better Reward than himself.* These and the like Allegations being divulg'd among the rude Multitude, it caus'd a further Change in their Inclinations and Affections; in every Street Bonfires were made,

made, in every Church Bells rung, Psalms and Songs were sung at every Meeting, and every Man shouted *King Henry, King Henry!* whose Eccho likewise redoubled *a Warwick, a Warwick!* And indeed all so applauded the present Face of Affairs, that King *Edward* finding no Place of Safety, he went with some Danger to *Lynn*, where he found two *Holland* Ships and one *English*; where he imbarc'd himself with seven hundred Men, without the least manner of Baggage or Mony. In his Passage he was encounter'd by eight *Easterling* Ships, so that with great Difficulty he escap'd to *Alchemar* in *Holland*, belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*; where having no Mony to pay for his Waftage, he gave the Captain a rich Vestment lin'd with Sables, promising not to forget his Civility, and to satisfie him better afterwards. A strange Change of Fortune happening in a few Hours to such a Prince merely out of Remissness and Carelessness; who lost a Kingdom without one Blow given, and was constrain'd to fly to a Prince, whose Presence alone upbraided him with his Negligence, Lust and Male-Administration.

He leaves England, and flies to the Duke of Burgundy.

In these Times of Misery, Queen *Elizabeth*, the Original of these Alterations, seeing her self destitute and abandon'd, took Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where with a small Attendance she was deliver'd of a Son nam'd *Edward*; he who a short Space after his Father's Death, was the Fifth King of that Name, who sympathiz'd in Birth, Fate and Death with his Cousin the Son of the Dutche's of *Clarence* born on Ship-board before *Calais*. Many of her best Friends likewise betook themselves to several Sanctuaries, who afterwards prov'd highly serviceable at *Edward's* Return. The *Kentish* Men, prone to Insurrections, finding that one King was fled, and the other in Prison, came to *London*, and pillag'd the Suburbs, and design'd to have enter'd the City, had not the Earl of *Warwick* diverted them, who coming there, punish'd the Accomplices of the Insurrection; which Piece of Justice added much to his Reputation and the Peoples Love. This great Earl, accompany'd with his Brother the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Prior of *St. Johns*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Bastard *Fauconbridge*, the Lord *Stanley*, and other Gentlemen, some for Love, some for Fear, and some to gaze at a changeable World, upon the sixth Day of *October* enter'd the Tower of *London*, where King *Henry* had been detain'd Prisoner about seven Years, and there again nominated him for their lawful King. Immediately they convey'd him roab'd in a long blue Velvet Gown through the City to the Bishop's Palace, where a pompous Court was kept till the thirteenth of the same Month; upon which Day he went in Procession crown'd to the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, the Earl of *Warwick* bearing his Train, and the Earl of *Oxford* his Sword, the People crying out *God save King Henry!* forgetting that not long before they had pray'd for *Edward* against him. Thus was the Crown plac'd sometimes upon *Henry*, and sometimes upon *Edward*, according to the Power of the prevailing Party.

Warwick comes to London.

King Henry deliver'd by him out of Prison.

In King *Henry's* Name a Parliament met at *Westminster* upon the twenty sixth Day of *November*; in which *Edward* was declar'd a Traitor to his Country, and an Usurper of the Crown, his Estate confiscated, all Statutes made in his Name and by his Authority annull'd, the Crowns of *England* and *France* continu'd upon *Henry*, and the Heirs Male of his Body, and for want of such, upon the Duke of *Clarence*, and his Heirs Male, who hereafter was to be acknowledg'd the next Heir to his Father *Richard* Duke of *York*; and *Edward*, for his Crimes committed, depriv'd of his Birthright, and all other Advantages attending it. The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Oxford* were restor'd to their Blood, Dignities and Estates; and the Marquess *Montague* was receiv'd into Favour, and his Fault pardon'd, since his Revolt from *Edward* was the chief Cause of his deserting the Kingdom. Those who sided with him were depriv'd of their Honours, Titles and Faculties; and such punish'd as in this Contest had taken up Arms against King *Henry*. Upon which Account *John Tiptoft* Earl of

King Henry recogniz'd, and Edward declar'd a Traitor in Parliament.

War-

Worcester, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland* for *Edward*, being found in a Hollow Tree near *Huntington*, was brought to *London* and beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. Finally the Government of the King and Kingdom was committed to the great Earl of *Warwick* and his Son-in-Law the Duke of *Clarence*: So that King *Henry*, who scarce ever possess'd more than the Name of a King, seem'd not so much to be set at Liberty, as to have his Keepers chang'd, and his Prison enlarg'd.

About this Time *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, going into *Wales* to view his Land in *Pembrokeshire*, found there the Lord *Henry*, Son to *Margaret*, the only Daughter and Heir to *John Beaufort* the first Duke of *Somerset*, not then full ten Years of Age, kept in some measure like a Prisoner, yet honourably educated by the Lady *Herbert*. This remarkable Youth was brought by him to *London*, and presented to King *Henry*; who after he had seriously fix'd his Eyes upon him, solemnly spoke thus to the Lords about him, *Lo this is the Person to whom, after all our violent Struggles, both we and our Adversaries must at last submit.* Which afterwards happening, confirm'd the Opinion that was held of his uncommon Sanctity, since by the Spirit of Prophecy he foresaw the Succession of King *Henry* the Seventh, when at that Time many of both Houses were alive to precede him.

Henry's prophetic Words concerning King Henry the Seventh.

A. D.
1470.
Reg. 10.
King Edward's Endeavours for his Restoration.

III. While all Things in *England* happily succeeded for King *Henry's* Interest, his Rival *Edward* was using all possible Endeavours to recover his Kingdom by the Assistance of his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*. Before his Landing in *Holland* that Duke was inform'd that he was dead, which was no unpleasant News to him, being bias'd by his ancient Inclination to the House of *Lancaster*; and tho' *Warwick's* Power did much disturb him, never expecting to gain him, yet he hop'd strongly to oppose him, by Means of the two Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, who had been maintain'd by him in Time of their Distress. But hearing of *Edward's* Arrival in *Holland*, he was at first confounded, for to assist him openly would draw on him the Enmity of King *Henry*; nor could he in Honour deny him Succours, since his Wife was the other's own Sister. However to prevent all Relief, *Warwick's* first Designs were to divert the Duke of *Burgundy*, justly conceiving that while he was busied with the Arms of *France* in *Picardy*, and those of *England* near *Calais*, Danger would oblige him to look wholly to his own Affairs, without concerning himself with those of other Men. Accordingly he sent a Body of Men to *Calais* to make Inroads into the Parts about *Bouloign*, which were with all dutiful Respect receiv'd by *Vaoclere*; which freed him from all Suspicion of being inclin'd to the contrary Party. For as soon as the News of *Henry's* Re-establishment arriv'd at *Calais*, every one there took upon him the Earl of *Warwick's* Ensigns and Impress, which was a Ragged Staff made of Gold, Silver, Silk or Cloath, according to the Condition of him that wore it. And *Vaoclere* was the first who did so. Still the Duke of *Burgundy* knew not that *Calais* was at *Warwick's* Command; but building much upon *Vaoclere's* former Usage towards *Warwick*, and his accepting a Pension from himself, he sent the famous Historian *Philip Comines* to see what he had to rely on. Upon his Arrival, he soon found his Labour useless; for all he met wore the Earl's Colours; the Gate of his own Lodgings and Chamber-Door were mark'd with the White-Cross; and Songs were every where sung of the strict Amity between King *Lewis* and *Warwick*. This alter'd *Comines's* Measures, and caus'd him to assure *Vaoclere*, That the Duke of *Burgundy* had made no Personal Alliance with *Edward*; since the Articles of the Contract only mention'd *England* and the King thereof; that therefore the Amity between *England* and *Burgundy* should still continue the same, the Name of *Henry* being put in instead of *Edward*. The Duke was not displeas'd at this Agreement, tho' it was not altogether to his Desire; for by this he might secretly act as he pleas'd, while he was free from being suspected by King *Henry's* Party. In the mean Time *Ed-*

The cautious Management of the Duke of Burgundy.

ward

ward us'd all possible Arguments and Persuasions to his Brother *Burgundy*, which at first were but coldly entertain'd by him; for the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter* had shown him what was owing to his Birth, he himself coming from the House of *Lancaster*, and had promis'd what he could desire against *Warwick*, to whom they were both irreconcilable Enemies. *Edward* was not pleas'd to be nourish'd with Hopes, while his Brother made him believe that his Dissembling was necessary for them both; for himself, because he was not to fight with two Kingdoms at the same Time; and for his Brother, because Opportunity might render his Succour more effectual.

At length, *Edward* resolving not to bear any longer Delays, the Duke caus'd four Ships to be made ready for him at *Vere* in *Holland*, which being a free Port, the Ships might seem to be set out by *Edward* himself; and hir'd fourteen more for him of the *Easterlings*, bargaining that they should transport him into *England*, and serve him fifteen Days after his Landing. He also caus'd fifty thousand Florins to be secretly deliver'd to him, and that this Aid might not seem to be given by him, he by Proclamation forbad all Men to assist *Edward*; by which he freed himself from giving Suspicion to *England*, and whatever the Success was, he remain'd Friends to both Sides. And now the Season serving, King *Edward* being two thousand strong, besides his Mariners, took Shipping for his former Kingdom of *England*, attempting first to land in *Norfolk*; but these Coasts being strongly guarded, he hover'd more Northwards, and entring *Humber*, landed at *Ravensthorpe* in *Yorkshire*; the same Place where King *Henry* the Fourth landed, when he came to deprive *Richard* the Second of the Crown, and usurp it to himself. Then imitating the same Person, but much more his own Father, who upon the like Occasion thrice forswore himself, he laid aside all Claim to the Crown, and by Oath declar'd he came only to recover his Inheritance, the Dutchy of *York*. He shew'd the rude Multitude, that flock'd in to his Army, the Letters and Seal of the Earl of *Northumberland*, which as he affirm'd, and caus'd them to believe, was sent for his safe Conduct to enjoy the same; and in every Place where he came, he proclaim'd King *Henry* himself, wearing an *Estrich* Feather, his Son Prince *Edward's* Livery. In the Practice of these popular and plausible Pretensions he approach'd the City of *York*, which was prepar'd to oppose him; but by his insinuating Behaviour and Affability towards the Magistrates, he obtain'd leave to enter upon his ancient Patrimony, upon Condition he swore to two Particulars; First that he would treat the Citizens according to his proffer'd Articles, and Secondly that he would be faithful to all King *Henry's* Commands. To both which he solemnly swore; but immediately after broke the First by seizing the City into his own Hands, and soon after the latter by reassuming his former Title to the Crown. In which may be observ'd both the Forbearance and Justice of Heaven; the one in not immediately punishing him, the other in extending the Punishment to his Family; manifesting, that the deferring of Vengeance is oftentimes the rendring of it more signal.

The Earl of *Warwick*, now hearing that *Edward* was landed, before he had march'd many Miles, sent strict Commands to his Brother the Marquis *Montague*, then residing at *Pontfract* with an Army sufficient to secure those Parts, that he should not suffer his Entrance into *York*; whilst himself was preparing what Forces he could procure to join him. But whether the Marquis purposely conniv'd, or rather wholly shut his Eyes, it is certain he made no haste to intercept his Passage to *York*; nor indeed did he give him any Impediment, when shortly after he in a more hostile Manner march'd from thence towards *Nottingham*, passing quietly near *Pontfract* through the Midst of his Enemies: Which encourag'd many to favour his Designs, justly believing that *Montague* was either a real Friend, or afraid to meet with such a powerful Enemy. At *Nottingham* *Edward* was proclaim'd King, contrary to the Tenure of his first Pretensions, and his Oath at *York*. People flock'd to him every

A. D.

1471.

Reg. 11.

He secretly assist King Edward.

King Edward lands in Yorkshire.

His false Pretences.

He seizes York.

He is proclaimed at Nottingham.

ry Hour; and thus without Fear he pass'd on to *Leicester*, that he might approach his Enemy who lay then at *Warwick*, under the Command of the Earl of that Name, accompany'd with the Earl of *Oxford*, resolving either to give him Battel, or else to find Means to join with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*. The Earl was not well satisfy'd with the Marques his Brother, who by not opposing him had encourag'd and strengthen'd the Enemy: He levy'd Soldiers with all Speed that he might come to Battel, and sent to the Duke of *Clarence* to hasten his March towards him; but apprehending the Danger of his temporizing, he resolv'd to fight alone himself with those Troops he had, and with this Design repair'd to *Coventry*. *Edward*, who soon after his Departure from *Warwick* came thither, follow'd him the same Way; which much perplex'd the Earl, who was sure of nothing but Battel, his Safety depending much upon the Will of Fortune, since he had reason to fear that both his Son-in-Law and Brother were corrupted. Having intrench'd himself, he waited the Arrival of the Duke of *Clarence*, who he understood was not far distant. In the mean Time *Edward* broke up his Camp, as if he design'd to give his Brother *Clarence* Battel by himself, and drew up in Battalia before him. But as soon as they were in Sight of each other, the Duke of *Glocester* ran into *Clarence's* Camp, without so much as demanding the usual safe Conduct, and they seem'd to treat of what long before they had concluded between themselves. Peace was immediately publish'd, and *Edward* proclaim'd King, and the two Brothers joyfully embrac'd each other, as tho' there had never been any Contest between them.

The Duke of
Clarence comes
over to him.

Warwick's An-
ger and Resolu-
tion.

Edward enters
London and a-
gain imprisons
Henry.

The Duke of *Clarence* immediately sent Messengers to excuse his Proceedings to the Earl of *Warwick*, offering him also very honourable and advantageous Conditions with the King his Brother, if he would submit, and prevent the Effusion of so much Blood. But *Warwick* had a Spirit too stubborn to incline to any Conditions but those of his own proposing, much less from One who had directly betray'd him; therefore with Indignation he rejected all Offers of Courtesie, and spoke thus to the Messengers, *Go tell your Master, I had rather be an Earl, and like my self, than a false and perjur'd Duke; and before I falsifie my Oath, like him, I will lay down my Life at my Enemies Feet, which I doubt not but will be dearly purchas'd.* This bold Resolution caus'd *Edward* to be more wary, and to resolve first to secure *Henry*, and gain the City of *London*; whose Citizens hearing of his Approach, and the Encrease of his Army, and considering that *Henry* was unable to oppose him, they thought it most safe to sail with the fairest Wind, therefore set open their Gates, and with publick Applause cry'd out King *Edward*! Upon which the Duke of *Somerset* and others, left to attend the innocent King *Henry*, fled from the City; so that *Henry* was abandon'd, void of Help, Dexterity or Resolution. And *Edward* entring six Months after the Loss of his Kingdom, put *Henry* again into the same Prison, from whence he had been taken by the Earl of *Warwick*, in which, if unmolested, he might have been more happy, according to his Inclinations, than at Liberty and Governing among so many Vicissitudes of Fortune, above which his Piety had already set him. *Edward* in a publick Oration commended those Citizens who had been loyal to him, but so severely threaten'd such Merchants and others as had assist'd King *Henry* with Monies, that he made the rest to tremble. But he who had not his Equal in captivating Mens Minds, after he had held them in a long and dreadful Suspence, encourag'd them by expressing his last Words with as much Clemency, as he had done his former with Terror: Which not being procur'd by the Importunity of Officers, or Supplications, but from his own meer Motion, did so win the Hearts of those that were disinterested, that for the future they did that out of Love, which formerly nothing but Fear could have produc'd. And it is probable that it was his insinuating Behaviour that gave him such an easie Entrance into *London*. Tho' *Comines* alledges three Reasons, of which the Reader must be

be left to judge: First the Gentlemen that were in the Sanctuaries, and the young Prince lately born: Secondly *Edward's* great Debts in the City, which gain'd him the Merchants good Wishes, since the Payment of his Debts depended upon his Success: Thirdly the Love of many of the chief Citizens Wives, who having been familiar with him, drew their Husbands and Friends to favour him.

So soon as *Edward* had settled his Affairs in *London*, he led forth his Army to oppose the Earl of *Warwick*, who having re-united his scatter'd Forces, by easie Marches was come to *St. Albans*; in hopes that his Reputation among the Inhabitants of *London* would draw over many to his Side, or at least so divide them as to render them of little Advantage to his Enemy. But *Edward* jealous of their Levity, which he had often found, interpos'd his Army between the City and the Earl of *Warwick*, to cut off all Means of Communication and Intelligence; and that the Presence of King *Henry* might occasion no Disturbance in *London*, he took him into his Camp; by which the poor distressed King, whatever Side prevail'd, was morally certain of Destruction. King *Edward* encamp'd upon *Gladmore* near *Barnet*; his Van was commanded by the Duke of *Glocester*, the Rere by the Lord *Hastings*, and the main Battel by himself. On the other Side the Earl of *Warwick* with great Resolution prepar'd his Forces; the right Wing consisting of Horse he committed to the Earl of *Oxford*, with whom was join'd the Marquess *Montague*; the Left to the Duke of *Exeter*, and the main Battel, compos'd of Bills and Bows, to the Duke of *Somerset*. He himself with invincible Courage gave Directions in every Quarter; and when he had survey'd his whole Army, and lik'd both their Order and Behaviour, he sent away his Horse, resolving to fight on Foot, and try the utmost of his Fortune, prefixing in his Thoughts no Medium between Death and Victory. Then he affectionately embrac'd all his great Commanders, in each of whom appear'd a Resolution equal to the Cause; and having by many Protestations declar'd their sincere Faith and Forwardness to the present Service, every Man betook himself to his respective Charge.

King Edward marches against the Earl of Warwick, &c.

It was *Easter Sunday* in the Morning, a Day remarkable for that it was stain'd with so much Blood, when both Armies approach'd each other for Battel. That for King *Edward* took Courage from the Justice of their Cause, and the Fortune of their Prince: That for the Earl, from the mighty Valour of their Commander, and from the Piety of him for whose Redemption they now hazarded their Lives. Both fought for their Kings, both Kings having been crown'd, and acknowledg'd by several Parliaments; and indeed the Question was so nice and subtle, that even among Divines it had continu'd long, and at that Day remain'd not absolutely decided. No wonder then if the common Soldiers on both Sides had the same Assurance of Truth, and with equal Justice began a Battel which was one of the fiercest that had ever been fought by enraged Men; the Kingdom and Life being the Question on one Side, and Life and the Kingdom on the other. For six Hours the Victory continu'd doubtful, tho' it often tended to the Earl of *Warwick's* Side; 'till at length Error alone brought Disorder upon his Army, and that a final Overthrow. For the Earl of *Oxford* giving his Men a Star with Streams for his Device, rais'd a Mistake in the Army that they were Part of the Enemy whose Badge was the Sun, which was occasion'd by the Mistiness of the Weather: Wherefore when they were successfully pressing forwards, they were thought to be King *Edward's* Men flying, which caus'd their own main Battel to attack them fiercely on the Back. Upon which Error, *Oxford* suspecting Treason in *Warwick*, immediately fled with eight hundred Men; and King *Edward* with certain fresh Troops in Reserve soon took the Advantage of this Disorder, and forc'd them all to shrink back. *Warwick* us'd all Methods both of Language and Example; but when nothing could prevail he furiously rush'd into the thickest of his Enemies, hoping either that his Men would bravely follow, or that Death would prevent to the Misery of a Defeat. *Montague* seeing to what Danger his Brother was reduc'd,

The eleventh Battel at Barnet, called Barnet-Field.

The Yorkists prevail.

Warwick and
his Brother slain

ran violently in to his Rescue; and both soon oppress'd with Numbers fell, and with them the Spirit of the whole Army. In their Deaths they both clear'd those Calumnies with which they were blemish'd; *Warwick* with having a swift Horse in Readiness for Flight; and *Montague* with holding Intelligence with King *Edward*. Soon after their Fall, King *Edward* obtain'd a compleat Victory with the Death of ten thousand of his Adversaries, and fifteen hundred of his own Men; among whom were none of Note, besides Sir *Humphry Bourchier*, Son to the Lord *Barnes*. The Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Oxford* fled towards *Scotland*; but fearing Danger by the Length of the Way, they repair'd to *Wales* to find out the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Duke of *Exeter*, who was left half slain among the dead Bodies, with great Difficulty escap'd, and took Sanctuary in *Westminster*. The great Slaughter of the common People is attributed to this: That whereas *Edward* in his other Battels was wont to cry out *Kill the Lords and Commanders, and spare the rest*; he acted contrary at this Time, being highly offended that they more esteem'd the Earl of *Warwick* than himself.

Their Glory
extinguish'd.

This was the End of the mighty *Warwick's* worldly Glory, the greatest and busiest Subject of these Times, whose Ambition was to make and unmake Kings; and it could not be expected, that such a stormy Life should be concluded by a calmer Death. His Ruin took its Rise from his Father, who being Cousin-German to *Henry* the Fifth, forsook his Respect to Consanguinity, for that of Affinity with *Richard* Duke of *York*, who marry'd his Sister *Cicily* Mother to the present King *Edward*. Treading in his Father's Steps, by which he ruin'd innocent King *Henry*, he proceeded like an indiscreet Builder, so delighted to pull down and set up, that at length Part of the Frame he had erected himself, fell upon him and crush'd him to Death. When by the most powerful Engines of Policy and Valour he had rais'd up his Thoughts to the Highest, by making himself King in Authority, and causing the Crown to be entail'd upon the two Princes who had marry'd his Daughters, Providence in one Overthrow ruin'd him, and permitted his Sons-in-Law with their Wives not long after to be extinguish'd by strange Deaths, none answering his Hopes but the younger Daughter, and that preposterously to his Design. For she indeed by marrying the Duke of *Glocester*, the Murderer of her Husband Prince *Edward*, became Queen to an Usurper; and soon after by Poison, as it was justly believ'd, put a Period to her Glory. His Grandchildren by the Duke of *Clarence*, who arriv'd to any Age, dy'd by the Ax upon a Scaffold; and all that Greatness he so violently labour'd to confirm in his Posterity, by unnatural Deaths was reduc'd to nothing. His Brother *Montague* was unhappily involv'd in the same Ruins; and both were thought so considerable in the Eye of the Nation, that when King *Edward* return'd triumphantly into *London*, he caus'd their dead Bodies to be expos'd three Days together to all Corners, that every one might be satisfy'd in the Reality of their Deaths. After which they were permitted to be convey'd to *Bilsam* Abby, and interr'd in that Priory among their Ancestors.

Their Bodies
expos'd.

Queen Margaret
lands with
her Forces at
Weymouth.

While King *Edward's* Affairs thus far prosper'd at *London*, the Winds that had stopp'd King *Henry's* Queen *Margaret* at *France* came favourably about to fill her Sails for *England*, and indeed to accomplish the Decree which Heav'n had prefix'd. She and her Son Prince *Edward*, with their *French* Followers, being landed at *Weymouth*, were soon entertain'd with the melancholy News of the Loss at *Barnet* Field; which so affected the unfortunate Queen, that at first she fell into a Swoond, and after a little Recovery withdrew her self to the Abby of *Cerne*. Here the chief of her Party resorted to her, as *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, with the Lord *John* his Brother, *John Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, *John* Lord *Wenlock*, and *John Longstrother* Prior of *St. John's*. These with many promising Expressions comforted the sorrowful Queen, and offer'd their Assistance to establish her Son *Edward*, tho' it were with the Loss of their Lives, desiring her only to undertake the Authority

rity of the War, and they would sustain the Charge and Burden of it, by whose Power and Valour they did not doubt but to abate the Pride of *Edward* the Usurper; who holding himself secure, began to relapse into his former Negligence. To these Resolutions the warlike Queen consented, and us'd all Diligence in her Proceedings; when considering what Methods to follow, her Care was most fix'd upon the Life and Safety of her Son: And therefore, as well for their Advantage, as for the restraining of the *Yorkists*, she thought it best to send him back again into *France*; from whence he might supply them with new Forces, or at least over-awe *Edward* from tyrannizing too far. But on the contrary the Lords alledg'd, that Prince *Edward*, being the sole Hopes of the *Lancastrians*, ought to be present in the Field, the Sight of whom would add Courage to his own Soldiers, and cause many of the contrary Side to come over to him. Which Opinion prevailing, every Person departed to make what Preparations he could, and the Queen with her *French* repair'd to *Bath*, where the Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Devonshire* were high in Reputation, and by whose Authority new Forces daily came in to the Prince's Service.

King *Edward* had hardly Time to breath after the Battel at *Barnet* when he heard Queen *Margaret* was landed, and of the Confluence of People out of *Cornwall*, *Devonshire* and the Western Parts, which hourly flew to her Assistance: Wherefore committing King *Henry* and *George* Arch-Bishop of *York* to the Tower, with a select Company of Men he march'd out to meet them, designing to destroy those many Springs before they could have time to join in the Body of a River which might prove dangerous to his Safety. Therefore from *Windsor*, *Abington*, *Chichester* and *Malmesbury* he continu'd his Progress, seeking out and urging his Enemies to Battel. But the Queen and her Forces fearing to continue in *Bath*, remov'd to *Bristol*, to *Berkley*, to *Glocester*, and at last to *Tewkesbury*; where the Duke of *Somerset* encamp'd his Forces, without staying for the Earl of *Pembroke's* Arrival. Here he hastily drew up in three Battels, of which himself and his Brother *John* Lord *Somerset* commanded the first, the Middle was led by *Edward* the young Prince, under the Conduct of the Lords *St. John* and *Wenlock*; and the Rere was commanded by *John* Earl of *Devonshire*, a mortal Enemy to the House of *York*. The Queen finding King *Edward* to approach, and that her Soldiers ought to have the Advantage in Valour to equal their Enemies who had it in Numbers, took the Prince with her, and rode about the Army. In her Looks appear'd nothing but Life and Resolution, and in her Language almost an Assurance of Victory; so subtilly she conceal'd the Wound her Despair had given her, and suffer'd it only to bleed inwardly.

King Edward marches against them.

King *Edward* being come within Sight of his Enemies likewise drew up in three Lines of Battel, committing the first to his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*; the second he undertook himself, and the Rere was commanded by the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlain. The Armies thus drawn up, and a Signal given, an obstinate Battel began. The King had planted his Ordnance to great Advantage, which *Glocester* employ'd against the Duke of *Somerset's* Men; and they being lodg'd between Ditches, Buihes and Hedges, with their Showers of Arrows so gaul'd *Glocester's* Line, that he commanded them to give back, as tho' they had fled. Which *Somerset* perceiving, with too much Rashness he left his best Places of Strength to pursue them, and advanc'd as far as King *Edward's* Quarter; expecting to be follow'd and supported by the Lord *Wenlock*, who seem'd to have had no such Design. *Glocester* spying the Advantage, made good his Retreat, and with fresh Supplies of Spears so charg'd *Somerset's* Battalion, that his Men were soon put to Flight. He himself recovering the middle Line found the Lord *Wenlock* idle, and without Action, whom he most opprobriously revild with the Name of a Traitor, and with his Battel-Ax clove his Head in Pieces: When immediately the Duke of *Glocester*, and after him King *Edward* enter'd the Trenches, and soon put an End to the Battel by defeating all the Queen's Party. For there were slain on her Side *John* Lord *Somerset*, *preval'd*.

The twelfth Battel, at Tewkesbury.

The Yorkists prevail.

the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Wenlock*, Sir *John Delves*, Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Robert Whittingham*, and Sir *John Lewkener*, with no less than three thousand Men besides. This was the twelfth Battel fought between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, and the sixth and last that was fought in King *Edward's* Reign; in which, or soon after, both the Queen and her Son Prince *Edward* were taken Prisoners. But the Duke of *Somerset*, the Prior of *St. John's*, with many Knights and Esquires took Sanctuary in the Abby, and other Places in the Town; notwithstanding which, they were violently taken out and arraign'd before the Duke of *Glocester*, who that Day sat Constable of *England*, where they were without Mercy or Regard to Blood condemn'd to Death, which they immediately suffer'd upon a Scaffold erected in the Town. With these Lords dy'd twelve worthy Knights, besides others of inferior Note. By this Violation of the Sanctuary King *Edward* made good the Opinion the World had before conceiv'd of him; that Religion could never so far prevail upon his Conscience as to be any Bar either to his Pleasures or Revenge.

King Henry's Son brought before King Edward, Young Prince *Edward* fell into the Hands of Sir *Richard Crofts*, who intended to have conceal'd him; but King *Edward* having promis'd a Pension of a hundred Pounds *per Annum* to whosoever should bring him alive or dead, and Life to the Prince if he was not already dead; *Crofts* believing he would not falsifie his Promise, presented him to him. King *Edward* fixing his Eyes upon him, and admiring the Sweetness of his Youth and Disposition, demanded of him; *How he durst come with flying Colours into his Kingdom, and raise his People against him?* To which he courageously answer'd, *That he came to recover his Father's Kingdom, his proper and natural Inheritance, descended to him by several Generations.* King *Edward* highly offended at these Words, thrust him disdainfully away with his Gantlet, and some say struck him on the Mouth: Upon which Incouragement the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocester*, the Marquis *Dorset* and the Lord *Hastings*, seiz'd suddenly upon the Prince, and with their Poniards most barbarously murder'd him; contrary to the Laws of God, Nature and Nations, whose Blood was afterwards reveng'd upon every one of them in particular. His Body was bury'd without any Solemnity among other poor and mean Persons in the Church of the Monastery of the *Black-Friars* in *Tewksbury*.

Shortly after this last Battel, King *Edward* had notice that the Northern Men were in Arms, and design'd to hazard themselves for the Queen's Liberty; upon which he march'd towards *Coventry* with such a Power, that they were soon discourag'd, and came thronging in to offer him Subjection. Yet all the *Lancastrians* were not so determin'd, but rather design'd once more to try whether Fortune would favour them. They had one fit Instrument to promote the Enterprize, the Bastard *Fauconbridge*, Son to the Earl of *Kent*, a great Supporter of King *Edward's* Interest. However this Son, being a Man of a turbulent Spirit, and bold and active, the Earl of *Warwick* had made him his Admiral to secure the narrow Seas against King *Edward's* Power; which Office he executed beyond his Commission, and became a Terror to all Merchants. Having got three hundred Male-contents from *Calais*, he resolv'd to try his Fortunes at Land; and putting in at *Dover*, great Numbers of loose Persons, most of them the Dregs of former Rebellions, daily repair'd to him, so that his Forces came to be seventeen thousand strong. With these he march'd to *London*, and in a hostile Manner demanded Admission into the City, and the Release of King *Henry* out of Prison; but was resisted by the Mayor and Citizens on one side, and the Lieutenant of the Tower on the other. Upon which he brought up his Shipping to *St. Catharine's*, and leaving in them Men sufficient to receive the Booty brought, with the rest he march'd to *Kingston Bridge* promising his Soldiers by the way, to give them the Plundering of *Westminster* for their Dinners, and of the Suburbs of *London* for their Suppers, but *London* it self should be their Breakfast the next Morning. But being disappointed

The Bastard Fauconbridge attacks London.

at *Kingston*, and hearing of King *Edward's* March towards *London*, he turn'd back to *Southwark*; when to open his Way into *London*, he caus'd the Bridge to be fir'd; and three thousand of his Men being by his Vessels sent over the *Thames*, divided themselves into two Parties, one attempting to enter at *Algate*, and the other at *Bishopsgate*. Both these they set on fire, so that the City was in three Places both fir'd and assaulted at the same Time; but by the Care and Valour of some Noblemen and Citizens, the bold *Fauconbridge* was at last driven to his Ships with the Loss of seven hundred of his Men; and not long after his Forces were dispers'd, and himself beheaded. *He is repuls'd.*

On the twenty first Day of *May*, King *Edward* with the chief Lords of *England*, and a Body of thirty thousand Men came to *London*, where he was triumphantly receiv'd, which he as gratefully requited, giving the Order of Knighthood to the Mayor and some others who had bravely repuls'd the late Rebels, commending both the Valour and Loyalty, and promising to reward the meanest of his good Citizens Loves with ample Satisfaction, as soon as the Common-wealth had recover'd its former Quiet. In the mean Time the cruel Duke of *Glocester* took an Occasion to visit King *Henry* in the Tower, where observing his unmov'd Behaviour, either out of Pity of his unbounded Injuries, or of Envy at his unparallel'd Patience, or out of Jealousie of the Life of one idoliz'd by many Thousands in the Nation, he stabb'd him to the Heart with his own Hands, or at least commanded it to be done in his own Presence. The Body of this murder'd King was with Guards, and some show of Funeral Rites, brought into *St. Paul's Church*, where with the Face uncover'd it was expos'd to the Curiosity of every Eye; for the King was resolv'd rather to endure the Scandal of his Murther, than to hazard the Question of his Life. Here it bled again afresh, and became a melancholy Spectacle to most of the Beholders. From thence it was carry'd to the *Black-Friars Church*, where being laid bare-fac'd, it bled as before, to the great Amazement of the sorrowful Spectators; who look'd upon it as a miraculous way of demanding Justice from Heaven, when it was not to be had on Earth. At length it was put into a Bont, without Priest, Clerk, Torch or Taper, Singing or Saying, and was ferry'd into the Abby of *Chertsey* in *Surry*, and there without any Pomp interr'd.

King Edward returns to London.

King Henry murder'd in the Tower.

Thus dy'd the just and innocent King in near the Fiftieth Year of his Age, who had been proclaim'd in the Cradle, crown'd in his Infancy, and again at more Age in the City of *Paris*, living in all Piety, and loving his Subjects, and reigning thirty eight Years, was in that Time toss'd with infinite Variety and Mutations: For he was twice imprison'd and depriv'd of his Crown, betray'd, smitten, and wounded, and in all things became a memorable Example of Fortunes Inconstancy. His disconsolate Wife *Margaret*, who twenty six Years before, had with the utmost Pomp and Magnificence been crown'd Queen of *England*, and had rul'd over all, was now become a poor Prisoner in Want and Distress, and wore out her Time in Tears and Lamentations: Which being known to Duke *Reyner* her Father, he afterwards offer'd Terms of Ransom to King *Edward*, which prov'd so burthensom to that Prince, that he was constrain'd to pawn and sell the greatest Part of his Dominions to purchase her Liberty: So that the best of her future Condition was only the Return of a miserable Daughter to an indigent Father. Her Marriage with King *Henry* was both contrary to Policy and Justice on his Side; and as soon as she found her Husband's Weakness, she us'd all Machinations to reduce him to her sole Command, with the Destruction of his most faithful Friends; so that she was both unfortunate to her self, and ruinous to the Kingdom. Her prosperous Fortune presents her in her worst Colours, a factious, busie and imperious Queen; her Adverse in the Best, an industrious Woman to recover what her self had lost, an excellent Wife, and indulgent Mother; so that had she not been so affected but when Misfortunes had compell'd her, she had been rank'd among the best Examples of her Sex. Her Life was the Discourse of the present and future.

The Miseries of his Queen.

Her Character

succeeding Times, because it occasion'd the Destruction of the House of *Lancaster*, then the most considerable in the Christian World; but her Death was so obscure, that we do not find it in History when she left this World.

A. D. **IV.** The victorious *Edward* being thus successful, and having destroy'd ^{the} the very Root of the *Lancastrian* Party, he proceeded to settle the Nation, and ^{to} to lop off all such Branches as might disturb the Peace of that, or his own Security. And first, under a Pretence of Treason, he secur'd the Arch-Bishop of *York* Brother to the late Earl of *Warwick*, and seiz'd all his Goods, Lands and Lordships, and got Possession of his rich Plate and Jewels, of which one in his Miter was of such a Value, that the King caus'd it to be set in his own Crown. After this he sent him over to the Castle of *Guisnes*, where he continu'd a Prisoner, with less courteous Usage than himself had shown to King *Edward* when he was his Prisoner. In which Times of Fear and Danger, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, with his Nephew young *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, fled into *Bretaign*, where they were honourably receiv'd and entertain'd by the Duke of that Province. Their Escape created such a Jealousie in King *Edward*, that he offer'd large Sums of Money to that Duke, if he would deliver them up to his Power: To which the Duke reply'd, *That he could not in Honour deliver up those distressed Princes that had implor'd his Protection; but for his sake, he would take such Care of them, that he should have no Cause of Apprehensions from them:* And to that End he remov'd their own Servants from them, and appointed *Bretaigns* to attend upon them. *John* Earl of *Oxford*, after *Barnet* Field, for a while secur'd himself in *St. Michael's* Mount in *Cornwall*, but afterwards yielding himself to King *Edward*, had his Life pardon'd. But yet he was sent over Sea to the Castle of *Hammes*, where for the Space of twelve Years, till the Death of King *Richard* the Third, he was kept a close Prisoner. His Countess, who was Sister to the late Earl of *Warwick*, was never permitted to come to him, nor had any Thing allow'd for her Subsistence, but was compell'd to live upon the Charities of others, and what she could get by her Needle or other Work. But still more deplorable was the Condition of *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Huntington*, who after he had made so mighty a Figure for many Years, was reduc'd to such Wants, as may be an Example to all Men of the Uncertainty of Secular Grandeur. For *Comines* tells us, That he himself saw the Duke of *Exeter* running bare-leg'd after the Duke of *Burgundy's* Train, begging his Bread for God's sake; but he declar'd not his Name, being nearest of the House of *Lancaster*, and Brother-in-Law to King *Edward* himself; but afterwards his Quality being known, *Burgundy* gave him a small Pension to maintain him. Not long after he was found dead upon the Shore of *Dover*, quite stripp'd and naked; but how he came by that Death, no Discovery could be made.

A. D. All Things being brought to a reasonable Quietness, and *Edward* reigning without any Competitor or dangerous Disturber, caus'd a Parliament to be assembled at *Westminster*, in which he re-establish'd those Acts which King *Henry* had abrogated, and annull'd those that were made against his Friends and Favourites, at the same Time pardoning all former Offences. During this Session the Duke of *Burgundy* sent his Ambassadors to King *Edward*, desiring his Assistance against the *French* King, which was the more readily heard and granted, as well for the Favours receiv'd of the Duke, in the Time of his Necessities, as for his Resentment against *Lewis*, who had furnish'd *Warwick* to dispossess him of his Crown. And indeed this was a Spark that would probably set the *English* Hearts on Fire to recover *France*, which was lost by *Henry* the last King. But Money being wanting for so great an Enterprize, the King having expended what had been given him the last Year, he proceeded to a new Invention, which was to cause a List to be made of the richest and ablest Men of the Kingdom; who being summon'd before him, he by his insinuating Arts of Persuasion so far prevail'd

vail'd upon them, as they all willingly suffer'd themselves to be assess'd, some to gratifie him, some for Example, and some for Fear. By this Means he rais'd vast Sums of Mony, which he call'd by the new Name of *Benevolence*; in the raising of which, we are told of a rich old Widow, who being by the King courteously demanded what she would contribute upon such an urgent Occasion, she answer'd, *For your Majesty's Royal and Amiable Countenance I will contribute twenty Pounds Sterling*. This Answer and Gift so pleas'd the King, that he testify'd his Gratitude by giving her a hearty Kiss; which so transported the Gentlewoman, that she immediately doubled her Sum, and added twenty Pounds more. By which slight Passage, a Judgment is easie to be made of the King's Temper; either of it self full of Humanity, or without Difficulty bending to the lowest Courtesie, when it any ways concern'd the Advancement of his Profit.

All Things being in a Readiness, King *Edward* repair'd to *Dover*, and there embark'd himself for *Calais* with an Army more formidable than any that hitherto had invaded *France*: For he had almost all the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, fifteen hundred Men at Arms compleatly accouter'd, fifteen thousand Archers on Horseback, besides a great Number of Footmen, Pioneers and others; which was the more surprizing and remarkable, because so much Blood and Mony had been spent in the late Civil Wars. This Army was about twenty Days in passing between *Dover* and *Calais*; but before their Landing, King *Edward* sent a Letter of Defiance to the *French* King, in which he demanded no less than the whole Realm of *France*, threatening if he refus'd to invade his Dominions with Fire and Sword. King *Lewis* receiving the Letter, which *Comines* says was excellently well penn'd, he privately conferr'd with the Herald that brought it, and in Substance return'd this Answer: *It is far better and wiser for the new King your Master to trust us an old Adversary, than to rely upon two such new Deceivers as the Duke of Burgundy and the Earl of St. Paul will prove, if he complies with them: And so commend me to your Master*. Which the Herald promising to do, he was graciously dismiss'd with an honourable Reward of three hundred Crowns, and thirty Ells of Crimson Velvet, with a Promise of greater Acknowledgments, if a Peace was concluded; as also with a Present of a stately Horse, a wild Boar and a Wolf for King *Edward*.

A. D.

1474.

Reg. 14.

The King embarks for France with a mighty Army.

He defies the French King.

His Answer.

And now to make good the *French* King's Allegation to the Herald, the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had promis'd upon the Word of a Prince to bring to *Calais* two thousand Lances, and four thousand Light-Horse, sail'd to come. Upon which the Lord *Scales* was sent by King *Edward* to the Duke, to remind him of his Agreement, and to hasten his Arrival with his promis'd Forces. But his Journey was to no great Effect, only occasioning the Duke with a small Troop of Horse to come to the King, formally to excuse himself for his Backwardness; alledging this Reason, that having been employ'd in the Siege of *Naz*, he could not leave the Place without infinite Disgrace, if either Composition or Submission were enforc'd; for that Reason he was compell'd too much to trespass upon his Patience by the Obstinacy of the Besieg'd; but promis'd to supply all Defects, both with his Presence and Power, and that with all Speed. The Earl of *St. Paul* likewise by his Letter perswaded King *Edward* to proceed in the Enterprize, and not to doubt of any Accommodations both from the Duke and himself. Upon this Assurance and Incouragement King *Edward* advanc'd forwards, but in his Passage found no Performance of Promises, either from one or the other; for the Duke did not accommodate his Soldiers at *Peronne* with Victuals or Lodging, as was requisite and expected; and the Earl instead of surrendring up *St. Quintin's* according to Agreement, sally'd out upon such as were sent from King *Edward* to take Possession, and play'd upon them with the Canon of the Town. This caus'd King *Edward* to suspect the Truth of the *French* King's Character of the Duke and Earl; and from thence-

The Duke of Burgundy fails King Edward.

He suspects him and his Friend.

thenceforward flood upon his own Guard, giving no further Credit to their Protestations: Which being resented by the Duke of *Burgundy*, he pretended extraordinary Occasions, and promising a speedy Return with his Forces, he took his leave and departed, which did not a little encrease the King of *England's* Suspicious.

The French King sends a Messenger to Edward,

who yields to an Accommodation.

The *French* King having Intelligence of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Departure, and foreseeing the Danger if they should unite their Powers, he resolv'd with himself to make a Trial to mediate a Peace in the Duke's Absence; and yet to treat in such a Manner, that if it took not Effect, he might disclaim the Knowledge of the Overture. Whereupon he privately dispatch'd a Messenger, in Appearance a Herald, but in Reality a Person of no Office or Estimation, and not known to any of the King's Household, but to *Villiers* the Master of the Horse, who only was acquainted with the Project and Party. This counterfeit Pursivant at Arms, cloath'd with a Trumpet's Banner-roll, address'd himself to the King of *England*, and upon Admission into his Presence, he first shew'd the great Desire the King his Master had for Peace, whose Amity for *England* he had ever esteem'd; excusing his Reception of the Earl of *Warwick* with the Necessity of the Times, whom he assist'd not against King *Edward* but the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had drawn the *English* to these excessive Charges only to repair his own broken Fortunes, and to make a good Composition for himself. Lastly, he desir'd that the King of *England* would grant a safe Conduct to the Ambassadors of the *French* King his Master, who should fully inform his Majesty, and give his safe Conduct for a further Conference in these Affairs. This Message being deliver'd in a submissive Tone, expressing much Humility, and ever yielding to the King's Greatness of Spirit and the Nation's Glory, together with a Promise of such Conditions as should be honourable and profitable, begot a favourable Audience. And many of the great Lords, who had plentiful Revenues at home, were as ready as the King to harken to Peace, and forsake unnecessary Dangers abroad. Nor did the greatest Statesmen dislike a Treaty, considering that almost all the *English* Wars in *France* had rather purchas'd Fame than Treasure to the Kingdom; and when the Soldiers return'd home, their Scars were usually greater than their Spoils. Upon these Considerations King *Edward* granted a safe Conduct, and sent with this Messenger an *English* Herald, to receive the like and other Assignments from the *French* King.

The Duke of Burgundy's Resentments.

But to no Effect.

But when the Duke of *Burgundy* understood that a Peace was negotiating between the two Kings, he in haste posted to the *English* Camp, attended only by sixteen Horsemen. The Distraction of his Look and Gestures express'd the Wildness of his Thoughts; so that the whole Army discover'd his Discontent before he declar'd it. At his first Appearance before King *Edward*, he broke into a most passionate fierce Language, upbraiding him with inglorious Sloth, and the indefatigable Courage of the former Kings of *England*, upon whose Attempts ever attended the noblest Victories. He made a scornful Repetition of the Mirth his Enemies would make at his Return, as if he had come over with such a numerous Army, Merchant-like to traffick for a little Mony; and the despicable Appearance of his People, when they saw the mighty Conquests their Contributions had procur'd. King *Edward* charg'd him with Neglect and other Miscarriages, and the Earl of *St. Paul's* with something worse; and when he intimated that he and the Duke would still be included in the Peace, *Burgundy* disdainfully rejected it; protesting the Love he bore to the *English* Name, not Care of his own Safety, had inclin'd him to this Enterprize. And to show how little Dependancy his Fortune had on any other, and how without any Mediation he was able to make his own Peace, he vow'd to conclude none with *France*, 'till the *English* Forces had been three Months retir'd. After he had thrown out these disorder'd Speeches, in much Discontent he left King *Edward*; who not a little admir'd to hear himself so disdainfully treated, having

rarely been accustomed to any Language, but what was soften'd and polish'd by Compliment and Flattery.

The Peace being resolv'd between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, the Place appointed for Conference was near *Amiens*; and the Parties assign'd from the *French*, were the Bastard of *Bourbon*, Admiral of *France*, the Lord St. *Pierre*, and the Bishop of *Eureux*. For the *English*, were the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Thomas St. Leger*, and Doctor *Morton* Lord Chancellor of *England*. All these meeting, they soon concluded a Peace, the Substance of which Articles were as following: 'That the *French* King should immediately pay to the King of *England* seventy five thousand Crowns of the Sun; and annually fifty thousand Crowns at *London* during King *Edward's* Life. That *Charles* the *Dauphine* should marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward*, and they two to have for their Maintenance the whole Dukedom of *Gascony*, or else fifty thousand Crowns yearly to be paid in the Tower of *London* for the Space of nine Years; and at the End of that Term the *Dauphine* and his Lady was to have *Gascony*, of the Charge of which the *French* King was to be acquitted. That the Lord *Howard* and Sir *John Cheyney* Master of the Horse, should remain in Hostage till the *English* Army had quitted *France*, and a general Peace for nine Years concluded; in which the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretaign* were also to be included, if they thought fit. This was so acceptable to the *French* King, that he gave great Presents of Plate, Money and Jewels to the *English*; and besides he made most magnificent Entertainments for all of that Nation at the City of *Amiens*, of which *Comines* gives us a very particular Account. The Duke of *Glocester* solely oppos'd this Agreement, as not honourable, or rather not suiting with his Designs; however it met with no great Delay: And to compleat all, it was agreed that the two Kings should have a personal Interview at *Picquigny*, a Town three Miles from *Amiens*, seated in a Bottom upon the River *Somme*. Over this River a strong Bridge was purposely built, and in the midst of it a Grate made with Cross Barrs, no wider than was sufficient for Men to thrust in their Arms; cover'd with Boards above to avoid the Rain, and the Bridge so broad, that twelve might stand in a Rank on both Sides.

The Day approach'd, and the two Kings repair'd to the Place in great Splendor; he of *France* came first to the Grate, accompany'd with twelve Persons, according to Appointment; of whom *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Cardinal his Brother, and *Comines* Lord of *Argenton*, were the Principal. King *Edward* enter'd the Bridge on the other End, with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlain, and the Lord Chancellor with eight more; being himself gloriously adorn'd with Cloth of Gold, and wearing a black Velvet Cap richly beset with Diamonds. *Comines* says that his very Presence spoke him a King; and that both gracefully approaching the Grate, with a reverend Bow and Bending of the Knee, the two Monarchs embrac'd through the Partition with mutual Courtship. *Lewis* first broke Silence, and declar'd, *That he never coveted any Sight so much as This; and that he bless'd God who had brought them together to so glorious an End.* After this the Bishop of *Ely*, who was Chancellor of *England*, made an eloquent and learned Oration; and then read the Articles of Peace, and demanded of the two Kings whether they were done with their full Contents. Which being acknowledg'd, each of them laying one Hand upon the Missal, and the other upon the Holy-Cross, took their solemn Oaths to observe the same. And then falling into a more familiar Conversation, *Lewis* with a pleaster Air told King *Edward*, *That he would one Day invite him to Paris to visit and court the fair Ladies of that City; and if he should chance to make any false Steps with them, he would assign the Cardinal of Bourbon for his Confessor;* by which he at once handsomly touch'd upon the Intimacies of both Persons. After some Compliments, and more private Discourses, both Kings parted with great

great Satisfaction; only *Lewis* began to be under some Fears that *Edward's* Curiosity might carry him to *Paris*, the Delicacies of which City had invited too many *English* Princes before.

The Artifices
of the French
King.

Many of King *Edward's* Servants were displeas'd with this Agreement, believing he had not consulted his own Honour; particularly one of them nam'd *Lewis de Bretailles*, who being with *Comines*, and demanded by him in how many Battels *Edward* had been present, he answer'd *In nine, and was victorious in all, but in this you have made him lose, for his Return into England without Fighting or Danger, will redound more to his Dishonour, than all his Victories have done to his Honour.* *Lewis* being inform'd of this Answer, swore according to his Custom *That this Man's Mouth must of necessity be bridled;* and immediately caus'd him to be sent for to dine with him, making great Offers to draw him to his Service; which being refus'd, he gave him a thousand Crowns, with particular Promises to him and his Relations, if he would cultivate the Amity between *England* and *France*. Such Artifices was *Lewis* oblig'd to use; and there were few *English* Lords, great in the Opinion of the State, but shar'd proportionably of his Bounty; even the scrupulous Duke of *Glocester* return'd not home without a large Present both of Plate and Horses. The Affection of the Lords was generally bought up, according to the ordinary Course in Markets; as they were worth more in King *Edward's* Estimation, so was their Price rais'd. The principal Men of Name who were in Pension, were the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, and Sir *Thomas Montgomery*. Among these, besides the present Gifts, he annually distributed sixteen thousand Crowns, and exacted from every Man an Acquittance; which none refus'd to give but the Lord *Hastings*, who declar'd *His Hand should not be seen among the King's Accounts at Paris;* but still receiv'd the Pension, which without that Formality was continu'd. At what rate King *Lewis* valu'd his Amity with *England* is easily to be judg'd by his profuse Liberality; but how lawful it was in the Receivers, we will not strictly determine. For tho' in this King's Reign, as likewise in that of *Henry* the Seventh, many of the great Counsellors were in Pension to *Lewis* and his Son *Charles*, yet it is hard to judge how it could agree with their Dignity; it being beneath a noble Mind to owe any Revenues to a Prince, whose Safety must never be in the first Place of their Care.

King Edward
returns into En-
gland.

King *Edward* having receiv'd the Mony agreed by Articles, and given his Hostages, march'd to *Calais* in order to pass over into *England*. It seem'd very strange to many, that after he had enter'd *France* with the noblest Army that any King of *England* had before, so small a Sum should cause him to return. Writers have had different Apprehensions as to this Matter; but after all, considering King *Edward's* former Condition and Circumstances, it was thought Wisdom in him, after he had been fail'd by the Duke of *Burgundy*, deluded by the Earl of *St. Paul*, allur'd by *Lewis* with Monies, Pensions, and chiefly with the Promise of so honourable and advantageous a Match, to withdraw himself; avoiding thereby such Snares into which the Contingencies of War might throw him, as well at home as abroad. And such the Generality of his Friends accounted it; and when he return'd to *London*, he was receiv'd with the Acclamations and Triumphs of a Conqueror.

A. D. V. The Remainder of this Reign, which continu'd about seven Years longer, was without any extraordinary Actions, and for the most part calm and undisturb'd. The King enjoy'd his Dominions without any Molestation from Foreign Enemies by means of the late Treaty with *France*: *Burgundy's* Enmity did no ways trouble him, which was soon diverted another Way, to the Loss of that Prince's Life: *Scotland* was in a safe Condition, by reason of the Truce, the Quality of her present Government, and the Want of Encouragement from *France*: And at home he found himself freed from all dangerous Opposers.

1475.

Reg. 15.

Opposers, who were come to their Ends either from the Sword in the Field, or the Ax on the Scaffold; of neither of which he was sparing. The Life of young *Henry Earl of Richmond* now in *Bretaign*, was what alone could give him real Trouble: He could not possibly live at Ease, and attend such Pleasures to which he was naturally addicted, so long as this Worm did gnaw upon his Heart; that Earl being the only Relict of the House of *Lancaster*, who might probably deprive him of his Quiet and Kingdom, if he was not remov'd out of the World. In order to this he sent Doctor *Stillington* and others, Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bretaign*, with large Sums and fair Promises, That he design'd to marry his eldest Daughter *Elizabeth* to the Earl of *Richmond*, by which all unhappy Causes of Dissentions might be intirely extinguish'd. The Ambassadors so far prevail'd upon the Duke, that he deliver'd the Earl to them, who conducted him to *St. Malo's*; where while they stay'd for a fair Wind, the young Earl, by the subtle Contrivances of *Peter Landoes* the Duke's Treasurer, who had not been well gratify'd by the *English* Ambassadors, made his Escape, and fled to a Sanctuary; from whence neither Intreaties nor Promises could allure him. Nevertheless upon *Landoes's* Promise that he should be safely kept and confin'd to that Place, the Ambassadors return'd home, and acquainted King *Edward* with the Duke of *Bretaign's* Courtesie in delivering him, and their own Negligence in suffering him to escape; affording no other Satisfaction than *Landoes's* Promises. King *Edward* disssembled his Concern, and the better to secure his Family, he created his eldest Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, &c. and his Second Son Duke of *York*; giving the Order of Knighthood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and many others. He also created twenty four Knights of the *Bath*, of whom *Brian* Chief-Justice, and *Littleton* a Judge of the Common-Pleas were two.

The King fears the Earl of Richmond,

but to no purpose.

King *Edward* being now in a great measure free from all Apprehensions of Danger, the better to give Lustre to that Peace he had settled, began to addict himself to a profuse Hospitality; a way of Greatness in which the Monarchs of *England* have in all Ages exceeded the other Princes of *Europe*. And upon all solemn Times, when Cessation from Labour licens'd the Vulgar to admire the glorious Outside of a State, he shew'd a particular Grandeur to the Eye, by presenting as well martial Exercises in Justs, Tiltings, Tournaments, and the like, as the softer Entertainments of Wit and Ingenuity. Never any Prince was more familiar with his Subjects than King *Edward*; for now all Things succeeding without Interruption, he set his Heart upon Pleasures, which had hitherto been afflicted with continual Troubles; and frequently laying aside the State of a Prince, he often would freely converse with the inferior Part of his People. At *Windsor* he sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, with others, upon no other Occasion than to hunt in his Company; and himself to eat, drink and be merry with them. As also another Time he did the like at *Waltham*, where he gave them a most friendly and familiar Entertainment, and sent to their Wives two Harts, six Bucks, and a Tun of Wine; which gain'd a nearer Affection than many greater Favours. He was wont often to court and converse with beautiful Women, which Fault by King *Lewis* was noted and prevented as to the *French* Ladies; but in *England* he seem'd to take his full Scope of Liberty: For besides the Lady *Lucy*, formerly mention'd, and some others, by whom he had Issue, he kept three Concubines, who, according to his own Words, all excell'd in very different Qualifications; *One the merriest, another the wisest, and the third the holiest Harlot in the Kingdom, as one whom no Man could get out of the Church, unless it were to his Bed.* The merriest was *Jane Shore*, Wife to a Citizen of *London*, in whom he took extraordinary Pleasure; the other two were greater Persons, but in their Humility were content to be nameless, and to forbear the Praise of those Properties.

A. D.

1476.

Reg. 16.

His way of living in Time of Peace.

His Concubines.

A. D.

1477.

Reg. 17.

In these Times of Ease and Pleasure, *Richard* Duke of *Glocester* began to shew his Ambition and Malice, which he chiefly levell'd against his own Brother

*Designs against
the Duke of
Clarence.*

ther the Duke of *Clarence*, a Prince of greater Spirit than did become a Brother and a Subject. As his Ruin was long design'd, so there were three Things that concur'd to the bringing it about; the King's Suspicion, the Queen's Hatred, and his own Mismanagement; which latter would not have effected it without the other two. His former Rebellion and Alliance with the Earl of *Warwick* were Faults long forgiven; yet still there remain'd a Fear that these old Inclinations, laid aside for a present Advantage, might be reassum'd; especially when he had the Presence of an Agreement in Parliament, that he should succeed to the Crown, upon the Failure of King *Henry's* Heirs. This Consideration wounded the Queen to the Soul; she thought that if her Husband dy'd first, her Children would never succeed their Father; and she was confirm'd in this Opinion by the Rumor of a Prophecy, That *G* should be the first Letter of his Name that succeeded King *Edward*; and this Duke's Name being *George*, it was thought he should be the Murderer of *Edward's* Sons, which *Glocester* afterwards really was. To these, other Reasons were added which render'd the former more suspicious; his attempting to marry *Mary* only Daughter to the late Duke of *Burgundy*; in which the Queen oppos'd him, endeavouring to have marry'd her to her Brother the Earl of *Rivers*; so that their Disgusts and the King's Jealousies were continually augmented. But the Imputations which gave some Colour to the Justification of his Condemnation, were, That he caus'd a Report to be rais'd among the People that *Thomas Burdet* was unjustly put to Death, who had lately been executed only for wishing in a Passion that the Horns of a Deer had been in the King's Belly: That the King us'd Negromancy and Poison, to bring such as he hated to their Ends; That *Edward* was illegitimate, and not begotten by the Duke of *York*; That he had procur'd many to swear to him and his Heirs, without reserving due Obedience to his Brother; and That he had pretended to the Crown by Virtue of the Contract made with *Henry* the Sixth.

*Accusations
against him.*

A. D.
1478.
Reg. 18.
*He is drowned
in a Butt of
Malmesey.*

These several Accusations were brought publicly upon the Stage, and into open Parliament, where he was found guilty, and sent close Prisoner to the Tower of *London*. Here upon the eleventh of *March* he was secretly put to Death; the manner, as it is generally receiv'd, was by thrusting his Head into a Butt of Malmesey Wine, by which he was suffocated. His Body was first expos'd, and then bury'd at *Tewkesbury* in *Glostershire*, by that of his Dutche's *Isabel* Countess of *Warwick*, who being with Child, dy'd of Poison not long before. The Death of this Prince, which may modestly be accounted the Vengeance of Heav'n, every where begot an extraordinary Censure; the unnatural Severity taking away all Excuse from those who most favour'd the King. It was generally condemn'd, both in regard of the Manner, it being prodigious to be drown'd without Water upon dry Land; and of the Quality of the Person, he being the first Brother to any King of *England* that ever was attainted. King *Edward*, who had consented to it, was afterwards so afflicted with the Remembrance of it, that when any su'd for the Life of a condemn'd Man, he usually cry'd out, *Oh unfortunate Brother, who had no Man to intercede for him!* This Prince left Issue behind him, *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Margaret* afterwards Countess of *Salisbury*, both Infants, and Followers of their Father's Misfortunes; He a continual Prisoner, at twenty four Years of Age, beheaded under *Henry* the Seventh; and She, at sixty two, lost hers in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, which put a full Period to the famous Name of the *Plantagenets*. The same Year in which the Duke of *Clarence* was murder'd, the Nation was punish'd with such a raging Pestilence, that the Sword in fifteen Years before devour'd not so many as this did in four Months.

*The Misfortunes of his
Family.*

A. D.
1479.
Reg. 19.
*King Edward's
Severities.*

After the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, King *Edward* soon began to give another Face to his Temper and Disposition; and from being affable and liberal, he became austere and covetous, to the great Wonder and Dissatisfaction of his People. For whereas the Laws of *England* granted many Things in Favour

of their Kings, which the Kings themselves seldom put in Execution, as being too full of Rigour; he by virtue of those Laws took such Penalties as they who were rich incurr'd for want of punctual Observance of them; and making no Difference in respect of Blood, Quality or Title, he made all sorts of Men apprehend that he would become formidable to the whole Nation: For having abated the Courage of other Men by his Brother's Death, there were none that dar'd contradict him. But the greedy heaping up of Mony was so much the more monstrous to him, because it was contrary to his natural Temper; so that such a Change seem'd to foreshew approaching Death. In these Times Ambassadors were frequently sent from *England* to *France*, and from *France* to *England*; the Former, that according to their Obligation, the *French* might send for the contracted Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter to King *Edward*; and the Latter to excuse their Delays, charging it upon the Wars of *Burgundy* and the *Low-Countries*, in which all the chief Men in the Kingdom being employ'd, she could not be sent for in a manner becoming the Dignity and Greatness of both the Crowns. So as he who earnestly desires a Thing, is by nothing more easily deceiv'd than by the Confirmation of new Promises; *Edward* was easie to believe, and *Lewis* made Advantage of his Falshood, and brought about his Purposes of marrying his Son another Way; which if he had carry'd more openly, he could not have effected them. And King *Edward* being grown gross in Body, and more unactive in Mind, seem'd to rest satisfy'd with the Fame of his former Victories, and the present Enjoyment of his annual Tribute from *France*, which was duely paid into his Exchequer. So that they are not much mistaken who say that the *English* have generally won more Honour by Fighting than by Treaties.

A. D.
1480.
Reg. 20.
His Mistakes.

In these Times, *James* the Third of that Name, King of *Scotland*, sent his Ambassadors into *England*, to move and treat of a Marriage between the Lady *Cicely*, King *Edward*'s second Daughter, and his eldest Son *James* Prince of *Scotland*. King *Edward* and his Council thinking this Affinity might be both honourable and profitable for *England*, did not only readily grant his Suit, but also furnish'd him with certain Sums of Mony, that the Marriage should not hereafter be interrupted; upon this Condition, that if the intended Marriage should by any Accident be broken off, either on the *Scotch* or *English* Side, that then the Provost and Merchants of *Edinburgh* should be bound for the Repayment of the Mony. All Histories represent King *James* as a Man much addicted to his own Will, and to despise the good Advice of his ancient Nobility, and his grave and faithful Counsellors; and that none might reprehend his Actions, he entertain'd and prefer'd Men of mean Birth and worse Conditions; by whose evil Counsel he so afflicted his Nobility with Exactions and Imprisonments, and some with Death, that divers of them chose a voluntary Exile and liv'd in foreign Countries. Others he himself banish'd, particularly his second Brother *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, who was entertain'd by King *Edward*; and moreover caus'd the Veins of *John* his third Brother to be open'd, so that he bled to Death. Besides this his Carriage towards his Brothers, Friends and Nobility, by the Instigation of the *French* King, who repin'd at this last League and Alliance, he neglected his Promise and Affinity made with King *Edward*, and caus'd an Army to be rais'd in order to invade the Kingdom of *England*. And relying upon his own Valour and the Assistance of *France*, he sent a peremptory Message to King *Edward*, That he should not dare to aid his Sister the Dutcheis of *Burgundy* against King *Lewis*, who was the *Scots* Ally; and also with Threats of War he commanded him to deliver to his Ambassadors the Duke of *Albany*, then residing in the *English* Court; and lastly to make full Satisfaction for all Damages done upon the *Scotch* Borders.

A. D.
1481.
Reg. 21.
A Treaty with Scotland.

The King of the Scots breaks with King Edward.

A. D.
1482.
Reg. 22.
A War commenced.

King *Edward* not a little irrag'd at these false and dishonourable Dealings, even in the Winter Season muster'd his Men, prepar'd his Artillery, and fitted out his Navy, that nothing might be wanting in the following Spring: Which was

no sooner advanc'd, but he appointed for his Lieutenant his Brother *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, who with the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Stanley*, *Lovell*, *Greystock* and others, with the Duke of *Albany* himself, march'd into the North with an Army of above twenty thousand strong. And first *Gloicester* belieg'd the important Town of *Berwick*, and then marching forwards with great Terror and Devastations, he enter'd the chief City *Edinburgh*, urging King *James* to perform his Covenants concerning the Marriage between Prince *James* his Son and the Lady *Cicely*, before agreed upon, and threatening Ruin and Destruction, if the Match was not consummated. The *Scotch Nobility* reflecting upon their own imminent Danger, put to Death the King's wicked Counsellors, ordain'd the Duke of *Albany* Vicegerent of *Scotland*, and promis'd to repay the Mony receiv'd according to Covenants. After which, with the Surrender of the strong Town of *Berwick*, which had been out of the *English* Possession for twenty one Years, a general Peace was concluded between the two Nations. Whereupon not long after, *Garter King at Arms* was sent into *Scotland*, with a formal Instrument in Writing to the Provost and Burgeses of *Edinburgh*, who had undertaken to disburse the Mony, to signifie King *Edward's* Mind touching the Marriage intended, and to demand the said Sum by a fix'd Day, which was accordingly repaid.

A Peace concluded.

A. D. 1483. Reg. 23. As King *Edward* was greatly disappointed in the Marriage of his second Daughter to *Scotland*, so he met with a greater as to that of his eldest Daughter to *France*. For the *French King* finding the Daughter of *Austria* more proper for his Son's present Interest, deluded *Edward* with Shows of firm Faith, till he had effected his Purpose. The naming of this founded so harshly in King *Edward's* Ears, that he would never suffer that String to be touch'd in his Presence, but ever believ'd that the *French* design'd honourably, tho' the Truth of their Designs was confirm'd by the Duke of *Austria's* Ambassadors residing in *England*. Yet still *Edward* would not so much as entertain a Suspicion against the *French King*, and therefore suffer'd him to incroach upon those Parts of *Picardy* that join'd to *Calais*, and to gain Time till it was past recalling. For then the Lord *Howard* returning from *France*, confidently told him, That he was present, and saw the Lady *Margaret* of *Austria*, Daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*, receiv'd into *France* with great Pomp and Splendor, and at *Ambois* contracted and espous'd to the *Dauphine*. The King became so nicely sensible of this Abuse, that he immediately resolv'd upon a Revenge; and every one with Chearfulness provided for War, the Clergy supplying in Monies what they could not do in Person. But while he was passionately endeavouring to call *Lewis* to an Account for his Crimes, he was summon'd by Death to give a full Account of all his own. Being seiz'd by a melancholy Fit, or as others say a Surfeit, and finding little Hopes of Recovery, he began to consider the Vanity of all his Victories, which he had purchas'd with the Expence of so much *English* Blood; and to reflect upon the deceitful Beauty of his sensual Pleasures, which now appear'd with all the Marks of Horror and Deformity. Then causing his Lords, which were then numerous in Court, to be sent for, he upon his Bed pathetically recommended to them the Care of the young Princes his Sons; thewing them, *That they being so young they stood in need of extraordinary Counsellors, which in the Distraction of private Contentions could hardly be found: That they having all a Relation to him, some by Blood, some by Affinity, all by Love and Duty, they were to join in a reciprocal Affection to each other, that the Conformity of their Minds might beget the like in their Actions, and in their Ends necessarily conducing to the Service of an Infant King, and the general Good of the Kingdom.* Then reminding them of the innumerable Evils arising from Civil Wars and Dissentions, he heartily begg'd of God *that out of his particular Goodness no such might hereafter happen; but as this Favour was never to be expected without the forgetting of past Injuries, it caus'd him in the Name of the*

King Edward deluded by France.

His last Sick-

same

same God, and as the last Comfort he should receive, to desire of them all a sincere Forgiveness of any Injuries done by him. All that were present fell into Tears; and those who had born greatest Hatred freely shook Hands in Token of their last Obedience to the dying King; who being pleas'd with these outward Expressions of Love, soon after expired in the forty second Year of his Age, upon the ninth Day of *April*, after a tumultuous, great and various Reign of twenty two Years one Month, and five Days.

His Death.

The Manner of his Interment was thus: First, the Corps was cover'd from the Navel to the Knees, and so laid naked upon a Board for ten or twelve Hours, to be view'd by all the Lords in *London*, as well as the Lord Mayor and his Brethren; and then he was seared. The next Day he was brought into St. *Stephen's* Chappel, where three Masses were sung over him in the Morning, and *Dirige* and *Commendamus* in the Afternoon; at Night he was well watch'd by the Nobles and his Servants. In this manner he rested eight Days, and on the ninth was convey'd to *Westminster* Abby, born by several Knights and Esquires, cover'd over by a large black Cloath of Gold, with a Cross of Cloth of Silver, and above that a rich Canopy of Cloth Imperial fring'd with Gold and black Silk, born by four Knights, having at the Corners four Banners born by four other Knights, the first of the *Trinity*, the second of our *Lady*, the third of St. *George*, and the fourth of St. *Edward*. The Lord *Howard* bore the King's Banner before the Body, and the Officers of Arms about him on every Side. In the Herse in *Westminster* Abby, above the Body and Cloath of Gold, was a Personage in the Similitude of a King, in Royal Robes, and a Crown on his Head, a Scepter in one Hand, and a gilt Ball of Silver on the other, with a Cross *patee*. After many Solemnities perform'd, the Body was plac'd in a Chariot drawn by six Horses, and so with great Pomp went to *Charing-cross*, where the Chariot was cens'd, and from thence to *Syon*, and so to *Eaton*, where it was met by the Procession of *Windsor*. At the Castle Gate the Arch-Bishop of *York* and the Bishop of *Winchester* cens'd the Corps; and from thence they pass'd to the new Church, where in the Quire was appointed an admirable wrought Herse, being that Night watch'd by many Nobles and Esquires of the Body, and was there bury'd with all Solemnities befitting so great and victorious a King.

His Interment.

To say something of his Person and Character, *Comines* tells us That he was the goodliest Gentleman that ever his Eyes beheld, tall of Stature, fair of Complexion, and of a most noble Presence; yet too much inclining to Fat and Grossness in his latter Days. Yet the Gifts of his Mind seem'd to strive for Priority with those of his Body, having a most courageous Heart, and a magnanimous Disposition, being politick in Counsel, witty in Conversation, and in Adversity undaunted. In Battel he was bold and adventurous, being present in nine several Engagements, in which to his great Renown he always fought on Foot, and was ever victorious. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious; and to gain his Ends, no Man was Master of more insinuating Methods than himself. In the midst of all his shining Qualifications he could set no Bounds to his Lust or his Ambition, in both of which he was remarkably punish'd. As to the former, it was observ'd that never Man was fram'd by Nature more apt to the Exercise of it, and whom amorous Courtship did less misbecome: Yet this Sin, tho' black in the Eye of Heav'n, by Politicians is too often excus'd in a Prince, as not generally injurious to his Subjects. But notwithstanding that Opinion, besides the fatal Example, if we observe the Revolution of Kingdoms, we find no Iniquity in Princes so commonly punish'd: The Dishonour of one Lady abus'd often causes the Disgrace of several Families, and mighty Factions joining for Revenge; for no Injuries like these are so cruel to human Nature, and with so little Patience dissimbled. For this King *Edward* was peculiarly punish'd in his Sons, who were both depriv'd of all Things by their unnatural Uncle;

His Person and Character.

The Misfortunes of his Family.

Uncle; and there was so much Appearance of Right in that Usurper, by their Father's Incontinency, that even an Act of Parliament was made to bastardize them both. As to his Ambition, tho' according to the exact Rules of lineal Succession he had the nearest Right to the Crown, yet considering the innumerable Perjuries, Treasons, Bloodsheds, and other Calamities that brought him and secur'd him in the Throne, his and his Father's Actions were less justifiable than those of many real Usurpers: And all those Victories he obtain'd, were against his own Nation, and his greatest Adversaries were in Consanguinity with him; so that he may more properly be said to have let himself Blood, than his Enemies; or rather for the Preservation of his own Body, to have cut off his principal and most necessary Limbs. The Hand of Heav'n lay heavy upon his Generation, and notwithstanding all his Success he was descended from a most unfortunate Family, he being the only Male of all his House, except a Child of *Richard* the Third, that dy'd a natural Death, after it claim'd the Crown. His Grand-Father the Earl of *Cambridge* was beheaded at *Southampton*; the Duke of *York* his Father slain before *Sandall*; of his three Brothers, the Earl of *Rutland* was slain in cold Blood, the Duke of *Clarence* drown'd in a Butt of *Malmesey*, and the Duke of *Glocester*, after he had strangled his Nephews, lost his Kingdom and Life in Battel. So that we meet with no Tragedy, whether true or fabulous, where we find so many various and cruel Deaths as in this Family. Besides two Sons, King *Edward* left seven Daughters, of whom *Elizabeth* the Eldest met with good Fortune, and was marry'd to King *Henry* the Seventh: *Cicely* was marry'd to Vicount *Wells*, and after that to another, but had Issue by neither: *Anne* marry'd to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, whose Children dy'd all young: *Bridget* was a Nun in *Dartford*: *Mary* promis'd to the King of *Denmark*, but dy'd before Marriage: *Margaret* dy'd young: *Catharine* was marry'd to *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, and he had *Edward* Earl of *Devonshire*, who dy'd without Issue in *Padua* in the Year 1556.

Learned Men.

In this Reign flourish'd several Men eminent for Arts and Learning, as well as Valour, as *Thomas Littleton* a famous Judge of the Common Pleas, who brought a great Part of the Law into Method which before was confus'dly dispers'd: *John Fortescue* a Judge, and Chancellor of *England*, who was famous for understanding the Laws and Constitution of *England*: *John Priding* and *William Caxton*, both Writers of the *English* History: *Scogan* a learned Gentleman, and a Student of *Oxford*, who for his pleasant Wit and jocular Conceits was call'd to Court. And that which now began to give new Encourage-

The Art of Printing.

ment to Learning was the famous Art of Printing, which was first found out in *Germany* by *John Gutterberghen* about the Year 1440, or somewhat later, and was brought into *England* by *William Caxton*, a Mercer of *London*, and probably the same with the Historian, who first practis'd the same in the Abby of *Westminster*, *Anno Dom.* 1571, and the eleventh of this Reign.

S E C T II.

The History of King EDWARD the Fifth.

Containing two Months, and twelve Days.

I. **K**ING *Edward* the Fourth left two Sons behind him, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, twelve Years and five Months old, and *Richard* Duke of *York*, about nine Years of Age. The first of these by all Writers is call'd by the Name of King *Edward* the Fifth, as being lawful and rightful Heir to the Crown of *England*, and was accordingly proclaim'd King. But if we consider the Nature of his Reign, it may rather be call'd an *Inter-regnum*, or perhaps more properly the Tyranny of *Richard* the Third, who from the Death of King *Edward* the Fourth, both rul'd as a King, and rag'd as a Tyrant. Of this Man, who was now Duke of *Glocester*, we are told strange Stories, as to his monstrous Birth, his deformed Person, and his barbarous Disposition; of all which we have not so much Certainty, as that his Ambition had long prompted him to usurp the Crown of *England*. This was in part discover'd by means of one *Mistlebroke*, who in the same Night that King *Edward* dy'd, hastily went to one of the Duke's Friends in the City call'd *Potter*, and rousing him out of his Bed, declar'd that King *Edward* was departed. To whom the other with great Satisfaction reply'd, *Then will my Master the Duke of Glocester be King*. This soon appear'd in the Event; tho' at that Time the Duke was in the North of *England*; for which Reason the Lord *Hastings*, then Lord Chamberlain, sent an immediate Express to him of the King his Brother's Death; acquainting him withal, that he had committed the young King, the Queen, and his other Children, to his Care and Government; and likewise putting him in mind, how necessary it was for him speedily to repair to *London*. But the Duke of *Glocester* needed no Spur to set him forwards, who was already in a full Career; and as he had long projected how he might attain to the Crown, he now found the Way more open than ever.

A. D.

1483.

Reg. 5.

Young Edward
proclaim'd King

Young Prince *Edward*, now call'd King, was at *Ludlow* in *Shropshire* when his Father dy'd, where he had liv'd for a considerable Space, in Order to awe the *Welsh*. Here he had many of his Mother's Relations about him; but Sir *Anthony Woodville* the Lord *Rivers* was appointed his chief Counsellor and Director. This placing so many of the Queen's Friends about the young Prince was thought to be good Policy in her; but the Duke of *Glocester* turn'd it to their Destruction, and upon that Ground laid the Foundation of all his unhappy Fabrick. For whomsoever he found either displeas'd at them, or Friends to himself, he discover'd his Thoughts to them, some by Words, and some by Writings and secret Messengers, *That it was not to be suffer'd either in Reason or Policy, that the young King their Master should be in the Hands and Custody of his Mother's Relations, sequester'd in a manner from their Company and Attendance, who were far superior to them both in Birth and Merits*. With these and the like Insinuations, he soon set several on Fire who were but too apt to kindle into a Flame; especially the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord Chamberlain *Hastings*, both of great Power and Authority. These two, not having so much Affection for each other, as Hatred to the Queen's Party, agreed in this Point with the Duke of *Glocester*, That they would intirely remove from the King's Society all his Mother's Friends, under the Name of Enemies to the Publick. This first Step gain'd, the Duke of *Glocester*, understanding that the Lords then about the King design'd to bring him to be crown'd at *London*, accompany'd with such a Power of their Friends, that it would be difficult for him to effect his Purpose, without such Numbers as would raise the Appearance of a Rebellion;

The Duke of
Glocester de-
signs to usurp
the Crown.

His Policy.

lion; he therefore secretly and by various Methods caus'd the Queen to be persuaded That if her Son came to *London* with such a numerous Retinue, it would cause many Mischiefs, and administer Matter of Suspicion and Jealousies to several who were but lately reconcil'd. Upon this the Queen ignorantly in all Haste sent to her Son, and her Brother; earnestly requiring them, for some Causes known to her self, to dismiss their Guard; which was the sooner obey'd, because the Duke of *Glocester* himself, and other Lords of his Party, wrot to the King so reverently, and the rest so lovingly, that without any great Suspicion the King mov'd forwards with an inconsiderable Train.

He goes to meet
young Edward
at Northamp-
ton.

This second Work effected, *Glocester*, *Buckingham*, and several Lords, resolv'd to meet the King in his Passage; and coming to *Northampton*, where the King was arriv'd, pretending it was incommodious for so many to lodge in the same Place, they caus'd the King to go to *Stony-Stratford*, twelve Miles further. But the two Dukes stay'd behind; and under Pretence of Honour kept the Earl *Rivers* with them, and feasted him with such Demonstrations of Joy, and so unusual, that if Opinion had not blinded him, he might have easily discover'd the Deceit. Upon his going to his Lodgings, the two Dukes caus'd the Keys of the Gates to be brought to them, to secure any from going out; and spending the greatest part of the Night in Counsel and Advice, early in the Morning they sent to all the neighbouring Villages where their Servants were billeted, ordering them to be ready on Horseback, and secure the Way to *Stony-Stratford* from all Passengers going thither. A strange Diligence, which yet wrought no Impression in such as observ'd it; believing it to be done that none might come to the King before themselves. But *Rivers* was of another Opinion, and after several Conjectures, he resolv'd to go himself, and discover the Bottom of the Design; but upon his first Appearance, they roughly charg'd him with endeavouring to keep them from the King and ruin them, which he should not be able to effect; and tumultuously interrupting him when he was making a Reply, they committed him to the Custody of some of their own Servants. Then hastning to *Stony-Stratford*, they found the King just mounting his Horse, to whom they address'd themselves with the utmost Reverence, and he as lovingly receiv'd them, without conceiving their Designs. Then coming up to the Lord *Richard Gray*, Brother to the Marquess *Dorset*, and half-Brother to the King, they immediately accus'd him of joining with his Brother the Marquess and his Uncle *Rivers* to get the Government of the King and Kingdom into their own Hands, and sowing Divisions among the Nobility: In order to which the Marquess had taken out of the Tower of *London* all the Royal Treasure, and had sent Men to Sea for dangerous Designs. To which the young King calmly made Answer, *That for what concern'd the Marquess, he was ignorant, because of his Absence; but for his Uncle Rivers and his Brother Richard, he was sure they could not be guilty, because they had always been in his Company.* To this *Buckingham* reply'd, *His Majesty was deceiv'd; that their Designs were conceal'd from him; and that they did not deserve to be excus'd by so good a Prince.* And immediately they arrested the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* and Sir *Richard Hawte* in the King's Presence; and the King instead of going forwards was brought back with his Company to *Northampton*. Such of his Attendants as *Glocester* durst not trust were remov'd, and others put in their Place; at which the poor King could not refrain from Tears; having only the Name of a King, and wanting Age and Power to defend himself, as well as his Kindred and Servants. And that Dissimulation might not be wanting, even where there was no Occasion, the Duke of *Glocester* the next Day sent a Dish of Meat from his own Table to the Earl *Rivers*, desiring him *to be at Ease, for all should be well with him.* The Earl handsomly baulking the former Injury, return'd Thanks for the Honour done to him, and desir'd the Messenger that he would carry it to his Nephew *Richard*, *For he being young, and unaccustom'd to Adversity,*

He seizes upon
the Earl Rivers

and several o-
thers.

stood more in need of this Favour. This feign'd Courtesie was like the Lightning that foreruns Thunders; for after many Change of Prisons, they were all brought to *Pontfract*, and afterwards lost their Heads.

The News of these Transactions was brought to the Queen in the Night, who immediately guess'd at the Duke's Design: She too late repented the Counsel given to her Brother to disband his Forces; and apparently saw her own Danger, but much more that of her second Son the Duke of *York*, and her Daughters. At the same Hour she fled with her Children from her Palace, and took Sanctuary in *Westminster*, to the great Compassion of all that saw so much Hurry and Precipitation at that unseasonable Time. The Lord *Hastings* had receiv'd the like Advice, but with contrary Sentiments: He could but rejoice at the Queen's Sufferings; but loving King *Edward* and his Children, he after Midnight dispatch'd a Gentleman to the Arch-Bishop of *York*, Lord-Chancellor of *England*, who with Difficulty being brought in, acquainted him with what had been done to the young King and his Friends; not concealing the Queen's flying to Sanctuary, but at the same Time assuring him, *All would be well.* The Arch-Bishop hastily answer'd, *Be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it;* and as soon as the Gentleman departed he arose from his Bed, and causing all his Family to do the same, and to arm themselves, he took the Great Seal, and went with them to the Queen. There he found nothing but Haste and Confusion, People jostling each other, some carrying in Goods, others going out to fetch more; and Sighs and Lamentations every where. The Queen her self was seated by her Children in the most disconsolate Manner upon the Ground; whom the Chancellor comforted with such Reasons as Hope then could suggest, acquainting her with what the Chamberlain *Hastings* had let him know; conceiving that he who had been oblig'd to the late King would join with his Children and Family. But the Queen loathing to hear that Name, reply'd *That he was the Man that endeavour'd the utter Extirpation of her Blood.* The Arch-Bishop not able to dissuade her from that Opinion, discoursing from the least Dangers to the greatest, assur'd her *That if any other King should be crown'd but her eldest Son, they would crown the Duke of York, who was now in her Possession:* Upon which he deliver'd to her the Great Seal of *England*, for the Use and Benefit of that Son, and so departed about Day-light, not then weighing the Importance of this Delivery, nor how prejudicial it might be to him. But being return'd home, and seeing from his Window the *Thames* cover'd with Boats fill'd with *Glocester's* Servants, watching if any went by Water to Sanctuary; and hearing that there were Tumults and Cabals in the City, Lords and others appearing in Arms, he consider'd that he had been too rash in parting with the Great Seal to the Queen, who could reap no Advantage by it; and thereupon privately sent for it again, and after that carry'd it, according to Custom, openly in the Sight of all Men.

The Queen-Mother takes Sanctuary.

The Arch-Bishop of York comforts her.

In the mean Time the Commotions in the City encreas'd; most believing that the Proceedings at *Northampton* were caus'd to hinder the Coronation, and more Troubles might have follow'd, had not the Lord *Hastings* at a publick Assembly assur'd them, *That Rivers, Gray and the rest were imprison'd for certain Conspiracies against the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, as would appear by due Process of Law. That no Doubt was to be made of the Duke of Gloucester, since he had always continu'd faithful to the King; but to suspect it might prove of dangerous Consequence, and if they did not lay down their Arms with the same Facility they had taken them up.* This Assurance quieted the greatest Part of the People, especially when they understood the King was coming, attended by the Duke his Uncle with all manner of Respect; as also that among *Rivers's* Carriages certain Barrels full of Arms were found; which tho' not much regarded by the wiser Sort, yet *Glocester's* Adherents insisting much upon it, it rais'd Doubts in some who otherwise would not have

The young King enters London.

been persuaded to it. The King, met by the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Sheriffs and Aldermen, all in Scarlet, accompany'd with five hundred Citizens on Horseback, cloath'd all in Purple, enter'd the City the fourth Day of *May*, in the first and last Year of his Reign. The suble Duke of *Glocester* shew'd such Appearance of Reverence and Affection to the King his Nephew, that he chang'd their former Suspicions into a high Esteem for him. Infomuch that when a Protector was to be chosen in Council, as was usual in the Minority of Kings, he without any Contradiction was nominated for the Person; not only as a Relation and a Friend, but as most loyal, affectionate, and fittest for that great Charge. At this Council many were remov'd from their Offices; particularly the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and not without sharp Reproof for having left the Great Seal with the Queen. He was succeeded by Doctor *Ruffel* Bishop of *Lincoln*, a Man wise and experienc'd, and one of the most learned in the Nation. Divers Lords and Knights were appointed to fill up Vacancies; but the Lord Chamberlain and some others still retain'd their Places.

The Duke of Glocester made Protector of the Land.

II. The Duke of *Glocester*, now Protector, having gain'd so much Advan-

tage, resolv'd to proceed to the utmost; but his main Difficulty was that he could not free himself from one Brother without the other; and if the Elder was destroy'd, the Duke of *York* the Younger would still succeed. In this he was to use his best Policy; for the Queen being suspicious of him, and the young Duke in a Place not to be violated, he could reach him only by Deceit or Sacrilege. Therefore at the next Meeting of the Lords in Council he represented the Queen as highly culpable in detaining the Duke of *York* in Sanctuary, *when the Honour, the Health and Conveniency of the King his Brother requir'd his Presence and Company with him in his Palace.* After some further Allegations and Aggravations, he declar'd, *That the Coronation could not be compleated without Scandal, while the Duke of York, who was to be next the King in that Solemnity, continu'd in a Sanctuary, a Shelter only for Criminals and Delinquents; affording Matter to the common People to judge according to their Ignorance, and to Foreign Princes according to the Appearance of false Suppositions; which must redound to the Dishonour and Prejudice of them all. Therefore in his Opinion, some Person should be sent to the Queen, whom she did not mistrust, yet such as would be zealous of the Honour of the King and Council, who might rectifie her, and let her know what Injury she did to all. And if this did not prevail, the Duke of York ought by regal Power to be taken from his Prison, and brought to the King his Brother.* He propos'd the Cardinal Arch-Bishop of *York* for this Design remitting himself to their Pleasure, if they should not approve of him, from which he profess'd he would not dissent. They all commended his Opinion, and agreed with him, that if the Duke was not remov'd, Inconveniencies might ensue. But the Cardinal, with some Ecclesiasticks there present, was of another Opinion, so far as related to taking him by Force, alledging, *That the Sanctity of the Place was inviolable upon many Accounts; but he hop'd that Force would be needless, since the Queen in Reason would deliver him up; which she should not do, the Fault was not to be attributed to her, nor him: Not to him, because he would not be failing in his Duty; nor to her, she being excusable in respect of her Maternal Affection, and the Weakness of her Sex.* But

His Endeavours to get the King's Brother into his Possession.

The Duke of Buckingham joins with him.

the Duke of *Buckingham* not approving these Circumspections, with an Oath cry'd out, *That the Queen well knew she had no Cause of Fear; that her Fears were merely fictitious, and of Malice; and if she would be believ'd because her Kindred were hated according to their Deserts, she should distinguish between those who were of Kin to her, and those so to the Royal Blood. That her Kindred had given Cause for Hatred, as she her self had done through her own Malignity; but in her extending it to the Duke of York, the Distribution was too large and odious. That he likewise had the Honour to be*

of Kin to him, nor would he in his Zeal for his Service give way to any Person, no not to his own Mother; who since she desir'd to keep him, not without Danger and Scandal, his Opinion was that he ought to be taken from thence. Then he discours'd largely of the Use and Abuse of Sanctuaries, concluding That the Duke of York was incapable of the Use of them; and it was no Abuse to take any Person from thence when it was with a Design to do him good. All the Council joining with him in this Opinion, it was resolv'd That if the Cardinal could not prevail with his Persuasions, he should be taken by Force, and brought to them. This being concluded, they all remov'd to the Star-Chamber, as the nearest Place, there to expect what would be the Issue.

Ed. The Cardinal went with several Lords, either because the Protector would not trust a Matter of that Weight to a single Man, or because the Appearance of so many might make the Queen perceive it was not he alone that desir'd the Delivery of her Son, and that she might see her Danger if she refus'd. The Cardinal first told her, *That he was sent by the Protector and the Privy-Council to let her know how much her detaining of the Duke of York in that Place had given Offence to them and others; as if one Brother liv'd in Danger, and could not be preserv'd but by the other's Life. Therefore they desir'd and expected to have the Duke set at Liberty, and to have him brought to his Brother, where he might live answerable to his Condition and Quality.* After further Discourse, finding her altogether averse to any Compliance, he proceeded to Persuasions and Arguments drawn from Nature and Affection, as well as Prudence and Policy, and to inform her, *That she neither ought nor could keep him in Sanctuary, and that taking of him by Force would be no Violation of it.* To all these she gave distinct and rational Answers, and began freely to declare the Apprehensions she had from the Protector; which became uneasy to the Cardinal who had a better Opinion of him. So that growing warm, in some Passion he told her, *He was not come to argue with her, but to demand the Duke; and if she would deliver him up, he would pawn both his Body and Soul for his Safety. If she refus'd, he would leave her to her self, finding her fix'd in a Belief that they all wanted Understanding or Fidelity; the former, in being so dull as not to perceive the Protector's Designs, and the latter, in procuring her Son to be deliver'd into the Hands of one who would destroy him.*

The Arch-Bishop of York goes to the Queen.

He persuades her to deliver up her Son.

The poor Queen was now reduc'd to great Perplexities, hastily weighing within her self the divers Hazards she ran whether she deliver'd him or not. By delivering him, she consider'd the Mischiefs that might happen both to him and his Brother: In detaining him, she fear'd that the Protector would immediately come in Person and take him; and she wanted Time to provide against this; many Things were requir'd in sending him elsewhere, none of which were like to succeed. And not having thought of it before, she knew not whether to send him; she had not appointed People to conduct him; she had not Time enough to keep the Secret undiscover'd, and him from being intercepted. Finding the Mischief greater in letting him go by Force, than by Choice, she began to hope her Suspicions might be false: She did not doubt the Cardinal's good Intentions, nor yet theirs who were with him; she was satisfy'd they were not corrupted, but not sure they might not be deceiv'd; therefore her appearing to believe them would oblige them. Wherefore taking the young Duke by the Hand in the Presence of all she spoke thus, *My Lord, and all my Lords; I am neither so unthinking as to doubt your Understanding, nor so suspicious as to mistrust your Fidelity; of which I design to make you such a Proof, that if either were wanting in you, would bring me to infinite Sorrow, the Realm to incurable Damage, and you all to indelable Reproach. For I here present to you the Person, whom I doubt not but I could have kept beyond Opposition; tho' at the same Time I am sure there are some such mortal Enemies to my Blood, that if they thought there was any of it in their own Bodies,*

See how she goes on to deliver him.

they

they would open their Veins to let it out. We have also Experience that the Thirst of Government knows no Kindred; and if Brothers have not been spar'd, much less shall Nephews escape. Each of my dear Children is the other's Defence, while they are asunder, and each of their Lives lye in the other's Body: Notwithstanding this most tender Point, I here resign one into your Hands, and the other in him, that I may at all Times redemand them of you both before God and all the World. Then assuring them of her Confidence in their Abilities and Loyalty, she concluded thus, *One Thing I conjure you, by the Trust his Father ever had of you, and by the Trust I now put into your Hands, that as far as you think my Fears too great, you would be as cautious that your own be not too small.* After which, turning to the young Duke, with the most ardent Affection she cry'd, *Farewel my dear sweet Son, the Lord be thy Protector! let me kiss thee now, lest I never kiss thee more.* Then with Kisses, Blessings, and a mingling of Tears, she deliver'd him to the Lords; who immediately brought him to the Star-Chamber, where with longing Expectations, and the kindest Caresses he was receiv'd by his Uncle. He brought him to the King his Brother, who was lodg'd in the Bishop's Palace near *St. Paul's*; from whence, with great Pomp and Shew of Honour, they were both convey'd to the fatal Tower, from whence they never departed.

The King and
Duke were
convey'd to
the Tower.

III. The Protector having gain'd such a signal Advantage, still wanted the Assistance of some particular Men, especially the Duke of *Buckingham*, who till now probably did not know the Bottom of his Designs. There were great Inducements for him to join with the Protector; particularly he had so offended the young King in imprisoning his Relations, that in due Time he could expect nothing less than a severe Revenge, whether he liv'd, or they escap'd. The Protector had provided himself of a Guard, and arm'd himself while no Man thought of it; trusting the Management of his Affairs to none but those whose Fortunes totally depended upon him. He set Spies about *Buckingham*, thinking it impossible he should be equally wicked with himself, not having the like Designs; and was resolv'd, if he found him defective, to be his immediate Ruin. He made use of his most profess'd Friends; and no Wonder if they were Traitors, since the Conformity of evil Inclinations had caus'd the Friendships between them and their Master. Yet had not *Buckingham* join'd heartily, but upon very advantageous Conditions; for when he oblig'd himself to make the Protector King, the other oblig'd himself to take the Duke's Daughter in Marriage to his only Son, promising with this the Earldom of *Hartford*, claim'd by him as his Inheritance; which being deny'd him by the late King was the first Cause of his Defection, by that revenging himself upon his Children. Moreover of his free Motion he promis'd him a great Part of the Treasure left by King *Edward*, together with a large Proportion of the Wardrobe. These Things being fix'd, they erected a new Council, consisting of the greatest Men, to treat of Matters belonging to the Coronation, that they and the People at present might be amus'd with a Belief of the Reality of it; and to that End they commanded the absent Lords to repair to *London*, and assist at the Solemnity. Besides this they had a private Council consisting of certain select Persons, who treated of the Means how to bring the Protector to the Throne; so that while both the Arch-Bishops, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lords *Stanley* and *Hastings*, with others, were busying themselves about an unnecessary Ceremony to establish a lawful King, they treated how to establish in his Place an unlawful Tyrant and Usurper. The first Council was compos'd of many of the best Rank. The second of few, and those of the worst Condition; but the Protector's Dealings not being easily penetrated, the People began to murmur, tho' they could not guess at the real Mischief intended. It was impossible from so many Circumstances and vain Delays as were by this Council propos'd to the other, but Jealousies would arise. All which were encreas'd by the Protector's taking

An Alliance
between the
Protector and
the Duke of
Buckingham.

Two distinct
Councils.

from

from the Tower all the King's Servants, and placing his own in their Room; so that the King was soon left destitute of all Manner of Company, Magnificence and Regal Splendor; all which were in reality convey'd over to the House and Person of the Protector.

Among those who were admitted into the secret Council there was one *Catesby*, a Man well skill'd in the Laws of the Land; who being imploy'd by the Lord Chamberlain *Hastings* in all his Affairs, and by his Favour advanc'd in the Court, had won such Credit with all Men, especially in *Leicestershire*, where the said Lord was very powerful, as nothing was transacted without him: So that being a Creature of his, and by his Means highly in favour, the Chamberlain thought he would never fail to inform him of any thing of moment done in that Council, especially if it might be prejudicial to him. But Gratitude having forsaken him who had lost all Loyalty, he was the Original of many ensuing Evils. For the Lord *Stanley* justly doubting this Cabinet Council, had endeavour'd to cross it, by the Favour and Assistance of many who likewise fear'd it, had not the Lord Chamberlain prevented him, relying wholly upon *Catesby's* Fidelity. The Protector naturally lov'd the Chamberlain, he having always been his Friend, and one from whom he had receiv'd Kindnesses, in the King his Brother's Time; nor had he resolv'd upon his Ruin, had he not fear'd to have met with Opposition, if he should discover his Secrets to him. He therefore imploy'd *Catesby* to use his utmost Endeavours to bring him intirely to his Side. But *Catesby* either perform'd it not at all, or if he did, he gave the Protector such a sinister Account, that changing his Love into Hatred, he resolv'd to have his Life; yet treating him with his usual Confidence, he by that gain'd two Advantages. He caus'd him to be slower in executing such Resolutions as he might have done against him; and he the more dextrously brought about his own Designs to the other's Ruin, while he least thought of it. Infomuch that when the Chamberlain acquainted *Catesby* with the Jealousies this secret Council had rais'd in many, thinking to gain from him some Assurance, he not only gave him no Satisfaction, but perswaded the Protector to dispatch him as soon as he could, as if his Life was fatal to his Designs. An Advice politickly taken by the Protector, tho' not given out of Zeal to his Service, as it seem'd to be; but that by his Death *Catesby* might enter into the plenary Authority, which the Chamberlain solely had in his Country.

A Design against the Lord Hastings.

The Protector having fix'd his Resolution, upon the thirteenth Day of *June*, three Hours before Noon, he came into the Tower to the Lords in Council, who were settling the approaching Coronation. At his first Entrance he civilly saluted all the Lords present, excusing himself for coming so late; and diverting his Discourse he desir'd the Bishop of *Ely* to send for a Dish of Strawberries from his Garden at *Holborn*, saying *he had never eaten better*. The Bishop taking it for a Favour, immediately sent for them; while he soon after rising up, desir'd the Lords to dispence with his Absence for a short Space. Within less than an Hour he return'd with such a severe and fierce Countenance as made them all amaz'd; and being sat down, with angry Eyes, and frowning Looks, and biting his Lips, he for a while kept Silence. At last he demanded of them, *What Punishment they deserv'd who had plotted his Destruction, who was next in Blood to the King, and by Office his and the Kingdom's Protector?* This Question startled the Council, not knowing for whom it was intended, tho' each was satisfy'd with his own Innocence. The Chamberlain finding all silent, very readily made Answer, *That they ought without Exception to be punish'd as Traitors*. To which the rest assenting, the Protector said, *It was his Brother's Wife, and others with her*; at which those who favour'd the Queen were much concern'd. But the Chamberlain, who fear'd it was some of his own Friends, was overjoy'd when he heard the Queen nam'd; tho' he was ill pleas'd, that he was not before made privy to this Matter, as he had been to the taking off her Relations, who were by his own Consent before appointed

The Protector quarrels with him.

pointed to be beheaded at *Pontfract* this very Day; little imagining that his own Execution should be the same Day at *London*. The Protector continuing his Complaints, stripp'd his Arm bare, and shew'd it to be dry'd and wither'd, very unlike the other, declaring *That the Queen and Shore's Wife, her Counsellor and Coadjutor in this Wickedness, had by their Sorceries and Withcraft thus wasted his Flesh*. The Lords, who knew this Arm had never been otherwise, immediately conceiv'd he had now some impious Design; especially since it was so improbable that the Queen should associate with *Shore's* Wife, whom she most hated, as the Concubine most doated on by her Husband. The Chamberlain had unfortunately and foolishly given the Protector this Advantage by taking this Woman, whom he had long lov'd, and keeping her for his own Mistress; therefore with some Extenuation he answer'd, *If they have been thus guilty, they deserve heinous Punishment*. At which the Protector cry'd *What, dost thou answer me with Ifs and Ands? I tell thee they are thus guilty, and that I'll make good on thy Body, Traitor*. Then giving a great Blow upon the Table, as an appointed Signal, a Cry of Treason was heard from without, the Door was forc'd open, and the Chamber immediately fill'd with armed Men; and one of them striking at the Lord *Stanley*, had undoubtedly cleft his Head, had he not hastily shrunk beneath the Table, yet not so suddenly but he receiv'd a terrible Wound. Immediately the Protector arrested the Chamberlain by the Name of *Traitor*; and being by him in all Humbleness demanded whether he spoke to him or no; he reply'd, *Yes, to thee, Traitor*. And securing all the rest in other Rooms, the Protector swore by *St. Paul*, *That he would not dine before he saw his Head taken off*. It avail'd nothing to ask Questions and beg for Mercy, but heavily taking the next Priest that was ready, he made a short Confession, since a longer would not be permitted; and being led to the Green before the Tower Chappel, he had his Head struck off upon a Log of Timber; being afterwards bury'd at *Windsor*, near King *Edward's* Tomb.

and then cuts
off his Head.

A remarkable
Instance of
God's Ven-
geance.

Besides a remarkable Dream of the Lord *Stanley*, which occasion'd his Advising him to fly from Danger, and other ominous Presages of this sudden Execution, we may well take notice of a particular Passage that happen'd the Morning before he went to Council. Being come to the Tower, he met a Pursivant near the Place where he was beheaded; and recollecting that he had met him in that very Place, when by Procurement of the Earl of *Rivers* he formerly was made Prisoner for a short Space, and much doubted his Life; he ask'd him *Whether he remember'd that he had met him in that Place, at a Time when he was in great Danger?* The Pursivant reply'd, *Yes, my Lord, I well remember it; but, Thanks to Heav'n, the Authors got no Advantage, nor you no Damage*. The Chamberlain knowing that *Rivers* and the rest were that Day to lose their Heads, with a chearful Air answer'd, *You would say more, if you knew as much as I do: I never was so afraid as then; but Times are happily chang'd, and my Enemies are now as much in Danger as I was before, as you will soon know; so that I never was more joyful and secure than at present*. Now this Lord having formerly imbru'd his Hands in the innocent Blood of King *Henry's* Son Prince *Edward*, and lately by his Advice join'd to the taking off the Heads of *Rivers* and others without any Process upon this very Day, the Vengeance of Heav'n became more conspicuous and signal in his own extraordinary Execution. So that the great *Raleigh* upon this Occasion declares, 'That a greater Judgment of God, than this upon *Hastings*, he had never observ'd in any Story. And we may truly observe, that scarcely any State Homicide ever escapes a natural and proper temporal Punishment, either in his Person or Family.

To colour over this open Violence, the Protector immediately after Dinner sent for many of the principal Citizens to the Tower; at whose coming himself and *Buckingham* stood harness'd in old rusty Armour, which was to show

the greatness of their Surprise and Danger, as having no Time to procure better. And after having insisted upon the Mercy of Heav'n in their Escape from the Treason of *Hastings* and others, a Herald of Arms was dispatch'd into the City with a formal Proclamation in the King's Name, implying, ' That the Lord *Hastings* and some others had conspir'd the same Day to have slain the Lord Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* as they sat in Council; and after that to have assum'd the Government of the King and Kingdom at their own Pleasures; insisting likewise upon many Crimes of the Lord *Hastings*, as well as those of *Shore's* Wife. This Proclamation, which was publish'd within two Hours after the Lord Chamberlain's Execution, was so curiously indicted, so long, and so fairly ingross'd on Parchment, that the weakest Person alive might perceive it was prepar'd before: Which occasion'd various Discourses, some venturing to say *It was writ by the Spirit of Prophecy*. The Protector having accus'd *Shore's* Wife, as an Accessary and Adviser, sent the Sheriffs of *London* to her House, and caus'd her to be plunder'd of all her Estate, which was above three thousand Marks, not out of Avarice, but Malice and Design; and then being imprison'd, she was charg'd with many treasonable, as well as improbable Practices, tho' she was convicted of none but Incontinency, which she did not deny. For this last Crime, the Protector deliver'd her over to the Bishop of *London*, to do Penance after the most publick Manner; which she did the following *Sunday*, being led in solemn Procession, with a Wax Taper in her Hand, and the Cross born before her: In which Action, tho' she was destitute of all manner of Ornament, yet she appear'd so lovely and decent, that, her Blushes adding to her Beauty, all the Spectators did not only blame the Severity, but were charm'd with her comely Aspect, which was the Cause of their Compassion, as well as her own Ignominy. This remarkable Woman was well born, and civilly educated; but her Ruin was her being unequally marry'd as to Years, which made it easie for King *Edward* to win her, and to break through all the Obligations of Duty. Besides her extraordinary Beauty, Wit, Eloquence and good Humour, she had some Qualifications not usual to Persons of her Life and Conversation; as particularly she seem'd to be born to do Good, and no Harm to any one: She restor'd many who had unjustly fallen from the King's Favour, and caus'd many confiscated Estates to be return'd without any Degree of Avarice. She was more desirous to oblige others, than to enrich her self; desiring rather to do good Turns than to receive them; always affable, never insolent; and all her Ambition was to be esteem'd. Yet now being reduc'd to Poverty, and afterwards to old Age, her Beauty quite lost, and her numerous good Turns as much forgotten, she was forc'd to beg of those, who if they had not formerly begg'd of her, might have been greater Beggars than her self.

The Protector's Vindication.

Jane Shore does Penance.

Her Character.

The Protector had given Orders, that on the same Day in which the Lord Chamberlain was beheaded at *London*, the Earl *Rivers* and Lord *Gray*, the one Brother the other Son to the Queen, should lose their Heads at *Pontfract*; and the two Knights, seiz'd with them at *Northampton*, bore them Company in the Punishment. The Execution was committed to the Care of Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, a Favourite of the Protector's, and privy to all his Designs; who being of a fierce and merciless Temper, was judg'd most proper to manage such an odious Affair. He caus'd them to be brought out of Prison, and being expos'd to publick View as Traitors, they were beheaded without any manner of Process or Justice. He would not suffer them to speak, lest their Innocence being made known, and commiserated, might make the Author of this Tyranny more detestable. Thus these unfortunate Men suffer'd without being guilty of any Crime in this Reign; but so far as they might contribute to the Injustice and Bloodshed committed against the last King *Henry*, and his Family, it was more the Hand of Heav'n than the Punishment of Men.

The Earls of Rivers and others beheaded at Pontfract.

IV. The Protector had now remov'd all Obstacles, and hop'd shortly to compleat his Design; but as the Success of Things cannot be represented upon a Theatre without the Concourse of several Personages requisite to the Composure of the Plot, so it was necessary for him to make use of many others to the forming of this Treason. Among the rest Sir *Edmund Shaw* Lord Mayor of *London*, his Brother *John Shaw*, and *Pinker*, Provincial of the *Augustine* Friars, were some. The first was to draw the City to the Protector's Will, and to suppress Tumults; the other two were Doctors of Divinity, and by the People esteem'd famous Preachers, and were chosen to give Authority and Fervor, as is usual in such like Actions. The Knot of this Business lay in finding out specious Pretexts to exclude the Heirs of *Edward* the Fourth; for which purpose they were to insist upon two in a special Manner. The first was, That King *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence* were both the Issue of Adultery; that they were not Sons to the Duke of *York*, whose only legitimate Heir the Protector was. The second was, That *Edward's* Children were not only spurious upon that Account, but as born in an illegitimate Marriage, he being first engag'd to the Lady *Lucy* before he marry'd their Mother: For both which Reasons the Protector must be the only true Heir to the Crown. Those Preachers were to make these two Points the Subject of their Sermons; but because the first was horribly scandalous, and highly reflecting upon the whole House of *York*, and the Protector's Mother in particular; they resolv'd not to treat of it in downright Terms, but by oblique Insinuation: But in the second Point they were to be open and barefac'd without Reserve. *Pinker* was appointed to preach at the *Spittal*, and *Shaw* at *Paul's-Cross*; but the former lost his Voice, so that he was forc'd to leave off in the Midst of his Discourse. *Shaw* took for his Subject this Sentence out of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Bastard Plants shall take no deep Root*; and after many Proofs of his Position, and an odious Discourse against the Legitimacy of King *Edward's* Family, he proceeded to make a long Panegyrick upon the Protector, declaring him to be the only Image of his Father, for Valour and all other good Qualifications. It was also further design'd, that when he enter'd into this Encomium, the Protector should appear, that the People might think the Preacher inspired by the Holy Ghost, and be ready to cry *King Richard*! But the Protector coming somewhat too late, *Shaw* in a disorderly manner resum'd his Subject, and carry'd it on after such a fulsome way before his Face, that the People were amaz'd at his nauseous Flattery, and stood like Statues. So that both the Protector and Preacher being utterly out of Countenance, the one return'd confus'd to his Palace, and the other to his House, where understanding by his Friends how much he was condemn'd, he a few Days after dy'd out of Grief and Shame.

The Protector, resolving not to be discourag'd at this Failure, upon *Tuesday* following he sent the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompany'd with many Lords and Gentlemen, to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, with whom were likewise the Common Council of the City, commanded purposely to attend at *Guild-Hall*. Here the Duke, who wanted neither Parts nor Assurance, made a long, plausible and artificial Speech to the whole Assembly, highly aggravating all the Mismanagements, Cruelties and Calamities of the last Reign, in order to bring an Odium upon King *Edward's* Posterity; insisting upon *Shaw's* Sermon, as a clear Proof of the Illegitimacy of his Children; and that the Protector was the only undoubted Heir to the Crown; in which the Lords of the Kingdom were so well satisfy'd, that they agreed to accept of him for their King; and now himself was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their Consents. Having ended his study'd Oration, and expecting the Applauses of the People that they should cry *King Richard*! he was amaz'd to find the contrary; and drawing near to the Lord Mayor, who was to have prepar'd them for it,

it, he as'd the Reason of their Reserv'dness and Silence. Who not knowing what to say, answer'd, *That he thought he was not well understood.* Upon which the Duke in a louder Tone, and plainer Words, repeated all that he had said before; but still to no better Effect. Then the Duke whispering with the Mayor, it was judg'd that the Citizens being us'd to have such Motions made to them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him; and thereupon the Recorder was commanded to move the same Matter to them. But the Recorder, being lately come into the Place, and misliking the Task, unwillingly repeated the Substance of the Duke's Speech, but carefully avoided any Addition of his own, that they might not believe his Vote went with it. The People stood still more unmov'd than ever; at which the Duke told the Mayor, *That he never met with such an obstinate Silence.* Then standing up a third Time he said, *He was come thither to persuade them to concur in an Affair, where their Assistance perhaps would not be necessary; for the Nobility and Commons of the other Provinces would do it without them: But bearing a particular Affection to that noble City, he desir'd that they might have the first Share of the Honour: Therefore he desir'd them to declare, whether in Conformity with the rest of the Kingdom, they would nominate the present Protector for their King.* At which Words the People began to whisper among themselves secretly; but their Voice was neither distinct nor loud, till at last in the lower End of the Hall, some Servants belonging to the Protector and the Duke, with some Prentices gotten into the Croud, began to cry aloud *King Richard, King Richard!* and threw up their Hats for Joy; tho' the Citizens turning about kept their former Silence. The Duke wisely making use of this Disorder, declar'd *He was transported to find such Unanimity in their Voices for making that noble Prince their King; with which he would acquaint him, so as to make it turn to their Advantage, desiring them to be ready the next Morning to go with him to the Protector, in order to persuade him to comply with a Matter, so much desir'd by them and the whole Kingdom.* Upon this the Assembly was dissolv'd, and most departed with a melancholy Countenance, and a more melancholy Heart.

His Success.

The next Morning the Lord Mayor assembled the Aldermen and Common-Council-Men of the City, and repair'd with them to *Baynard's Castle* in *Thames-street*, where the Protector then lodg'd; and there according to Appointment the Duke of *Buckingham* came accompany'd with a great Number of Lords, Knights and Gentlemen; who sent a Message to the Protector, *That an Assembly of honourable Persons were come to wait upon his Grace in a Matter of great Importance.* The Protector seem'd amaz'd, and unwilling to appear before such Numbers, unless he first knew the Design of their coming; which feign'd Ignorance *Buckingham* soon turn'd to the Advantage of the Protector's Honour and Integrity. He sent a second Message, *That the Business was not to be imparted to any but himself,* and in such a humble and submissive way, as might have wrought Belief in any one who had really doubted. At length the Protector appear'd, in a Gallery above, with a Bishop on each Side of him, as if he was still apprehensive of the worst. The Duke of *Buckingham*, making a low Reverence, begg'd two Things of his Grace, *The one, that he would permit him to make a humble Supplication to him; the other, that he would pardon him, in case it should prove unacceptable to him: For tho' he aim'd at nothing but his Honour, and the Good of the Kingdom, yet he fear'd his Modesty might take it contrary to their Intentions.* The Protector answer'd, *He was so assur'd of their Integrity, that he hop'd they would propose nothing that would displease him, and so granted the Leave and Pardon they demanded.* *Buckingham*, after a long Digression of the Kingdom's Grievances, said, *That* He was not *he was expressly come to Petition him, that considering the illegitimate Birth of the* of the Duke *of King Edward's Children, he would in Commiseration of the Necessities of* the Duke *the Publick, vouchsafe, together with the Government of the Kingdom, to* the Duke

*The Protector's
Answer.*

accept of the Crown, to the Honour of God and Safety of the Realm; resting assur'd that never any People would think themselves more happy than under his plenary Protection. The Protector, as if offended at his Request, with an angry Look answer'd, *That tho' there was much Truth in what he said, yet his Love to his Brother Edward, his Affection to his Children, and the Regard to his own Honour, would not permit him to accept of such a Burthen: For it was to be fear'd, that should he depose his Nephews and make himself King, the Ignorant and Malignant would accuse him to all the Princes of the World, as if it did not proceed from his own just Right, the Importunity of the People, and the Necessities of the Nation, but purely from his own Ambition. Yet notwithstanding, he did not only pardon them, but return them Thanks, since he conceiv'd it proceeded from their Love and Affection; which he desir'd might be turn'd to their King, whom he with his Person and best Advice would serve; hoping so to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, that they should have nothing to desire; as he had already given some Proof, notwithstanding the Malice of some, which had been rather suppress'd by Divine Providence than by Human Wisdom.*

He complies.

This Answer being given, the Duke of Buckingham stepp'd aside, as if he consulted with the Noblemen, the Lord Mayor and the rest; which being done, he again desir'd Pardon; and having obtain'd it, he with a more exalted Voice declar'd, *That the Kingdom was absolutely resolv'd not to permit Edward's Children to reign; not so much because they had proceeded beyond all Hopes of Pardon, as because the publick Good requir'd it: That therefore he beseech'd him to accept of the Crown, which if he deny'd, they should be compell'd to offer it to one who would not refuse it.* The Protector, affrighted, as it were, at these Threats, express'd much Concern, *That they should have so hard an Opinion of his Brother's Issue: He own'd he could not govern or reign without their Affections: Therefore since it was their Resolution, and there was none to whom the Crown did of Right belong besides himself; and that to his natural and legal Titles, they had added that of Election, the most valuable of all others; he yielded to their Intreaties and Requests, by taking upon him from that Time forwards the State and Regal Preheminence of the two Kingdoms of England and France; the former to be govern'd and defended by him and his Heirs, and the latter by God's Assistance and their Valour to be subdu'd, and for ever establish'd in due Obedience to the Realm of England, of whose Grandeur and Honour he was so ambitious, that he desir'd God to continue him no longer upon Earth than his Life might be serviceable to that End.* At this they all cry'd out *King Richard, King Richard!* and the Lords went up to him to kiss his Hand, while the People departing, talk'd diversely of the Matter, every one as his Fancy guided him. They were pleas'd at nothing more than the counterfeit Management of the Business, which tho' it had been plotted and resolv'd before, there had been us'd so many Stage-like Actions, as if it had never been conceiv'd 'till then; and as if choice had been made of the Spectators as of the most senseless and stupid People of the Land. Here all Historians conclude the imaginary Reign of King *Edward* the Fifth, which ended upon the eighteenth Day of *June* 1483, after it had continu'd only two Months and twelve Days, he being at that Time twelve Years and about seven Months old.

*The End of
King Edward's
Reign.*

S E C T III.

The Reign of King RICHARD the Third.

Containing 2 Years, 2 Months, and 4 Days.

I. **R**ichard Duke of Glocester was the eighth and youngest Son of Richard Duke of York and Cecily Nevil his Wife, and was now less than thirty Years of Age when the Crown was thus tumultuously conferr'd upon him, which in a short Time was more legally offer'd him in Parliament, with all the Marks of the vilest Flattery. Being proclaim'd King upon the twenty second Day of *June*, believing to establish his Tyranny by resting it upon unaccustom'd Circumstances, he went into *Westminster-Hall*, sat down in the King's Bench, where in doubtful Cases the Kings of *England* anciently us'd to sit, and where he avow'd his Acceptance of the Crown; which he express'd in a formal Oration, and so well compos'd, that those who had not known him, would have believ'd *England* had never been blest'd with so good a King. And to begin himself with a pretended Clemency, he pronounc'd Pardon of all Offences committed against him; for Confirmation of which he sent for one *Fogge* who had taken Sanctuary, and whom he mortally hated, and in the Sight of all the People took him by the Hand, and assur'd him of his future Love and Affection. By which Act he made a great Impression upon the common Sort, but those who were better advis'd took it for Artifice and Dissimulation. In his Return to the Palace, he courteously saluted such as he knew had no Affection for him, thinking by this servile Flattery to insinuate into their Minds, and to establish his Government. Yet still he durst not rely upon his present Fortune, but secur'd his Coronation with an unusual Appearance of Forces, causing five thousand Men to come from the North, where he was most favour'd, to assist at the Solemnity. These Northern Men appear'd so ill cloath'd and accouter'd, that they became the Subject of Mens Derision; and it was believ'd that if he should have Occasion to use them, they would not have serv'd his Purpose; and that it was neither those nor greater Forces, but a meer Fatality had precipitated the Nation into such a miserable Subjection.

A. D.

1483.

Reg. 1.

Richard proclaim'd King.

He strengthens himself.

He makes new Titles.

Nothing now was wanting to his full Possession of the Crown, but the Ceremony of his Coronation, for which all Things were ready, as having been before prepar'd for that of his Nephew. Two Days before he went with his Wife and young Son to the Tower; where he created the Lord *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Thomas Howard* his Son Earl of *Surry*; he made *William Barkley* Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Francis Lovell* Vicount and Lord Chamberlain, and likewise made seventeen Knights of the *Bath*. The Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Lord *Stanley*, and the Bishop of *Ely* had been Prisoners in the Tower ever since the Lord *Hastings* lost his Head: He set the first at Liberty, finding himself peaceably possid'd of the Kingdom, which otherwise he would not have done; for being an honest Man he would never have consented to the deposing of the true King: He freed the second out of Fear; for his Son the Lord *Strange* was raising great Forces in *Lancashire*, so that it was necessary to appease him. But he did not set the Bishop of *Ely* at Liberty, who was a faithful Servant to King *Edward* the Fourth; for he was sure he would never comply with his Childrens Deprivation, nor his unjust Usurpations; of which he had made trial in the Councils held in the Tower, while by oblique means he was carrying on that Design. This celebrated Bishop, *Morton* by Name, was of no great Birth; but having liv'd long in high Repute in *Oxford*, he was taken from thence, only a Doctor, and made a Privy-Counsellor by *Henry* the Sixth: *Edward* knowing his Integrity, kept him still in that Condition, and chose him at his Death to be one of his Executors.

tors. *Richard* therefore fearing him, would have kept him still in Prison, had not the University of *Oxford* interceded for his Enlargement; so being desirous to oblige that Body, he was content to remove him from the Tower, as being too publick a Prison: But that he might not give him his full Liberty, he committed him to the Custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent him to a Castle of his in *Brecknockshire* in *Wales*, where they jointly laid the first Ground-Work of *Richard's* Fall.

His Coronation.

The following Day, with mighty Pomp and splendid Attendance of Noblemen, *Richard* rode through the City of *London*, having three Dukes, nine Earls, two Vicounts, twenty Barons, and seventy eight Knights, all most richly adorn'd. Among whom the proud Duke of *Buckingham* far exceeded the rest in Appearance, having the Caparisons of his Horse so charg'd with embroider'd Works of Gold, that it was born up by Footmen after an extraordinary manner. In the following Day, which was the Sixth of *July*, *Richard* with *Anne* his Wife was crowned at *Westminster* with more than usual Solemnity, as may be seen in *Hall*, *Grafton*, and others. His Wife was Daughter to the great Earl of *Warwick*, who had made and unmade two preceding Kings, and Widow to Prince *Edward*, Son to *Henry* the Sixth; to whom she was marry'd, when *Edward* the Fourth's Ruin was determin'd in *France*. So being destin'd to be a Queen, it was her ill Fortune to be marry'd to one who had been the Author both of her Husband's and Father's Death. The Solemnity being ended, King *Richard* dismiss'd all the Lords that they might return to their own Houses; recommending to such as were in Office, the due Administration of Justice without Extortion or Injury, the Execution of the Laws, and Liberty of the Subject; as being desirous to have nothing ill done but by himself. He dismiss'd not the Lord *Stanley*, 'till such Time as the Lord *Strange* his Son had disbanded the Forces he had rais'd. He also dismiss'd the five thousand he had caus'd to come from the North both with Promises and Rewards; upon which they departed so well pleas'd, that becoming thereupon insolent and tumultuous, they forc'd him to go in Person into those Parts, to appease the Disturbances they had rais'd, which could not be effected without the Death of many of them. About this Time he sent to *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, concerning the Continuance of the League made with his Brother *Edward*, demanding the Tribute then settled; but his Ambassador arriving after the Death of his two Nephews, *Lewis* would not afford him Audience, judging his Friendship unworthy of any Human Correspondence.

He sends Ambassadors to France.

He contrives the Murder of his two Nephews.

In what concern'd their Deaths, he demean'd himself with great Caution. He first withdrew himself to *Glocester*, the Place of his former Patrimony and Title; his Conscience not permitting him to stay in the Place where his Cruelty was to surpass that of all other Tyrants. He might have kept them Prisoners without any Danger, since they had no material Supporters; but he not accounting himself a King, while they were alive, sent his trusty Servant *John Green* with Letters to Sir *Robert Brakenbury*, Constable of the Tower, commanding him to put them to Death; who, abhorring the Act, return'd Answer, *He would rather die than obey that Command.* *Richard* at this being highly dissatisfy'd, and still restless, his Page who usually lay in his Chamber, desir'd his Majesty *That he would be pleas'd to acquaint him with the Reason of his Disquiet.* To whom he reply'd, *He was miserable, in not having a Man he could trust; that his Service was ungratefully deny'd by those, who for what they had receiv'd ought to think themselves happy when blest with an Occasion of serving him.* The Page immediately judg'd the Cause to be of a desperate Nature, since any one durst decline it; and calling a Gentleman to mind who lay in the Ante-Chamber, he nam'd him to the King, assuring him *There was nothing so dangerous or difficult, which he would not undertake.* His Name was *James Tirrel*, a Man who might have deserv'd a good Character, had he not been corrupted by dishonest Ambition: He had left no Me-

thods untry'd to gain Preferment in Court; but was discontented by being held back by *Richard Ratcliffe* and *William Catesby*, who govern'd the King, and fear'd a third Person, who if he surpass'd them in Audacity, might surpass them in Fortune, and throw them from the Favour they possess'd. This Page was a Friend of his, and knowing his Discontents, thinking to do him a good Office, he propos'd him to King *Richard*; who being then warm with the Imagination, rose out of his Bed to make Trial of him, awoke him, and acquainted him with what he desir'd, urging him to a Compliance. This ambitious Man immediately undertook the execrable Design; and was next Day dispatcht with Letters to *Brakenbury*, in which he was commanded to deliver up the Keys of the Tower for one Night to this *Tirrel*, that he might exactly perform his Orders: All which was punctually obey'd by the Constable.

James Tirrel employ'd in it.

The two innocent Youths had been more strictly kept after their Uncle had quitted the Title of Protector, and assum'd that of King: They were not only debarr'd Visits, but had their Servants taken from them, and others unknown to them appointed to attend them, rather in the Place of Guardians than Servants. *Edward* the Eldest was fully sensible he was no longer King, and that his Uncle was crown'd; and when the News was brought to him, he shew'd no Regard to the Loss of his Crown, but with a tender Sigh said, *I wish my Uncle would let me enjoy my Life, tho' I lose all besides.* After this Time he never put off his Cloaths, or ever went out of his Chamber; but being with his Brother full of melancholy Apprehensions, he kept his Room 'till the Arrival of this miserable Night. Of the four that attended him, *Tirrel* chose *Miles Forest*, a Man from his Youth brought up in Blood, to whom he join'd for his Companion *John Dighton*, the Groom of his Stable, a strong Man and fit for his Design. He caus'd them to go at Midnight into the Chamber where they slept; and there wrapping them up in their Bed-Cloaths, they stopp'd their Mouths with the Bolster and Pillows, and so stifled them. The Business was soon dispatch'd; and *Tirrel* immediately bury'd them under a Heap of Stones near the Stairs Bottom: Which being done he took Horse, and acquainted King *Richard* with what had pass'd, which so pleas'd him, that 'tis said he gave him the Honour of Knighthood. But being inform'd in what obscure Place the Bodies lay, he gave Command for their better Interment; whereupon a Priest belonging to Sir *Robert Brakenbury* removing them, and dying shortly after, it could never be known whither they were carry'd. 'Till in King *Charles* the

who causes Edward the Fifth and his Brother to be murder'd in the Tower.

Second's Reign, *Ann.* 1674, some Persons, who were employ'd in Rebuilding several Offices in the Tower, and to clear the white Tower from all contiguous Edifices, as they dug down the Stairs leading from the King's Lodgings to the Chappel in the same Tower, discover'd a wooden Chest ten Foot in the Ground, in which they found the Bones of two Striplings, and from the Proportion judg'd to have been in their Ages they were concluded to be the Relicks of those Royal Brothers, whereof one was about thirteen and the other eleven Years of Age. The Circumstances from Story being fully consider'd, upon good Presumption that these were the Bones of the said Princes, King *Charles* commanded them to be put into a Marble Urn, and deposited among the Relicks of the Royal Family in *Westminster* Abby.

Their Bones discover'd in the Reign of King Charles the Second.

Both the Contrivers and Actors in this horrible Villany met with Rewards suitable to their Deserts in no long Time after. King *Richard* himself, besides his last Misfortunes, was both outwardly and inwardly tormented with Fears and Agonies; and according to the Relation of some most intimate with him, he after this execrable Fact enjoy'd not one Hour of Quiet: His Countenance was changed, his Eyes distracted and ghastly; he wore Coats of Mail underneath his Cloaths, and had almost always his Hand upon his Dagger ready to strike, as if others were striking at him. He spent whole Nights without Sleep; and if by chance he got a little Rest, he waken'd with fearful Dreams, which forc'd him to quit his Bed, and so walk'd up and down his Room full of prodigious fears. Sir *James Tirrel* suffer'd on Tower-Hill for Treason, in the Reign of *Henry*.

God's Vengeance upon the Murderers.

Henry the Seventh, having first confess'd this Murder. The other two, tho' they escap'd human Justice, yet they were pursu'd by Divine Vengeance: For *Miles Forest* dy'd miserably, having almost all his Members rotted and cut off: *Dighton* liv'd in daily Expectation of an ignominious End, and continu'd at *Calais* no less disdain'd and hated, than pointed at by all Men.

King Richard
crown'd a se-
cond time at
York.

A. D.

1484.

Reg. 1.

The Duke of
Buckingham
discontented.

His Designs
against King
Richard.

II. King *Richard* had now a more unquestionable Title to the Crown than ever, but still further to secure it, he first caus'd himself to be crown'd a second Time in the City of *York* with extraordinary Magnificence, and invested his Son *Edward* in the Principality of *Wales*. Then, having made many good Ordinances worthy of a better Man, he procur'd a Parliament who declar'd and adjudg'd the Marriage between his Brother and the Lady *Gray* to be unlawful, by reason of a prior Contract, and their Children to be illegitimate and incapable of the Crown. But before these Projects were compleated, besides his continual Anxiety, he soon found himself disappointed, first by the untimely Death of his Son, and then by the Revolt of his principal Supporter the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Cause of this last is not fully known; but it is suppos'd to arise from the Claim *Buckingham* had to the Duke of *Hertford's* Lands; and he having done such Services to King *Richard*, he concluded that he could deny him nothing. But these Lands having fallen from the House of *Lancaster*, and being now annexed to the Crown, the King fear'd that if the Duke were possess'd of them, his Thoughts might soon exceed the Condition of a Subject. Inasmuch that when *Buckingham* demanded them, he receiv'd such a threatening and scornful Reply, that he could not bear it, but feign'd himself sick that he might not attend at the Coronation; so that *Richard* sent him Word *That if he would not come he would force him to be brought thither*. At which he appear'd in that magnificent Manner before recited; but with such Dissatisfaction, that he was not able to behold the Crown upon *Richard's* Head. However it was, Pride and Discontent soon widen'd the Breach; and having retir'd himself to his Castle at *Brecknock* in *Wales*, he there compleated his Resolutions by the Council and Encouragement of his Prisoner Doctor *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*.

Here Sir *Thomas Moore* gives us the Particulars of a long and secret Debate between the Duke and this politick Prelate, which probably he learnt from the Bishop's own Mouth. In which Conference, the Bishop, after many Helutations and Soundings of the Duke's Intentions, freely inveigh'd against the numerous Crimes and Enormities of the present King *Richard*, and lastly urg'd the Duke, as being of the House of *Lancaster*, to take upon him the Title of King, and assume the Crown of *England*, to the Security of the Nation. On the other Side the Duke made a plausible Apology for all the Assistances he had given to the present Usurper, declaring that he had once an Intention to assume the Crown; but upon Reconsideration, he found the Earl of *Richmond* to be the nearest Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, and the properest Person; who if he marry'd the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, and the nearest Heir of the House of *York*, he might both destroy King *Richard*, and put a full Period to all the Troubles and Calamities of the Nation. This Conclusion was highly pleasing to the Bishop of *Ely*, who consulting with the Duke where first to begin, it was resolv'd immediately to treat with the Countess of *Richmond*, it being necessary first to know from her the Intentions of the Earl her Son, who was then in *Bretaign*. In order to this, the Bishop offer'd to bring one *Reynold Gray*, a domestick Servant to the Countess, a wise and discreet Man, and well vers'd in the Negotiation of great Affairs; and accordingly he wrot to him to come to *Brecknock* about a Business nearly concerning his Mistress. Being arriv'd, the Instructions he receiv'd were these, 'That considering the Kingdom could not be reduc'd to Quiet, but by advancing the Earl of *Richmond* to the Crown, and uniting the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York* by Marriage; that the Countess of *Richmond* should treat of that

that Matter with *Queen Elizabeth*, and having obtain'd her eldest Daughter, she should send into *Bretaign* to her Son; who if he promis'd to marry her whenever he was crown'd, they engag'd by joining the Forces of the Factions to make him King. *Bray* being dispatch'd away with this Embassie, the Bishop likewise took Leave of the Duke, who was extreemly unwilling to part with such a wise Counsellor. However he resolv'd to depart; and while the Duke fed him with Hopes, under Pretence of raising Men for his Journey, he stole away disguis'd, and getting fortunately to *Ely*, he provided himself with Mony, and pass'd over into *Flanders*, where he became more serviceable in this Matter than he could have been in *England*. Yet his Departure prov'd fatal to the Duke, for wanting his Advice, and meeting with unexpected Accidents, it caus'd his final Ruin.

The Duke of Buckingham and Bishop of Ely mutually engage to advance the Earl of Richmond.

In the mean Time *Bray* acquainted his Lady with the whole Affair, who immediately approv'd of it; but the Queen being still in Sanctuary, the Countess thought it not proper to go in Person, therefore she sent her Physician *Lewis*, a learned *Welshman*, who had a specious Pretence of visiting a Person not well in Health. Having gain'd Access, and being well known to her, he handsomely open'd the Cause, as a Matter not digested and concluded, but as an Opinion of his own, not hard to be effected if she would approve of it. The Queen well understood him, and was rightly sensible that if the Earl of *Richmond* was marry'd to her eldest Daughter, it might naturally produce the greatest of all human Felicities to her Family; therefore she promis'd if that could be effected, to assist by any Methods towards the Destruction of the Usurper. The Physician having inform'd his Mistress of the Queen's Intentions, she immediately proceeded with all Vigour; and *Bray* secretly treated with such as he knew faithful and fit for a Matter of such Importance; while the Queen negotiated with all those who hated King *Richard*, and wish'd for nothing more than an Opportunity of serving her. Those employ'd for the Countess, besides *Bray* and the Physician, were Sir *Giles Aubery*, Sir *John Cherny*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, *Thomas Ramney*, and *Hugh Conway*. This last being sent by the Countess to her Son with a considerable Sum of Mony, he took his Way by *Plimouth* through *Cornwall*; while *Thomas Ramney* was sent through *Kent*, that if one should unfortunately miscarry, the other might effect the Work; but both were so successful, that they did not differ many Hours in their Meeting at *Bretaign*. Their Embassie to the Earl was, 'That he was sent for as

with the Queen's Concurrence.

Their Alliances.

Their Embassie to the Earl.

King, nominated by the great Men, and desir'd by all; That the Marriage was agreed by the Queen and the Duke of *Buckingham*; That he should come with all Expedition and land in *Wales*, where he should find Friends and Assistance sufficient for his Purpose. The Earl, form'd by Nature for a Throne, communicated the Affair to the Duke of *Bretaign*, who notwithstanding King *Richard's* Threats and Promises, had given him his Liberty, and now generously consented to befriend him in this nice Conjuncture. So that confident of good Success, the Earl sent *Conway* and *Ramney* back to his Mother, with Answer That he accepted of the Invitation, and that as soon as he could provide Necessaries he would come for England; in the mean Time Order might be taken for the Affairs there, that he might find the less Impediments at his Arrival. Upon this Message, his Adherents took Courage, and began their Preparations; they sent into convenient Places Persons fit to make them good, and dispos'd several Commanders in other Parts, that they might be ready upon all Occasions. Others privately sollicit'd the People to prepare them for an insurrection; and the Bishop of *Ely* wrot from *Flanders* to such as he knew hated King *Richard*, promoting the Business by the sole Authority of his Letters.

His Answer

Richard's Preparations against him.

Tho' this Design was carry'd on with the utmost Caution and Secrecy, yet it could not be long conceal'd from the Jealousies of the politick King; who placing his Spies in all Parts, betook himself to Arms; and soon concluding the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the prime Mover, he was of opinion that the main

Both Parties
take Arms.

The Duke of
Buckingham's
Men disband.

Provisions were to be made against him. But first he resolv'd to try him with Offers, which if rejected, then to proceed to the severest Methods: Accordingly he sent an express Messenger to him with Letters full of Courtesie and the greatest Promises; but the larger they were, they became so much the more suspicious. He well knew the King's Temper, and that he had proceeded in the same manner with all those he desir'd to abuse; therefore he desir'd to be excused coming to him, alledging a great Indisposition and Unfitness to travel. *Richard* not at all satisfy'd, wrot to him in contrary Terms, commanding him to appear immediately before him; to which the Duke, laying aside all Artifices, gave Answer to the Messenger, *That he would not come to One whom he accounted his mortal Enemy.* Thus without further Disimulation they prepar'd for War; and the Rumour of it caus'd the Marquess *Dorset*, Son to the Queen-Dowager to quit his Sanctuary, and to go and raise Forces in *Yorkshire*; in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* Sir *Edward Courtney*, and his Brother the Bishop of *Exeter* did the same; and Sir *Richard Guilford*, assisted by many other Gentlemen, began the War in *Kent*. King *Richard* was not taken altogether unprovided; but using all Diligence he march'd towards *Salisbury*, while the Duke of *Buckingham* with an Army of *Welshmen* advanced towards *Glocester*, there to pass the *Severn*, and join with the two *Courtneys* and the rest of their Adherents; which if effected, the King probably had been ruin'd. But here Providence, that design'd to punish the Duke for all his Crimes, interpos'd, and sent such a Deluge of Rain, that the *Severn* was not only impassable, but Men, Women and Children were carry'd away in their Beds by the Violence of it, and the Tops of Mountains were cover'd with Waters. This Flood continuing for ten Days, the Duke was forc'd to stay, while his Soldiers almost drown'd with Rain, famish'd for want of Victuals, and having no Pay, took a Resolution to disband of themselves; which they did, notwithstanding all the Authority and Persuasions of the Duke to the contrary. Being all dispers'd, and the Duke abandon'd, he retir'd near *Shrewsbury* to the House of one *Humphry Banister*, a Servant of his, who being highly oblig'd to him upon all Accounts, he concluded he might remain in Safety, 'till such Time as he could either gather new Forces, or pass over into *Bretaign* to the Earl of *Richmond*.

The Duke taken

The Disbanding of the Duke's Army being publish'd abroad, and it not being known whether he was alive or dead, such Fear possess'd those of *Kent*, *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, that laying down their Arms, they fled some into Sanctuaries, and others beyond the Seas, and most of the chief of them particularly into *Bretaign*. King *Richard* hearing of the *Welshmen's* Retreat, the Duke's Flight, and the rest of the Conspirators Design to save themselves, he immediately sent to all the Ports, and order'd all Passengers of any sort to be stopp'd, making Proclamation, That whoever should discover or deliver up the Duke of *Buckingham* into his Hands, if he were under the Villenage, he should be enfranchis'd; and if otherwise, together with a general Pardon he should have a thousand Pounds ready Mony given him. Together with this he made strong Preparations at Sea, being assur'd by Sir *Thomas Hutton*, who had been Ambassador in *Bretaign*, that the Earl of *Richmond* was certainly to be assisted by that Duke both with Men and Mony; he therefore sent many Ships to the Coast of *Bretaign*, with Intention either to fight him, or hinder him from landing on the *English* Shore. In other Parts he left no Place unguarded, and none were permitted to land or take Shipping without the most diligent Search, that some News might be had of the Duke of *Buckingham*. *Banister*, into whose Hands the Duke had trusted his Life, hearing of the Proclamations and promis'd Rewards, out of Fear or Avarice, discover'd where he was to the Sheriff of *Shropshire*; who coming to *Banister's* House, found the Duke in the Habit of a Day-Labourer digging in a Garden; in which Apparel he was sent well guarded to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* then resided. He deny'd not the Conspiracy, hoping by his free Confession to have gain'd Admittance into the King's

King's Presence; some think with an Intention to have begg'd for Mercy, others to have kill'd the King with a Dagger which he wore underneath his Cloaths. But stern *Richard* not suffering him to be brought to him, he was on the first Day of *November* beheaded in the Market-Place, without any manner of Process, and after the same Manner he had caus'd many others to suffer. Here Sir *Thomas Moore* takes notice of the Punishments which God sent upon *Banister* and all his Family afterwards; but the Vengeance of Heav'n was more conspicuous against the Duke, who now justly fell into the Hands of a Tyrant, whom contrary to all Justice he had rais'd into the Throne. The Duke was in his Death accompany'd by several others, particularly Sir *George Brown*, Sir *Roger Clifford*, and Sir *Thomas Saintlieger*, who was the last Husband to the Dutches of *Exeter* the King's Sister.

III. During these Transactions at home, the Earl of *Richmond*, assisted by the Duke of *Bretaign*, had got together five thousand Men, and forty furnish'd Ships, in which he embark'd for *England*. But in the next Night he met with a dreadful Storm, which dispers'd all his Ships, and threw him singly upon the Coast of *Dorsetshire* near the Town of *Poole*; where he found the Shore all cover'd with Men to prevent his Landing. Here he cast Anchor, expecting the Arrival of his other Ships; and then sent a Boat near the Shore to discover whether they were Friends or not. Being come within Hearing, those on the Shore said, *They were sent to conduct them to the Duke of Buckingham, who lay with a great Army not far distant, expecting the Landing of the Earl of Richmond, who might easily ruin King Richard, now abandon'd by most Men.* But the Earl soon discover'd this Deceit, and despairing to meet with the rest of the Fleet, he put to Sea and landed in *Normandy*, from whence he dispatch'd a Gentleman to *Charles* the present King of *France* to desire a safe Conduct into *Bretaign*; and he commiserating the Earl's Misfortunes, did not only grant that, but also a considerable Sum of Money. Being arriv'd in *Bretaign*, and his Ships return'd, he then learnt the ill Success of his Affairs in *England*, how the Duke of *Buckingham* was executed, and the Queen's Son the Marquess *Dorset*, with the rest of his Companions, were come into *Bretaign*, which extreamly dejected him; yet he was comforted at the Arrival of his Friends, promising himself some Advantage from their Safeties. Here they again all resolv'd to proceed in their first Design, and to make the Earl King, upon Condition he marry'd the Princess *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth. All this was sworn to in the Cathedral Church of *Rennes*; where likewise the Marquess with all the rest did Homage to the Earl, as their actual King. The Earl fail'd not to acquaint the Duke of *Bretaign* with all these Proceedings, and the Greatness of the Cause he undertook; and that he greatly stood in need of another Fleet and Supplies of Money: To all which the Duke generously harkned and condescended.

The Earl of Richmond's Fleet dispers'd at Sea.

In the mean Time the Tyrant *Richard* proceeded with great Severity, and put many suspected Persons to Death; and being return'd to *London*, he call'd a Parliament, in which the Earl of *Richmond* and those that had fled to him were declar'd Enemies to the Kingdom, and their Estates confiscated. Tho' these Confiscations amounted to large Sums, yet they were insufficient for his Purposes, and did not hinder him from laying insufferable Taxes upon his Subjects. Fearing to provoke the People too much, he was content to keep the Earl of *Richmond*'s Mother only as a Prisoner, while the Lord *Stanley* her Husband pass'd without any great Suspicion. But for *William Collingburn*, who had been High Sheriff of *Wiltshire* and *Dorsetshire*, he caus'd him to be executed for writing this Rhime, *The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog, do govern England under a Hog*; alluding to *Catesby*, *Ratcliff*, and the Lord *Lovell*, who gave the Dog for his Arms, as *Richard* did the Boar for his; being all three prime Favourites. Then to keep himself secure from foreign Disturbances,

The Earl and his Adherents declar'd publick Enemies in Parliament.

Truce with
Scotland.

Richard sent Commissioners to treat with the King of *Scotland*, with whom he made a Truce for three Years, each of them to keep what they possess'd, only the Castle of *Dunbarre* was to be restor'd to the *Scots*. And that he might have a double Tie upon them, he concluded a Marriage between the Duke of *Rothsay* Heir of *Scotland*, and his Niece *Anne* of *Poole*, Daughter to his Sister *Anne* and *John* Duke of *Suffolk*. All these Precautions could not free his distracted Mind from those Furies which had brought Hell into his Conscience; and tho' *Buckingham* and many others were dead and banish'd, yet he could have no Peace or Security; his heinous Crimes, the Peoples Hatred, and the Earl of *Richmond* would not suffer him to enjoy an Hour's Rest. He again endeavour'd to get the Earl into his Possession, and loaded his Ambassadors with large Sums of Mony and other Gifts to present to the Duke of *Bretaign*; also offering him *Richmondshire*, all the Earl's Revenues, and all the Estates of those that had fled to him. But the Ambassadors could not have Access to the Duke, being come when he was under a delirious Fit; whereupon they made their Addreses to *Peter Landois*, who had Power to dispose of the Prince and State as he pleas'd. These large Offers had such Effects upon his base Mind, that he was ready to comply with them, but not in the manner they were propos'd; for he demanded *Richmondshire* for himself; upon which Messengers were several Times dispatch'd into *England*, which Delay of Time prov'd the Earl's Security. For these Designs being discover'd in *England*, and to the Bishop of *Ely* in *Flanders*, that Prelate immediately gave notice to the Earl, advising him to fly with all Speed, or he would fall into the Enemy's Hands.

The Earl of
Richmond in
great Danger.

The Earl receiv'd this Advice at *Vennes*, from whence he immediately sent for a safe Conduct from the *French* King, which being obtain'd, he left many *Englishmen* behind him, and with only five Followers in a Disguise, fled out of *Bretaign* into *Anjou* so fortunately, that one Hour's Delay might have been his Ruin. The Duke of *Bretaign* having recover'd his perfect Senses, was highly displeas'd at the vile Proceedings of *Landois*; and commanded that all the *English* might have Permission to go to their Matter, and their Charges honourably born by the Publick. He also sent the Mony he had promis'd to the Earl by *Edward Woodvile* and *Edward Poinings*, two *English* Gentlemen; for which the Earl to shew his Gratitude declar'd, *That he could never be at Rest, till Fortune had afforded him Means in some sort to requite his infinite Obligations to the Duke, by whose Favour only he now liv'd.* The King of *France* was then at *Langres*, where the Earl repair'd to him, inform'd him of the Reason of his Flight from *Bretaign*, and begg'd his Assistance in this extraordinary Cause; which was not hard to obtain from so generous a Prince, against one whose Name began to be odious in all Nations. King *Charles* promis'd to assist him, and brought him on his Way to *Montargis*, treating the Lords that attended him with Hospitality becoming a King. While thus he was ordering his Affairs, Fortune, the better to encourage him, sent him a Man forgotten, and in effect thought dead; *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who had been imprison'd in *Hamme's* Castle by King *Edward* the Fourth not long after the Battel of *Barnet*. This Nobleman had so far prevail'd with Sir *James Blunt* Captain of that Castle, and Sir *John Fortescue* Porter of *Calais*, that he did not only obtain his Liberty, but procur'd them to forsake their Commands, and go along with him under the Conduct of the Earl of *Richmond*. But *Blunt* having left his Lady and all his Goods in *Hamme's*, he compleatly fortify'd it, and increas'd his Garrison, that if it should be besieg'd, they might defend themselves 'till Fortune turn'd against King *Richard*. King *Charles* being return'd to *Paris*, the Earl's Retinue increas'd; all that were fled from *England*, as well as the *English* in those Parts, either as Scholars in the Universities, or returning from their Travels, flock'd to him: Among whom was one *Richard Fox* a secular Priest, a Man of excellent Parts, who was shortly after advanc'd to great Places and Dignities.

King *Richard* all this Time was not wanting to himself; his Thoughts were bent upon his own Preservation, and the Security of the Crown which he unworthily wore: And tho' he saw Heav'n and Earth conspiring against him, yet he thought by his own Subtlety to make his Party good against both. But understanding the Earl's Flight out of *Bretaign* he stood amaz'd, and concluded that his main Remedy was to break the design'd Match between the Earl and his Niece *Elizabeth*. But barely to break it was not thought sufficient; therefore he resolv'd to break into the Laws of Nature, and marry his own Niece, whom formerly he had declar'd Illegitimate, and Incest would serve but as a Laurel to crown his other Abominations. His Conscience was now so hardned, that he resolv'd upon three Things, Deceit, Murder and Incest; the former, with Allurements and fair Promises was to mollifie the Queen Mother, and to make way for the other two, the Murder of his Wife, and the Marriage with his Niece. To effect all this, he chose Persons fit for his Purpose, who in the most obliging manner made plausible Excuses to the Queen Mother for all that was past, pretending *That his Majesty was sensibly afflicted for his dear Nieces, that they should make themselves voluntary Prisoners, and mistrust the natural Affection of an Uncle, who like a Father thought of nothing but their Happiness: That his great Desire was to treat them according to their Birth, to have them to Court, and to provide them with worthy Husbands; and whenever the Death of his Wife should happen (which must necessarily be in a short Time, by reason of some extraordinary Indispositions) his Resolution was to make the Princess Elizabeth his Queen; and would likewise prefer the Marquess Dorset to the most honourable and profitable Places in the Nation, if he would leave the Earl of Richmond and return to England.* These and many other Things, being dress'd up in all the Advantages of Honour and Profit, the Queen, through an unconstancy of Resolution, too often charg'd upon her Sex, at the first Onset began to melt, and at the second to yield to the King's Proposals; at once forgetting the Murder of her two Sons, the Infamy thrown upon her Husband and self by the present Possessor; and what was most material, the Oath that she had given to the Countess of *Richmond* concerning the Marriage of her Daughter. Ambition so far prevail'd as to make her faulty to her own Honour, the Safety of her Daughters, the Generosity of her past Actions, and her own Conscience; so that nothing was thought equivalent to the Persuasions of her mortal Enemy. And thus abus'd, she dispatch'd a Messenger to her Son *Dorset*, then in *France*, commanding him to leave the Earl and come for *England*; declaring, *That all past Injuries were forgotten, and were to be repair'd with Honours and Preferments; and that King Richard desir'd nothing more than to give him full Satisfaction.* And being thus reconcil'd to the King, they all remov'd out of their Sanctuary, and the young Princesses were convey'd to Court with extraordinary Solemnity.

Richard's Proceedings.

He prevails upon the Queen Dowager.

who quits her Sanctuary.

Richard having obtain'd the first of his three Designs, proceeded towards the second, which would be imperfect without the third, and the third impossible without the second. He could not marry his Niece unless his Wife was dead; upon this therefore he wholly bent his Thoughts. He consider'd that to put her to a violent Death would too much alienate his Peoples Affections, which he sometimes could and had gain'd by his hypocritical Proceedings. For this he hit upon a Method unknown to common Sinners; That Grief, Melancholy and Fear might jointly produce that Effect with the Appearances of Nature, which neither Sword nor Poison could do without Scandal. He forbore her Bed, and refus'd to speak to her, denying her both his Society and his Presence: He began to bewail his ill Fortune in having a Wife that was now barren; and made known his great Affliction to the Arch-Bishop of *York*, whom he had set at Liberty, not doubting but he would declare it to his Wife, and hoping it might work the desir'd Effect. The Arch-Bishop, who was a wise Man, and well acquainted with the King's Disposition, spoke of it to some of his intimate Friends,

King Richard's
Queen dies.

Friends, judging the unfortunate Lady's Life to be of no long Continuance. Shortly after the King caus'd it to be reported that she was dead, that whenever her Death should happen, it might appear less surprising, and likewise caus'd this Rumour to be brought to her own Ears; that every thing might add to her Grief, or at least take off the Horror of the Fact. The Queen, who was of a soft and tender Disposition, and not able to stand against the Power of so many Machinations, was extremely confounded and dispirited; well knowing that a dreadful Tempest must needs follow such portentous Thunderings. She ran with great Eagerness to him to know wherein she had so highly offended him, as that he thought her not only worthy of Hatred, which was apparently seen, but of the Punishment that was to befall her, the World judging her to be dead already. His Answer was pleasant in Words, but severe in Sense, mingled with Smiles, which gave her more Cause of Suspicion than Comfort. She retir'd to her own Lodgings, where a few Days after she departed this Life, uncertain whether out of Grief or Poison. And this was the End of a Lady, who out of Ambition and Interest marry'd to one who had been the Author both of her Husband's and Father's Death.

A. D.

1485.

Reg. 2.

IV. King *Richard* having obtain'd two of his Designs, he began to proceed towards the third, the Marriage of his Niece; but he was soon so interrupted and almost confounded with the Publick Affairs, that he could never bring it to Effect. He found many of the Prime Nobility fled into *France* to the Earl of *Richmond*, and saw himself so nauseous to the People, that they were ready to vomit him out. He began now also to have greater Jealousies against the Lord *Stanley* than any other Nobleman; so that when that Lord desir'd leave to return to his Country House, under Pretence of some Domestick Affairs, he would not permit him 'till he had left his eldest Son *George Stanley* in Court, as an Hostage for his Father's Loyalty. Understanding of *Blunt's* Revolt, and the Earl of *Oxford's* Escape from *Hamme's* Castle, he order'd the Garrison of *Calais* to besiege and reduce that Place; which was done with a Success greater than was expected. This inconsiderable Advantage, and some false Representations of the Weakness of the Earl of *Richmond*, and the Backwardness of the *French* King to assist him, prov'd a vast Disadvantage to King *Richard*, who being both puff'd up and deluded, recall'd his Ships and disbanded his Army; judging that the Nobility inhabiting the Maritime Parts, especially those of *Wales*, were sufficient to oppose any Descent his Enemy could make.

The Earl of *Richmond* had really met with some Delays and Impediments in the Court of *France*, that caus'd the Marquess *Dorset* secretly to fly from him; which might have been of great Damage to him, had he not been happily stop't in his Journey. These Things made the Earl more diligent; and finding that Delays might be the Loss or Ruin of his Friends, he judg'd it necessary to attempt that with a Few which he could not with Many. He borrow'd Money of the King and many others, leaving the Marquess *Dorset* and Sir *John Bourchier* as Hostages; and having gather'd some Men, he repair'd to *Roan*, there waiting for the Ships from *Harflleur* that were to transport his Forces. Here he was inform'd of the Death of King *Richard's* Queen, and of his Resolution to marry his Niece, who by her Mother was promis'd to him. This extremely discourag'd him and his Followers; who after a new Consultation judg'd it a rash Resolution to undertake so dangerous an Enterprize with a Handful of Men; therefore they resolv'd not to stir 'till they had receiv'd new Advices from *England*, and could gain over Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Gentleman of great Family and Power in *Wales*. But the Earl about the same Time receiving an Account that Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and Captain *Savage*, two Men of great Note in *Wales*, would declare for him, and that *Reynold Bray* had large Sums in Possession to pay the Soldiers; he at length took Shipping on the fifteenth Day of

of *August*, with a few Vessels, and two thousand Soldiers. After seven Days he landed at *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*; from whence passing on to *Dale*, he march'd to *West-Hereford*, where he was receiv'd with all Satisfaction by the Inhabitants. Here he was discourag'd with the false News that *Thomas* and *Savage* had declar'd for King *Richard*, and soon after as much encourag'd by *Arnold Butler*, that the Inhabitants of *Pembrokeshire* had join'd with his Uncle *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, their natural Lord; which caus'd him to march on to *Cardigan*, his Camp encreasing every Hour. Here he heard News that Sir *Walter Herbert* was at *Caermarthen* with a Design to oppose him; but he soon understood by his Scouts that there was no Enemy to be seen, the Country being open and free for his March. This Satisfaction was augmented by the coming in of *Richard Griffith* and *John Morgan*, with a good Body of Men. Yet the Earl seeing himself reduc'd to the Necessity of meeting with Victory or Ruin, and that without further Assistance he could not subsist long, he wrote to his Mother, and the Lord *Stanley* with others, *That being by their Advice arriv'd in England, it was their Assistance that must support him; for having but few Men, one Defeat would be his Ruin: That temporizing would now be fatal; and if Dissimulation was once advantageous, it would be now pernicious, and discourage all his real Friends.* This Dispatch being sent away by a faithful Servant, he took his March towards *Shrewsbury*, and met with *Rice ap Thomas*, who with a considerable Number of *Welshmen* swore Fealty to him, the Earl having promis'd to make him President of *Wales*, as soon as he should be King. At *Shrewsbury* he receiv'd an Answer from his Mother and others, according to his Desire. From thence he pass'd on to *Newport*, where Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with two thousand Men came to meet him; as likewise did Sir *William Stanley* at *Stafford*, where he made some Stay to refresh his People. After this he came to *Litchfield*, and was receiv'd by the Inhabitants as their lawful Prince. The Lord *Stanley* had been there two Days before with his Soldiers, and was remov'd from thence to make Way for the Earl, that he might not be seen in his Company; being extreamly cautious by reason of his Son's being an Hostage with King *Richard*, and so hourly in Danger of his Life.

The Earl lands in Wales.

His Progress.

King *Richard*, being now at *Nottingham*, heard of the Earl's Arrival; but with such a Relation of his inconsiderable Forces, that he had no Regard to him. But afterwards well considering the Consequences, he began to change his Mind, and his Affairs appear'd to be in a Condition not to be trusted to other Mens Directions, by reason of the general Hatred of the Nation. Therefore making a Scrutiny of such as were most interested in the Preservation of his Person and Dignity, he chose *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Surry*, giving them Commission to gather together what Friends and Forces they could; and he gave order to *Brakenbury* the Lieutenant of the Tower to do the same, and bring as Companions Sir *Thomas Bourcher* and Sir *Walter Hungerford*; not that he expected any Service from them, but to prevent their Conspiring against him. All these Precautions did not satisfy him, when he understood the Earl had pass'd the *Severn*: He then began to mistrust his Affairs, and to complain of those who had promis'd to defend that Passage; and now he found that his Business was not to be trusted to any third Party, and growing jealous of all Men, he went in Person at the Head of his Army to give his Enemy Battel, executing himself the Duty of a Serjeant-Major. He came by Night to *Leicester* upon a white Steed, surrounded by Guards and a great Number of Foot, with a wild Countenance, answerable to the Speeches he utter'd against such as had abandon'd him, and disown'd him for their King. The Earl hearing of his Approach, encamp'd near *Tamworth*, where he was met by Sir *Thomas Bourcher* and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, who fearing King *Richard*, had privately slipp'd from *Brakenbury's* Forces. From other Parts divers Men of Quality repair'd to him, who probably would have

King Richard at the Head of his Army.

have been his Enemies, had not their Hatred to King *Richard* mov'd them to join with him: Only the Lord *Stanley* durst not appear openly for him, by reason of his Son's being in *Richard's* Possession. Both Sides were equally inclinable to fight, being mov'd by several Fears; *Richard* of being abandon'd, and the Earl of wanting Mony and other Necessaries. But *Richard's* Condition was apparently the worse of the two, for Persons daily deserted from him; so that seeking out a fit Place for Battel, he encamp'd himself near a Village call'd *Bosworth*, not far from *Leicester*, where having refresh'd his Men, he prepar'd to fight. Here we are told that the Night preceding the Battel, he in his Sleep had certain strange and dreadful Apparitions that he believ'd to be Devils, which tormenting him, broke his Rest, and left him in such a Consternation, that all that saw him were amaz'd.

The fatal Day being come which was to decide the Fortunes of a Kingdom, *Richard* drew out his Troops in such a manner as might make the greatest Appearance; committing the Van to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and commanding the second Line himself, where were the choicest and best armed Men, being guarded on the Flanks by Horse, and on the Front by Archers. But notwithstanding all this Show his Numbers were but small in respect of the Cause and Consequence, yet still much greater than the Earl had on the other Side. The Lord *Stanley* stood at a Distance almost between the two Armies with three thousand Soldiers, affording Hopes and Fears to both Parties: For being desir'd by the Earl that he would come and take care of the Ordering and Commanding his Men, his Answer was, *That he might do that Office himself, he would come as he saw it convenient*; and to *Richard*, who swore that if he did not come to him he would cut off his Son's Head before Dinner, he answer'd, *Let him use his Pleasure, for I have more Sons than he*. This Ambiguity prov'd his Son's Security; for *Richard* having commanded he should be beheaded, he suspended the Order, not so much out of Pity as Fear that *Stanley's* Cloud which threaten'd a Tempest should discharge all its Fury upon him when he most needed his Assistance. The Earl of *Richmond*, taking Courage from his Father-in-Law's Answer, drew up his Men, placing the Archers in the Front under the Conduct of the Earl of *Oxford*; he gave Sir *Gilbert Talbot* charge over the Right Wing, Sir *John Savage* commanded the Left, and he lent for himself and his Uncle the Earl of *Pembroke* a considerable Proportion of Horse and a few Foot, as a Reserve, with Intention to join with the Troops as Occasion should require. All his Forces exceeded not five thousand Men, and when join'd with the Lord *Stanley*, they scarcely amounted to half the Number that King *Richard* had.

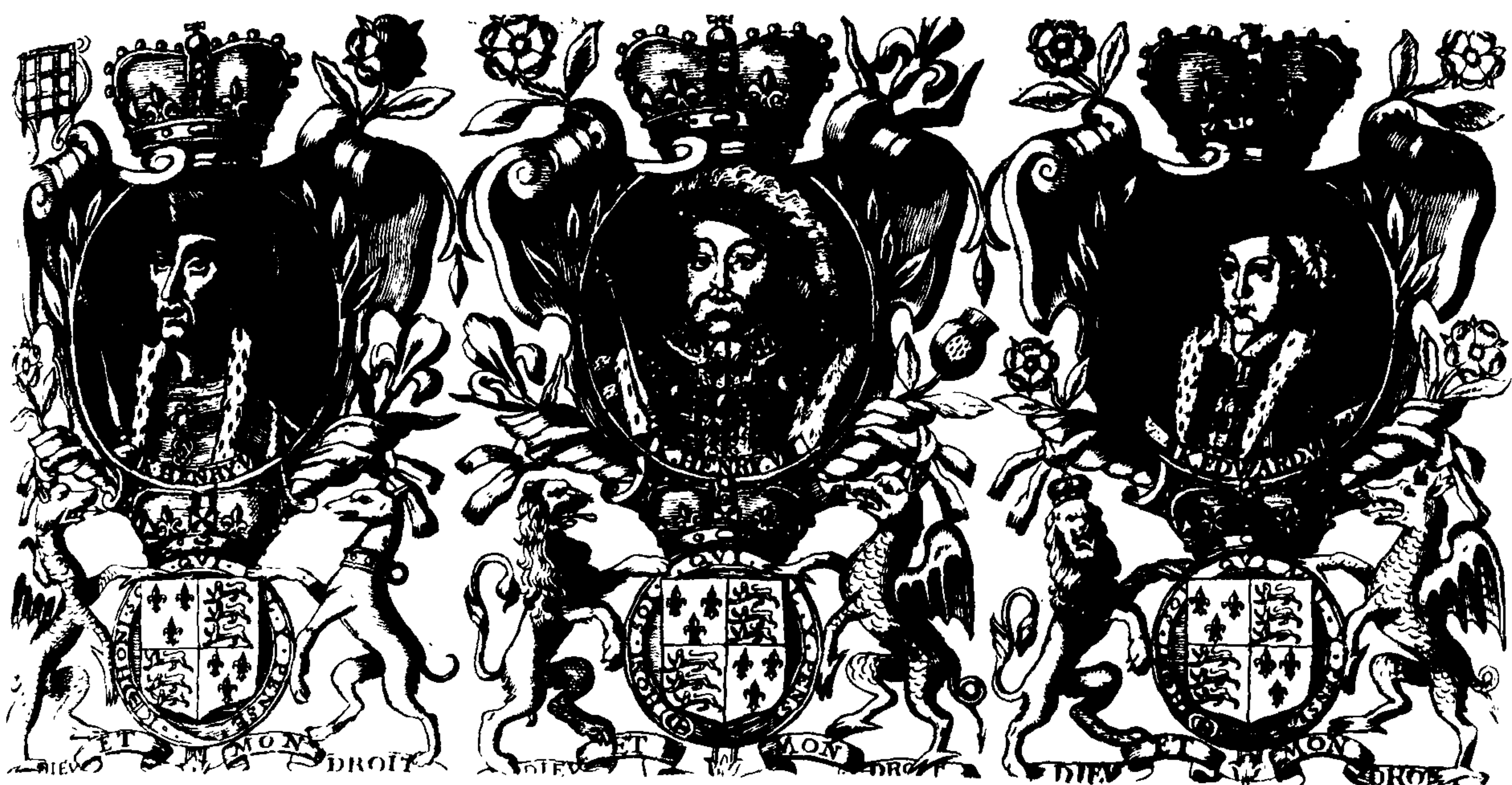
*The thirteenth
and last Battel,
at Bosworth.*

Both Armies being drawn up, King *Richard* on one Side, and the Earl on the other, made long Speeches to their Soldiers, which Sir *Thomas Moore* has recited at large. At the joining together of the two Armies, their several Inclinations were soon discern'd; those of the King's Side fought faintly, and others withdrew themselves out of the Camp. The King had commanded those in whom he most confided, to take care that all might be carry'd on without Disorder, and that they would advertise him of any Danger that should appear. These seeing that some were negligent, and others retiring, advis'd him to save himself, concluding he was betray'd. But the Divine Justice would not suffer him to harken to such Advice, not even when the Victory appear'd evidently on his Adversaries Side; for a fleet Horse being presented to him to further his Escape, he declar'd *That Day should either determine the War or his Life*. Understanding soon after that the Earl was not far from him, guarded but with a few Men, he spurr'd on towards him, and knowing him by some Marks, he ran furiously at him with his Lance. The Earl was not pleas'd at the Encounter, judging it the true Way to decide their Contest; but he could not meet him directly, being hinder'd by some of his own Men. *Richard* being disappointed, push'd against the great Standard, and flew Sir *William Brandon* the Standard-

Standard-Bearer; then advancing forwards, Sir *John Cheney* endeavouring to meet him, *Richard* bore him to the Ground, tho' he was a Man of great Strength and Valour. The Earl with his Sword in Hand stopp'd his Fury, at the very Instant when the Lord *Stanley* investing the King's Squadrons afforded Occasion for as many to run away as thought fit. *Richard* perceiving this, left the Earl, and thrust himself into the thickest of the Battel, either to reunite his Men, or to meet Death the sooner, which last soon happen'd to him; for fighting valiantly, he fell with the Sword in his Hand all over cover'd with Blood: So that he is said to have gain'd more Honour in these two Hours by his Death, than he had done all the Time of his Life. This happen'd on the twenty second Day of *August*, in the Prime of his Years, after a detestable Reign of two Years, two Months, and four Days, His Body was carry'd to *Leicester* after a most ignominious Manner, like a slain Deer laid cross a Horse's Back, his Head and Arms hanging on one Side, his Legs on the other, scorn'd and stark naked, and besmear'd with Blood, Dirt and Mire; and having lain two Days in this Manner, on the bare Earth, it was bury'd without any Solemnity or Funeral Rites.

In this Battel were slain not much above a thousand Men, among whom was the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord *Ferrers*. Sir *William Catesby*, who had betray'd the Lord *Hastings*, was with some others beheaded at *Leicester* according to his Deserts. This was the thirteenth and last Battel fought in the Civil Wars between the House of *Lancaster* and *York*, which had broken out about thirty Years before, fill'd the Nation with Blood and Desolation, and taken away the Lives of near a hundred thousand Men, and eighty Princes of the Blood, as *Comines* assures us. This prov'd the Ruin and Extirpation of the Males of both Families, and soon after put an End to the very Name of *Plantagenet*, which had continu'd near three hundred and fifty Years in Possession of the Throne of *England*. As to the House of *York* in particular, which in Strictness had the nearest Right to the Crown, it was founded and rais'd upon such Violations of the Laws of God and Man, that it could not last above twenty four Years; tho' it was supported by all the Powers of Human Strength and Policy. *Richard* may truly be said to have descended from an unfortunate House: The Earl of *Cambridge* his Grand-father was beheaded at *Southampton*; the Duke of *York* his Father slain before *Sandal*; of his three Brothers the Earl of *Rutland* was slain in cold Blood, the Duke of *Clarence* drown'd in a Butt of Malmsey, and his two Nephews strangled in their Beds: So that we can meet with no Tragedy, true or fabulous, where we find so many various and cruel Deaths as in this Family. *Richard* himself, whose Character we need not give, was reserv'd for the last Stroke of the Divine Vengeance: Yet in these Proceedings of Providence we find that God, who is the Rewarder of Good in thousands, is the Punisher of Evil even in the third and fourth Generations, when some of the more immediate Actors escape in this World. It has been observ'd That in *Richard* the Second he punish'd the Death of *Edward* the Second; in *Henry* the Sixth and his Son, the Death of *Richard* the Second; in *Edward* the Fifth and his Brother, the Death of *Henry* the Sixth and his Son; and in *Richard* the Third the Death of *Edward* the Fifth and his Brother: And yet he was pleas'd to suffer those to die in Peace which were the real Authors. *Edward* the Third, whose Mother's Crime gives some Asperision of Parricide; *Henry* the Fourth, who murder'd *Richard* the Second; and *Edward* the Fourth, who murder'd *Henry* the Sixth, remain'd all unpunish'd. But to *Richard* the Third, whose Crimes were beyond Example, he deny'd Life, and perhaps Repentance, his Inhumanity neither deserving Successor nor Pardon.

The End of the Second Book.



History of England.

B O O K III.

The Union of the two Families, or two Roses, and the Royal House of TUDOR, to the Conjunction of the two Kingdoms under King James the First.

Containing the Space of about 117 Years.

C H A P. I.

From the Death of Richard the Third, and the Beginning of the Reign of Henry the Seventh, to the Death of Edward the Sixth.

Containing the Space of about 68 Years.

S E C T. I.

The Reign of King HENRY the Seventh.

Containing 23 Years, and 8 Months.

I. **U**PON the Death of King *Richard* the Third, at the Battel of *Bosworth*, *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, now about thirty Years of Age, both valiant and politick in all his Actions, directly enter'd upon the Crown of *England*; which he obtain'd more by Seifure or Donation, than by any legal Inheritance. For having offer'd up his Thanksgivings for his Victory, granted the Spoils of the Field to his Soldiers, and honour'd many of them with Knighthood, they with great Acclamations cry'd

A. D.

1485.

Reg. 1.

Henry Earl of Richmond enters upon the Throne.

out *King Henry*, *King Henry*! upon whose Forwardness the Lord *Stanley* took *King Richard's* Crown, and set it upon the Earl's Head, by that Ceremony confirming the Election of the People; from which Time commenc'd the Reign of the new King with full Success. But because so great a Revolution happen'd in the Kingdom, as to transfer the Crown from one Family to another, it will be very proper to take notice of the Genealogy of this King, with his politick Claims and Pretensions.

His Pedigree.

His Father *Edmund* of *Hadham* Earl of *Richmond*, was Son to *Owen Tudor* and Queen *Catharine*, Widow to *King Henry* the Fifth, whose Houses had no Affinity nor Relation to the House of *Lancaster*, or to the Crown of *England*. So that his Claims by Descent must proceed all from his Mother, the Lady *Margaret*, only Daughter to the first Duke of *Somerset*, and Grand-Child to *John* of *Gaunt*, Father to *King Henry* the Fourth; which Lady pretended that in Case the then present Succession should fail, she and her Son were to succeed, as rightly descended from the said *John*, the Father of the House of *Somerset*, as well as *Lancaster*. But upon a strict Examination, it might easily be discover'd, that besides the Deficiencies in the House of *Lancaster* it self, the House of *Somerset* was distinct, and without those Pretensions the other had, as it thus appears. *John* Duke of *Lancaster* had three Wives, *Blanche*, *Constance* and *Catharine*, the last of whom was Mother to the House of *Somerset*; and the due Claims of his Children he had by them were not the same, in respect of the several Dowries, and different Qualities of the three Mothers. *Blanche* brought with her the Dutchy of *Lancaster*; *Constance*, the Pretences to the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*; and *Catharine*, nothing at all being but a meer waiting Woman to the above nam'd *Blanche*: So that if *Henry* the Fourth, and his Sisters born of *Blanche*, could not pretend to the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, in prejudice to the Children of *Constance*; nor those Children to the Dukedom of *Lancaster*, in prejudice to *Henry* the Fourth and his Sisters; much less could the Children of *Catharine* have any Pretence at all, in prejudice to the Children by the two former Wives. And they were excludable with the greater Justice, because they were really Bastards, and with this aggravating Circumstance, on the Father's Side born in Adultery: And tho' after the Death of *Constance*, the Duke marry'd *Catharine*, and had her Children made legitimate by Parliament; yet they not being of the whole Blood, the House of *Somerset* had nothing to do with the House of *Lancaster*, in what pertain'd to the Inheritance of the Crown. So that when *Henry* the Fourth was establish'd in the Throne by Authority of Parliament, and by the same Authority his Sons and their Descendants declar'd his lawful Successors; no Mention was then made of his half Brothers, in case his Succession should fail, or such as should descend from them. So that strictly speaking, *King Henry* the Seventh had no rightful Pretensions to the Crown of *England*, not so much as the House of *Lancaster* had; but being Head of that Party, and endow'd with many excellent Qualifications, his great Success was owing to the Wickedness of *King Richard*, and his Promise to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, the nearest Heir to the Kingdom. The Troubles that afterwards afflicted him, arose from hence; for he always shew'd himself but lukewarm in his Affections towards his Wife, being an irreconcilable Enemy to her Family; insomuch that having gain'd the Victory and destroy'd his Opposer, he positively resolv'd not to be King but by his own Title and Interest: He therefore deferr'd his Marriage and her Coronation, till such Time as being crown'd himself and establish'd by Parliament, he had only accepted of the Title of *Lancaster*, as the first and chiefest Fundamental; and of the other two, those of Conquest and Marriage, but as Accidental, and as Supporters. All which was the less blameable, because it did not proceed so much from any Hatred to the House of *York*, as from the Love he bore to himself, and from a cautious Foresight: For a Report being rais'd that the young Duke of *York* had escap'd from
his

his design'd Murderers, his Claim by his Wife would have forbid him, if her Brother had been alive, who could not have been excluded but by the litigious Title of *Lancaster*. And if this News were false, there still remain'd other Scruples: As supposing she should die without Children, the bare Title of Marriage would not secure the Crown to him, which was to fall upon her Sisters; and if she should die with Children, the Crown would devolve upon them, to the Exclusion of himself. But if still his Children and a Parliament should be content to continue him in his Government, he knew there was a great Difference between reigning by Virtue of Birth and Law, by which he was oblig'd to no Man, and reigning by the Consent of others, by which he was oblig'd to every Man. Then to make use of the Title of Conquest, was both odious and dangerous, which might alienate even those that sided with him. And tho' the Title of *Lancaster* had been condemn'd in Parliament, and he himself arriv'd at the Crown not by the real Virtue of that, but that by marrying with the Princess *Elizabeth*, all Disputes between the two Houses might be ended; yet mov'd by the foresaid Considerations, and not valuing probable Inconveniencies, he declar'd himself King by Virtue of his own Birth, without naming the Princess *Elizabeth* in any Degree: Being willing to run the greatest Hazard, rather than be King by the Courtesie of his Wife, while she should live; by the Good-will of his Children, if she should first die; or by the Permission of a Parliament, if he should have no Issue by her.

With these nice Precautions this politick Prince began his Reign upon the twenty second Day of *August*: And understanding that the Princess *Elizabeth*, and *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of *Warwick* and Son to the Duke of *Clarence* were in *Sheriff-Hutton* Castle in *Yorkshire*, there kept by King *Richard's* Command; he order'd that the Princess should be brought up to *London* to the Queen her Mother, whether she was attended by several Lords and Ladies. But for the Earl of *Warwick*, he gave order that the Keeper of the Castle should deliver him into the Custody of Sir *Robert Willoughby*, to be by him brought Prisoner to the Tower of *London*; for tho' he was not fifteen Years of Age, yet he was a Person not thought fit to enjoy his Liberty in such uncertain and litigious Times. The new King march'd from *Leicester* towards *London*, without any Ostentation of Victory or Conquest: His Journey was peaceful; all Military Insolencies were forbidden, and forborn: He pass'd on more like an old than a new Sovereign, being receiv'd in all Places with the highest Acclamations of Joy. His taking up the Olive Branch, and laying aside the Laurel, did highly encourage the People, who now promis'd themselves that Quiet, which since *Henry* the Fourth's Time had only been enjoy'd by Intervals; being subject to so many Mutations, that the very Expectation and Apprehension of the ensuing Evils was as an intermitting Fever for the Space of fourscore and six Years. In the like manner he made his Entrance into *London*: For tho' he was met by the Mayor, Magistrates and Citizens, and himself attended with many Noblemen and Gentlemen, yet dispensing with the Pomp usually observ'd at the first Entrance of Kings into that City, he came in a close Chariot; that it might not be imagin'd, that having recover'd his Country by the Favour of Arms, and gain'd his Crown by the Death of a King, he had any Design to triumph over the People. His Entry was upon *Saturday*, the Day of his Victory; which Day he always solemniz'd, as ever being the happiest Day of the Week to him: He alighted out of his Chariot at *St. Paul's* Church; where he caus'd *Te Deum* to be sung, and the Colours taken from the Enemy to be hung up. He pretended to no other Trophies; nor did he own this as the Effects of his own Valour, or from Fortune, but as from God, the only Fortune to which Sacrifice ought to be made. He made all Preparations for his Coronation; and because it was said he had given his Promise to marry the Lady *Anne*, Daughter and Heir to the Duke of *Brevaigh*, which was by many believ'd to be true, he in an Assembly of the Chief Lords

King Henry
imprisons the
Earl of War-
wick.

He enters
London.

of

of the Kingdom, call'd for that purpose, ratify'd his Promise to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*; by which he put a Stop to the Whispers and Jealousies of many. Yet still he referr'd the Consummation, without regard to Obloquy, till being crown'd, and in Possession of all by his own Title, he might avoid being call'd King in the Right of his Wife.

Not long after his Arrival at *London*, towards the End of *September*, both the City and the Kingdom was afflicted with a Disease hitherto unknown, call'd the *Sweating Sickness*; which was prodigious in its Nature, both as to the swiftness of its Course, and the mortal Effects it produc'd. But it lasted not much above a Month; so that it was no Hindrance to the King's Coronation, which was the last of *October*; nor to the holding of the Parliament, which began seven Days after. In Order to the former, the King made his Entrance into the Tower on *Simon and Jude's* Eve, and on the Feast Day made twelve Knights Bannerets. After which *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, the King's Uncle, was created Duke of *Bedford*; *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, the King's Father-in-law, Earl of *Darby*; and *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*. Two Days after he was crown'd in the Abby Church of *Westminster* by Cardinal *Bourchier*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the accustomed Solemnities, and joyful Acclamations both of the Nobility and People. Upon the same Day, as if the Crown upon his Head had infus'd Jealousies into his Thoughts, for the Security of his Person he instituted a Guard of fifty Archers under a Captain to attend him, by the Name of *Yeomen of the Guard*. This being a new Thing in *England*, where the Kings were usually guarded by the Laws and their Subjects Affections, to remove all cause of Suspicion, he declar'd the Institution to be perpetual; and that since the Kings of all other Nations had their Guards, Decency if not Necessity made the same requisite here in *England*.

Seven Days after a Parliament met, in which he annul'd all the Decrees for the Confiscations of the Lives and Estates of such as took part with him, and made the like Decree against the Principal of the other Side; and to remove all Jealousies from the rest, he granted out a general Pardon, which freed such from Fear who had real Cause to be afraid. For having condemn'd those whom he design'd not to pardon, it was a certain Sign he would pardon the rest; so that quitting their Sanctuaries and Places of Retreat, they swore Fealty to him, and did their Homage answerable to the Tenure of the Declaration, and re-enter'd into their Possessions. Afterwards as concerning his Title, which was the cheifest Concernment, he govern'd himself by such peculiar Caution and Management, that without so much as naming the Princess *Elizabeth*, he caus'd the Act that was made to contain a double Sense: That the Inheritance of the Crown should remain in him and his Children lawfully to be begotten, not declaring whether it was his by Nature, or by Conquest; he knowing that whatsoever Interpretation was made of it would turn to his Advantage. He avoided to prescribe any Succession in case he and those that should lawfully descend from him, should fail, because it should not be thought to be alone purposely to exclude the House of *York*; he therefore left the Decision of that to the Laws. He procur'd this Statute to be confirm'd by the Pope's Bull, with particular Mention, by way of Recital, of his other Titles, both of Descent and Conquest. He in the same Parliament conferr'd new Honours upon several: He created Monsieur *de Chaudos*, a Gentleman of *Bretaign*, Earl of *Bath*; Sir *Giles Daresbury* was made Lord *Daresbury*, and Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brooke*. He restor'd *Edward Stafford*, Eldest Son to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to his Blood, Dignity and Estate, and tho' his Confiscation was great, yet his Father having been the first Promoter of his Rise with his own Ruin, he restor'd all to his Son; which won him the Reputation of being generous and grateful. And tho' Kings seldom call'd Parliaments without desiring some Aids, and closing some Acts of Grace, he would not make any such Demand at this Time, as not having any Grace to confer pro-

He is crown'd
King.

He institutes
a Guard.

A general Pardon
granted.

The Crown
settled by Par-
liament.

per to the Season. For tho' the general Pardon was an Act of Grace, yet he would not pretend it to be such, but rather a Correspondency to the Satisfaction they had given him, in receiving him to be King by his own Title: Besides, not having War with any at this Time, and having many Confiscations fallen to him, he was willing to spare his Subjects Purfes.

The Parliament being dissolv'd, he did not forget that he had left the Marquess *Dorset* and Sir *John Bourchier* as Pledges in *France* for those Sums he borrow'd to pay the Force he brought into *England*. Being desirous therefore upon this Occasion to try the Inclinations of the Citizens, he commanded the Lord Treasurer to require from the Lord Mayor of *London* that the City might lend him six thousand Marks; and after several Consultations, the Matter was decided by a Loan of two thousand Pounds Sterling; which tho' it came short of the Sum desir'd, he receiv'd with Courtesie, and supply'd the Remainder out of his own Coffers, that the Hostages might be wholly at Liberty. He forgot not the Service done to him by *John Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exeter*, for which he made them both of his Privy-Council, and gave to *Morton* the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, which fell vacant by the Death of Cardinal *Bourchier*: He made *Fox* Lord Privy-Seal, promoting him through several Bishopricks to that of *Winchester*, the richest of all the rest. And now having no Impediment to hinder the Performance of his Promise, upon the eighteenth Day of *January* the long expected and desir'd Marriage, between him and the Princess *Elizabeth* was solemniz'd: Which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph, and Demonstrations of the Peoples over-flowing Joy, than the Day of his Entry or Coronation; which was rather noted than approv'd of by the King. For during the eighteen Years the Lady *Elizabeth* liv'd, he shew'd himself no very indulgent Husband towards her, tho' she had all the Advantages of Beauty, Goodness and Fruitfulness. His Averfion towards the House of *York* was too predominant in him, infomuch that it found place, not only in his Wars and Councils, but also in his Chamber and Bed.

The King's
Marriage with
the Princess
Elizabeth.

II. All Things having succeeded thus happily, King *Henry* reasonably imagin'd that now he should meet with no more Oppositions: He was King by his own Title, in his own Right; he had marry'd the Heir to the Crown; and by his general Pardon and Restitution of Goods, he had reconcil'd such as were his profess'd Enemies. Yet after all, the Northern People, still bearing a Love to the House of *York*, and to the late King *Richard*, he thought it proper for himself to go into those Parts; hoping by his Presence to cure their insatuated Imaginations. He kept his *Easter* at the City of *Lincoln*; where shortly after he understood that the Lord *Lovel*, and the two Brothers, *Humphrey* and *Thomas Stafford* had forsaken Sanctuary, but it was unknown to what Place they was retir'd: But arriving at *York*, he there understood that the Lord *Lovel* was not far from thence with a considerable Force; and that the *Staffords* having rais'd Men in *Worcestershire*, were marching towards *York* to attack him. This second Information, tho' it did a little discompose him, yet he took it only for the Remainers of King *Richard*'s expiring Party at *Bosworth*: But he was more at a loss to find that he was amongst a People that did not affect him, that join'd with the House of *York*, and upon whom he could not safely rely. Amidst these Difficulties, he muster'd out of his Followers, Tenants and Dependants in whom he might confide, three thousand fighting Men; which being ill arm'd, but well assur'd, were deliver'd to the Duke of *Bedford*; giving him for his Van-Guard a general Pardon, which like Cannon Shot was to ruin the Enemy at a Distance. This prov'd effectual: For the Duke coming in Sight of the Lord *Lovel*, and the Heralds having publish'd the Pardon, he was so confounded, that fearing both to be abandon'd, and to be deliver'd up Prisoner, he fled the same Night towards *Launcester*, and from thence to *Flanders*.

A. D.
1486.
Reg. 1.

A Disturbance
in the North

it is quell'd ders to the Dutches Dowager of *Burgundy*; while the rest laying down their Arms yielded themselves to the Duke. Upon which those who had join'd with the *Staffords*, having lost their chief Hopes, despers'd themselves into several Places; and the two Brothers got into the Sanctuary at *Colnham* near *Abington*, where they found not the Safety they imagin'd; for the Privilege of the Place not extending to the Security of Traitors, they were taken from thence, and the eldest executed, the younger finding Mercy. This Rebellion quieted, the Northern People settled, and the King return'd to *London*, in *September* following, the Queen was deliver'd of her first Son, whom the King nam'd *Arthur*, in Honour of the *British* Race from whom he was descended, and according to the Name of that ancient worthy King of the *Britains*; in whose Acts, besides what is fabulous, there is Truth sufficient to render him famous. This to the most fortunate King was a new Happiness, to the Queen a great Matter of Joy, to the Church a Sovereign Delight, to the Court an exceeding Pleasure, and in Sum to the whole Kingdom an incredible Satisfaction.

Prince Arthur
born.

The first Impos-
itor of up Lam-
bert Symnel.

Notwithstanding all this, shortly after there follow'd a strange Accident of ^{Henry} State, of which the Relations that remain to us are so naked, that they leave it scarce credible, not so much for the Nature of it, but for the Manner and Circumstances of it, especially in the Beginning. There liv'd in *Oxford* a Subtle aspiring Priest nam'd *Richard Simon*, of mean Birth and tolerable Education; who ventur'd to undertake what a far greater Man durst not have attempted. This Man took upon him to educate a young Lad, nam'd *Lambert Symnel*, who, tho' only the Son of a *Baker*, had so sweet and ingenious a Countenance, as he might readily be thought one of the highest Quality. The presaging Aspect of this Youth first gave *Simon* an Occasion to take Advantage of two Rumours then spread abroad by the Enemies of King *Henry*: The one, that the Duke of *York*, second Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, was still alive; the other, that King *Henry* was resolv'd secretly to put the young Earl of *Warwick* to Death, who was Prisoner in the Tower. The first was divulg'd to raise and nourish the Hopes of the Male-contents; the second to blow up Hatred against the King, as if equally cruel with his Predecessor, he was ready to treat the Earl of *Warwick* as *Richard* had treated his Nephews. Upon these Reports, *Simon* first design'd to make *Lambert* personate the Duke of *York*; but soon changing his Opinion, he judg'd it more advantagious to have him personate the Prisoner the Earl of *Warwick*; so that if his Endeavours should succeed, and *Lambert* gain the Crown, he himself should be rewarded with the chief Miter of *England*, and with the Government of King and Kingdom. Nor did he fear to meet with any fatal Obstacles; since the Love to the House of *York*, still remaining in the Hearts of most Men, had occasion'd a great Dissatisfaction that the Princess *Elizabeth*, who had now born the King a Son, should yet want the Ceremony of a Coronation. Resolving upon the Affair, he proceeded to give proper Instructions to *Lambert*, in whom he met with an Aptness answerable to his Designs: But considering afterwards that his Pupil was to represent a Person not known to many, and unknown to himself, he judg'd it impracticable without the Assistance of some conversant in the Court, who might be inform'd by those that had serv'd the Earl, of his particular Conversation, and of all things that had befallen him since King *Edward's* Death. None being fitter for such an Office than the Queen Dowager, she was conceiv'd to be the main Instructor; as having too great a Cause of Resentment against King *Henry*, for so coolly treating her Daughter either as a Wife or a Queen. Not that she was willing to make *Lambert* King, but to use him as an Instrument to depose her Son-in-law, and to substitute the Infant Prince *Arthur* in his Place; and if that fail'd, *Warwick* or *Lincoln* might succeed, who were both of the House of *York*. That which confirm'd this Opinion was the King's confining of her afterwards, upon no weighty Pretence; thinking it expedient to punish her under the Colour of a small known Crime, for one more hainous not fitting to be known. How-

The Queen
Dowager fa-
vours him.

However it was, *Lambert* assum'd the Gestures and Behaviour of a great Personage, with such a fortunate Exactness, as being join'd to his natural Sweetness, a true Prince could not be enrich'd with more real Perfections, than those that appear'd to be true in him. The Reasons that caus'd *Simon* to chuse to have his Pupil personate the Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, rather than the young Duke of *York*, was, That when the Report was rais'd of his being escap'd out of the Tower, he observ'd so great a Joy in the People, that he judg'd it more proper for his Design, and that it would be easier to insinuate a Delusion in the Person of this Man, falsely suppos'd to have made an Escape, than in that other whose Escape would with more Difficulty be believ'd. Now to act the Comedy with Applause, he did not think *England* a fit Scene, a proportionable Distance being requir'd in Things of this Nature. He resolv'd therefore to go over into *Ireland*, a Kingdom affectionate to the House of *York*, and where King *Henry* had yet made no Alterations either in Dignity, Counsellor nor Officer; but the same commanded there as were plac'd by King *Richard*. All which made for *Simon's* Designs; who coming before *Fitz-Gerald* the Deputy, one well affected to the House of *York* presented his pretended Prince to him, and *Lambert* acted his Part with so much Artifice, that the deluded Deputy believ'd him to be what his Matters Speeches, and his study'd Nobility made him appear: Insomuch that acquainting some of his truest friends with this Secret, he found them and the People sufficiently inclinable to a Revolution. They receiv'd this fancy'd Prince with great Honour; they gave him the Castle of *Dublin* for his Lodging; and shortly after proclaim'd him King, by the Name of *Edward* the Sixth. There was not any one Province that deny'd him Obedience, but all join'd in declaring War against King *Henry*; while on the other Side not one would draw a Sword in his Cause. But that Kingdom being bare of Mony and Arms, and meanly furnish'd with Soldiers, they rely'd upon the House of *York's* Friends in *England*, and *Margaret* Dutcheß of *Burgundy*, to assist them with their Supplies; to whom they gave Intelligence that *Edward Plantagenet* was escap'd out of the Tower and come into *Ireland*, where he was proclaim'd King; that they design'd to bring him into *England* his hereditary Kingdom, if they would be ready to secure his Entrance, and that his Aunt of *Burgundy* would assist him with Mony, Soldiers and Commanders. This Dutcheß *Margaret* was Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, and third Wife to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who after her Husband's Death took such honourable Care of *Mary*, his only Heir and her Posterity, that she was in great Esteem among the *Flemings*, who honour'd her as their natural reigning Princess. Her Husband had left her a plentiful Dowry; so that having no great Occasion for Expences, she might, by the Mony she had been gathering so many Years, easily undertake this remarkable Affair. She therefore willingly hearkned to the Embassie; not that she was wholly ignorant of the Imposture; but that she might have an Occasion to molest King *Henry* and the House of *Lancaster*, against which she had insuperable Prejudices. The Marriage with her Neece, which should have reconcil'd her to King *Henry*, did more incense her against him, since it establish'd him in the Kingdom, and took it from her House without Hopes of Recovery: For which Reason she readily promis'd Assistance, and in due Time perform'd it.

The King hearing of this Insurrection in *Ireland*, was extremely concern'd, being too late sensible that he had acted amiss, in leaving that Nation under the Command of such as depended upon his Predecessor. Hereupon he first call'd his Council together with great Secrecy; in which was propounded and concluded three Expedients: First, That a general Pardon should be proclaim'd to all who would discover their Crimes, and submit by a Day prefix'd; which Pardon should be deliver'd in such a full and ample Manner, that no High-Treason, even against the King's own Person, should be excepted. Which tho' it might seem

strange, yet it was not so to a wise King who knew the most imminent Dangers arose not from the least Treasons, but from the greatest: And this was design'd chiefly to bring in Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a powerful Opposer, of dangerous Interest. Secondly, That *Edward* Earl of *Warwick* should be taken out of the Tower, and shown publickly to the People, that they might be assur'd of his being alive; and that the suppos'd Earl in *Ireland* was a meer *Chimæra*, fram'd only to disturb the State. Thirdly, That the Queen's Mother should be confin'd to a Nunnery, and have all her Goods confiscated; because she had promis'd the Princess *Elizabeth* to the present King, when he was in *Bretaign*, and contrary to Articles of Agreement had deliver'd her, and the rest of her Sisters, up to King *Richard*. The Issue of these three Revolutions were, That as to the first, Sir *Thomas Broughton* did not answer Expectation: As to the second, the Earl of *Warwick* was led in Procession from the Tower to *St. Paul's*; being all the way discours'd withal by divers of the Nobility who knew him, especially by such of whom the King had any Suspicion; this all might have full Conviction of his being alive. This prov'd successful in *England*, but had no Effect in *Ireland*, where the Inhabitants turn'd the Impostor upon the King, and reported, That to defeat the true Inheriter, and to delude the World, he had dress'd up a Boy in the likeness of the Earl of *Warwick*, and shew'd him to the People, without sparing to prophane the Solemn Ceremony of Procession. The Resolution concerning the Queen-Mother was what alone took effect, who was thrust into the Monastery of *Bermondsey*, and had all her Estate seiz'd into the King's Hands; but not without great Scandal and Obloquy against the Severity of his Proceedings. This Lady may be plac'd amongst the greatest Examples of Fortune's Inconstancy; who being indu'd with rare Qualities, was ruin'd by her Abuse in the Choice; and as Wisdom and Wylinefs have too near a Resemblance, she mistook the latter for the former. From being Widow to a bare Knight, by an unreasonable Rise, and through a peculiar Breach of Faith, she became Wife to a great King; who being fled away, depos'd and banish'd, she was forc'd for the Secutity of her Person to take Sanctuary, where she bore her unfortunate Son. Her Husband afterwards returning home victorious and triumphant, she likewise shar'd in his good Fortune; but when he dy'd, she was driven to the like Necessity of taking Sanctuary. Her Brother-in-law having usurp'd the Kingdom from her Sons, declar'd them to be Bastards, and barbarously murder'd them; and for her greater Affliction, her Brother and one of her former Sons, dy'd by the Hands of the Hangman; so that in less than three Months space she was dismally wounded with the Deaths of three Sons and her Brother. Her eldest Daughter being marry'd to the present King, she being mov'd by her Female Indignation to practice extravagant *Chimæras*, she lost her Honour, Estate and Liberty; and being abandon'd by her Friends, and not visited by any, she shortly after dy'd miserably. She was buried by her Husband at *Windfor*; and it was she that compleated the Foundation of Queen's-Colledge in *Cambridge*, which had been begun by *Margaret* Wife to King *Henry* the Seventh.

The Queen Dowager confin'd to a Monastery.

Her Death.

About this Time the Earl of *Lincoln* fled into *Flanders*, who was Son to *John de la Pole* Duke of *Sussex*, and *Elizabeth*, eldest Sister to the two Kings *Edward* and *Richard*. The latter had declar'd him Successor, in Case he should die without Children; which justly rais'd his Hopes, having a Wit and Courage capable of attempting the greatest Enterprizes. His Designs which were born to the Ground by his Uncle's Death, and *Henry's* Accession to the Crown, began to be reviv'd at this *Irish* News: For knowing the Falldown of the pretended *Plantagenet*, he thought the Troubles likely to arise from thence would bring him to what he desir'd; for if *Henry* were once overcome, it would be easie for him to bear down the Impostor. The King had him oftentimes in his Thoughts: but the Earl of *Warwick's* Imprisonment, at which the People was offend'd, was the Reason why he did not confine him. Which if he had

it would have encreas'd the Odium; and he hop'd that tho' he were at Liberty, he could not hurt him so long as the other was in Prison. In which if he was deceiv'd, it turn'd not to his Prejudice; for *Lincoln* being fled by the Advice of Sir *Thomas Broughton*, he repair'd to the Dutcheſs, his Aunt, who after divers Consultations ſent him into *Ireland*, accompany'd by the Lord *Lovel* and other Fugitives, with a Regiment of two thouſand ſelect *Almains*, commanded by *Martin Swart* a valiant Captain. She thought this ready Succour would produce many good Effects; as the confirming the Rebels in their Proceedings, the ſecuring of the counterfeit King in Poſſeſſion, and the encouraging of his Party in *England* towards the Ruin of King *Henry*: For the Pretended *Edward* the Sixth was to be ſupported, as long as Occaſion requir'd, but not yet to be caſhier'd; and the true *Edward*, in the Tower, to be put in his Place, contrary to the Earl of *Lincoln's* Expectations. King *Henry* underſtanding this Flight, was extreamly perplex'd; and found that the Dutcheſs having declar'd her ſelf in behalf of the Rebels, he muſt defend his Crown with the Sword. His firſt Care was to cauſe the Sea-Coaſts to be well guarded, that others might not follow *Lincoln's* Example: He rais'd a powerful Army, and devided it under two Generals, the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*; expecting to be attack'd at the ſame time both from *Ireland* and *Flanders*: And tho' he believ'd it would not be before the next Spring; yet he took a Journey almoſt in the miſt of Winter into *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, to take Order for neceſſary Proviſions. And underſtanding by the way, that the Marqueſs *Dorſet* was coming to him, to clear himſelf of ſome Imputations charg'd upon him, he diſpatch'd the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him upon the Road, with Order to carry him to the Tower, and to let him know, *That it was not done for his Deſerts, or for any ill Opinion of the King's, but to free him from the Danger of being perſuaded to undertake any Thing to his Prejudice, deſiring him to take this Uſage patiently, and promiſing to make him honourable and ſatisfactory Reparation.* The King kept his *Chriſtmaſs* at *Norwich*; and went from thence by way of Devotion to our Lady of *Wolſingham*, and from thence return'd by *Cambridge* to *London*.

Lambert aſſiſted by the Dutcheſs of Burgundy.

King Henry prepares againſt him.

The Earl of *Lincoln's* Arrival in *Ireland*, with ſo good a Force added to the Rebels Hopes: They were proud to ſee themſelves favour'd by the Dutcheſs, who had ſo readily aſſiſted 'em with Forces, and placed two ſuch Lords as *Lincoln*, and *Lovel* at the Head of them. At their Appearance, *Lambert* who was formerly proclaim'd King, had now the Ceremony of Coronation; and after ſome time ſpent in Conſultations, they all embark'd with great Numbers of the poorer ſort of *Iriſhmen*, better furniſh'd with Hopes than with Weapons. They landed at *Fowdray* in *Lancashire*, with *Lambert* clad in Royal Apparel; and were conducted by the Earl of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, and Viſcount *Lovel*, follow'd by the *Dutchmen* under Colonel *Swart*. Sir *Thomas Broughton* met them at their Landing, but ſtill with a few Men: They march'd towards *York*, and paſſed in a peaceable manner, to ſhew that lawful Kings came to relieve, not oppreſs their Subjects. But ſhortly after their Hopes began to grow cool, when they ſaw not any come to them in their Solitary March; eſpecially ſince they had moſt reaſon to expect many to join with them in that Country which was ſo much inclin'd to the Houſe of *York* and King *Richard*. But Viſcount *Lovel* having found no Safety there, the Year before, they might believe they were not now likely to ſucceed better. Some were of Opinion, that the Alienation of theſe People proceeded from a Diſtaſte they took that two foreign Nations, the *Dutch* and *Iriſh*, ſhould pretend to preſent them with a King made by them: And tho' *Henry* the Fourth, *Edward* the Fourth, and the preſent King *Henry* had in like manner been preſented by Strangers, yet the caſe was different. The Firſt and the Laſt were call'd in by a Part of the Kingdom, to free them from the two *Richards*, the Second and the Third; the one by divers Reaſons more ſolid than the other; and *Edward* the Fourth came of himſelf, building upon the

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Lambert lands in England.

the Love of the People. Neither had *Henry* the Seventh given any Occasion of hatred, so as to cause him to be expell'd; rather the Opinion of his Worth, and his marrying with the House of *York*, had establish'd him. Moreover the Procession was made to *St. Paul's*, wherein the true *Plantagenet* was expos'd to view, and had caus'd the People not to regard the Impestor.

The Earl of *Lincoln* being reduc'd to this Necessity, resolv'd to hazard all upon the Issue of a Battel; and march'd towards *Newark*, with a Design first to make himself Master of that Place. In the mean time King *Henry* being arriv'd at *Nottingham*, a Council of War was held, in which it was debated whether it was better to protract time, or give Battel. The King was for the latter, being encourag'd by the Arrival of Six Thousand fighting Men, most of them Volunteers, under the Command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and the Lord *Strange*. And that the Enemy might not take the Advantage of *Newark*, the King encamp'd himself between them and the Town. *Lincoln* seeing himself closely persud, retir'd to a Village call'd *Stoke*, planting himself upon the Side of a Hill, from whence he descended as soon as the King presented him Battel; which was valiantly fought on both Sides, but for the Manner and Particulars, we have but an imperfect Account transmitted to us. It is related that of the King's three Battalions only the Vant-guard fought, and the other two mov'd not at all; which seems the more strange, because one half of the Vant-guard was cut in Pieces, and that the King should purchase the Victory at so dear a Rate. All the chief of the Enemy were Slain, as *Lincoln*, *Kildare*, *Lovel*, *Broughton*, and Colonel *Swart*; great Slaughter was made of unarm'd Irishmen who mov'd not from the Posture they had plac'd themselves in the beginning of the Battel. The Conflict lasted three Hours; in which dy'd four Thousand of the Enemy, and one half of the King's Vant-guard, but not one of Quality on the Kings Side. The King was troubled at the Death of the Earl of *Lincoln*, because he was depriv'd of the Means of learning from him what Correspondence the Dutchess *Margaret* had in *England*. Many Prisoners were taken, among whom was *Lambert* himself, otherwise call'd *Edward* the Sixth, and *Simon* his Tutor and Seducer. The King out of Generosity would not take *Lambert's* Life, looking upon him as an Image moulded by the Hand of others; and likewise out of Wisdom, thinking that if he suffer'd Death, he would be too soon forgotten; but being kept alive, he would be a continual Spectacle, and a kind of Remedy against the like Inchantments of the Pope for the future. His Punishment was the Kitchen, where he was put to the vilest Employments; his Scepter and Crown were turn'd to Spits and Fire-locks. He continu'd in the Office of a Scullion, till by unknown Means he was preferred to be one of the Kings Falconers, in which Condition he dy'd, not giving any further Occasion of Story. As to *Simon*, being a Priest, he was committed to a close Prison, and heard of no more.

After the Battel of *Stoke*, the King remov'd not from the Camp till he had given humble Thanks to God for the Victory; which he likewise did three Days successively at *Lincoln*, with Processions and other religious Ceremonies; and he sent his Standard to our Lady's Church at *Walsingham*, whither it had been devoted. He caus'd some of the Prisoners to be put to Death; but since it would have been thought too great a Cruelty to punish so many for one Crime, he was willing to commute the Blood of their Veins for that of their Purles, imposing pecuniary Punishments upon many in *Yorkshire* and other Parts, with which both he and they were satisfy'd. After that he went to *Newcastle*; from whence he sent Ambassadors to *James* the Third King of *Scotland*, to treat and conclude a Peace with him; but that King, labouring under many Inconveniences from discontented Subjects, he only obtain'd a Truce for seven Years; but with a Secret Promise of renewing it during both the Kings Lives. This Point being gain'd, King *Henry* return'd to *London*, where he enter'd in State and in a triumphant Manner: And now being taught by the last Events, that

King Henry
meets and
fights him.

Lambert de-
feated and
made Prisoner.

He is made the
King's Scullion.

his Hatred to the House of *York* had been the Cause of his former Troubles, he prepared for the Coronation of his Queen; which was perform'd with great Solemnity on the twenty fifth Day of *November*, in the Third Year of his Reign, and two Years after his Marriage with her. Which strange and unusual Distance of Time, made it subject to every Person's Observation, that it was an Act against his Inclination, and forc'd upon him by Necessity and Reason of State. Soon after, to shew that all Suspicions were over, and that the Imprisonment of the Marquefs *Dorset*, was more from the Danger of the Times than the Man, he set him at Liberty without Examination, or any other degrading Circumstance. About the same time he dispatch'd an Ambassador to Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, to inform him of his Marriage and Success, to thank him for former Kindnesses, and to offer himself and his Kingdom to be at his Service upon all necessary Occasions. For which his Holiness, by way of Correspondency, gratify'd him, by moderating the Abuses of Sanctuaries, and other privileg'd Places; and by sending him a Bull, which prov'd a Check to Rebels and Traitors. In the same Year dy'd *Thomas Bouchier* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; and the famous *John Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, succeeded in his Place, who was afterwards created Cardinal, and Lord-Chancellor of *England*.

Queen Elizabeth crown'd.

III. Hitherto King *Henry* had been employ'd in settling his Affairs at home; but about this Time there broke out an Occasion that caus'd him to look abroad, and harken to Foreign Affairs. *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, having by the Management and good Fortune of his two immediate Predecessors, receiv'd that Kingdom in a more flourishing and encreasing Condition than it had been for many Years before, and recover'd the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Normandy*, *Provence*, and *Burgundy*; he now cast his ambitious Eyes upon the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, resolving to annex and unite that to the Monarchy of *France*, and so to bring it to its ancient Bounds and Limits. Many Circumstances gave him Encouragement in this Attempt; as the Duke of *Bretaign* old, and fallen into a Lethargy, serv'd by mercenary Counsellors, Father only of two Daughters, the one sickly and not like to live long; on the other Side, himself in the Flower of his Age, his Subjects well train'd for War, and now in Peace with all the neighbouring Princes. He was apprehensive of no Disturbance but from the King of *England*, who had been under great Obligations to the Duke of *Bretaign*, and whose Interest it was not to suffer *Bretaign* to be join'd to the Monarchy of *France*. Therefore he dispatch'd Ambassadors to King *Henry*, who after several artificial Compliments represented to him, That their Master was enforc'd to enter into a just and necessary War with the Duke of *Bretaign*, who had receiv'd those who were Traitors and declar'd Enemies to his Person and State; and such as were of that Quality, as it was apparent they went not thither to protect their own Estates, but to invade his; among whom was the Duke of *Orleans*, the first Prince of the Blood, and the second Person of *France*. Therefore the War was defensive on his Side; that he perswad Rebels in a Prince's Country, who owing Homage to him ought not to receive them, and much less to join with them in the Conspiracy. Then they proceeded to insinuate, That if the Duke of *Bretaign* had formerly shown him Favour, he had destroy'd the Merit of it, since he sail'd on his part, so that he might have been utterly ruin'd and deliver'd up to King *Richard*: That their Master did not pretend to remind him of the Assistance and Favours receiv'd from him, which proceeded from meer Affection, and contrary to what Policy should have perswaded; since it had been more advantageous for him, that a Tyrant like *Richard*, should have reign'd in *England*, than so virtuous a King as himself: That if he would rightly weigh both their Services, he would find that his proceeded from true Friendship, and the Duke's from Self-Interest: That he did not desire a Requit of Assistance, knowing he was but newly possess'd of a Kingdom he had purchas'd with great Expence and Trouble;

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The French King's Designs.

An Embassy to King Henry.

ble; but only that he would stand Neuter: That he would not by aiding the Duke, hinder the just Progress of his Arms, in punishing of Rebels, and correcting him who contrary to all Law had receiv'd them. But touching the Mystery of reuniting *Bretaign* to the Crown of *France*, either by War or Marriage with the Duke's Daughter, the Ambassadors carefully declin'd all Mention of it as what made most against them; but on the contrary declar'd the assur'd Purpose of their Master to marry, with the Daughter of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*; and entertain'd the King with some wandering Discourses of their King's Design to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*, by an Expedition in Person: All to remove the King from all Jealousie of any Design upon *Bretaign*, otherwise than for suppressing some rebellious Subjects.

Which displeases King Henry.

King *Henry* was very uneasy at this Embassie, and after Advice taken with his Council, he answer'd to this Effect, *That the King of France and the Duke of Bretaign, were the two Persons to whom he own'd the highest Obligations; therefore he should think himself very unhappy, if the Contest should arise to that Height as to hinder him from acquitting himself in Gratitude towards both; and that there was no Means for him, as a Christian King and a common Friend, to satisfy all Obligations both to God and Man, but to offer himself for a Mediator of Peace between them: By which Course he doubted not but their King's Honour and Estate would be preserv'd with more Safety and less Envy than by a War; and that he would spare no Cost or Labour to effect it, tho' it were that of a Pilgrimage.* Then letting them know that he would express himself more fully by an Embassie, which he would speedily dispatch to the *French* King for that Purpose, he dismiss'd them with that Answer; carefully avoiding to understand any Thing touching the re-annexing of *Bretaign*, as the Ambassadors had avoided to mention it. He was sensible of the *French* King's Designs, and was resolv'd to prevent it, even by Force of Arms, if Necessity so requir'd. But he fully believ'd that Fortune would not prove so favourable to *Charles*, but that he might have Time to negotiate this Affair, grounding his Confidence upon the great Oppositions he had; on the one Side *Maximilian's* Arrival, on the other the Forces of *Bretaign*, and the *Orleans* in the Bowels of his Kingdom ready to raise a Civil War; together with the Inconstancy of his Youth, sufficient to make him change his Mind, and the whole Course of his Affairs.

He sends an Embassie into France.

Upon these probable Suppositions he sent over *Christopher Ursenick* his Chaplain into *France*, giving him in Commission, That if the *French* consented to treat he should immediately repair to the Duke of *Bretaign*, and conclude the Treaty on both Sides. *Ursenick* made Declaration to the *French* King, much to the Purpose of *Henry's* Answer to the *French* Ambassadors; tenderly instilling some Overture of receiving the Duke of *Orleans* into Favour, and some Conditions of Accommodation. But King *Charles* on the other Side proceeded with the utmost Art and Disimulation in the Treaty; designing only to gain time, and put off the *English* Succours under the Hopes of Peace, till he had got good Footing in *Bretaign* by Force of Arms. His Answer therefore to the Ambassador was, *That he would put himself into King Henry's Hands, and make him Arbitrator of the Peace*; and readily agreeing that he should go directly into *Bretaign*, to signify his Consent, and to know the Duke's Intentions; well foreseeing that the Duke of *Orleans*, who rul'd all in *Bretaign*, taking himself to be upon irreconcilable Terms with him, would admit of no Treaty of Peace. By which he should not only veil over his Ambition, and win the Reputation of a just and moderate Prince; but also endear himself in the Affections of the King of *England*, as one who had committed all to his Will. These Grounds being subtilly laid by the *French* King, all succeeded as was expected: For when *Ursenick* arriv'd at the Court of *Bretaign*, he found the Duke in no Capacity to treat with him, but all things were directed by the Duke of *Orleans*; who giving Audience to this Ambassador, return'd an Answer

The French King's Disimulation.

swer full of Resentments: *That the Duke of Bretaign having been an Host, a Parent and a Protector, in time of greatest Necessities, he might justly have expected from the renown'd King Henry a number of brave Troops for his Succours, rather than a vain Treaty for Peace. And if the King should forget the Services done by the Duke, yet he well knew he would of his Wisdom consider of Futurity, how much it imported his own Safety and Reputation, not to suffer Bretaign to be swallow'd up by France, and so many good Ports and strong Towns upon the Coasts, to be in the Command of so potent a Neighbour, and so ancient an Enemy.* And therefore he desir'd the King to think on this Affair as his own; and with that broke off, and deny'd any further Conference for a Treaty.

Ursenick first return'd to the *French* King, and related what had pass'd to him; who finding Matters according to his Desire, speciously made Answer, *That considering in whose Possession the Duke of Bretaign was, there was no Hopes of Peace, but a mix'd Treaty of Force and Persuasion; and therefore he would proceed on the one, desiring King Henry would not desist from the other: But for his own Part, he faithfully promis'd to be still in the King's Power to govern him in the Matter of Peace.* This was accordingly represented by *Ursenick* at his Return, in such a Manner, as if the Treaty was in no Degree desperate, but rather waited for a more nice and proper Conjuncture. Whereupon there continually pass'd Packets and Dispatches between the two Kings concerning this Negotiation; from one out of Desire, and the other of Dissimulation. During this Intercourse, the *French* King invaded *Breitaign* with a great Force, and laid close Siege to the City of *Nantes*; and as one well vers'd in the worst kind of Policy, the more he urg'd the Prosecution of the War, he at the same time did more urge the Solicitation of the Peace. In-
 so-much that during the Siege of *Nantes*, after many Letters and particular Messages, the better to maintain his Dissimulation, and to refresh the Treaty, he sent *D'Aubigny*, a Person of Quality to King *Henry*, earnestly desiring him to make an end of the Business depending. Which caus'd the King to send over three Commissioners, the Abbot of *Abington*, Sir *Richard Tunstall*, and his Chaplain *Ursenick* formerly employ'd, to do their utmost Endeavours to perfect the Treaty and render it effectual.

King Henry
deceiv'd.

The French
King invades
Breitaign.

During the Negotiation, the Lord *Woodville*, Uncle to the Queen, a gallant Gentleman and ambitious of Honour, desir'd leave to go and assist the Duke of *Breitaign* with a Troop of Volunteers, with whom he would steal over privately, so that the *French* King should have no Occasion to complain of any but himself. It is not known whether the King secretly consented to it, but in publick he deny'd his Request, commanding him not to depart from the Court. Notwithstanding which, he went to the Isle of *Wight*, where he was Governour, and there rais'd four hundred fighting Men, with whom he sail'd into *Breitaign*; which caus'd such an Alteration among some of the Courtiers of *France*; that the *English* Commissioners would have been roughly treated, had not King *Charles*, conscious of his own Dissimulation, and not fearing four hundred Men, prevented all ill Usage to them and their Followers. The Commissioners now discovering that King's Design, returned into *England*, and acquainted King *Henry*, that all his Desire of Peace was but counterfeit, the better to gain Time, and to make him lose the Opportunity of hindering his Attempts upon *Breitaign*. Upon this King *Henry* call'd a Parliament; in which Supplies being granted, he rais'd Monies and muster'd Soldiers; and to keep a Decency towards the *French* King, to whom he acknowledg'd himself oblig'd, he sent a new Embassie to him to intimate the Decrees and Resolutions of his Parliaments, and to reiterate his Motion, That the *French* would desist from Hostilities; or if War must ensue, to take it as the Acts of his People, who being sensible of the Cause of the *Breitaigns* as their ancient Friends and Confederates, had sent them Succours; further protesting, that to preserve all Treaties

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The Lord
Woodville's
Expedition in-
to Breitaign.

King Henry
sends an Em-
bassie into
France.

Treaties and Laws of Friendship, he had limited his Force to proceed only in Aid of the *Bretaigns*, and not to War upon the *French*, otherwise than to maintain the Possession of *Bretaign*. But before this formal Embassie could arrive, the Duke's Party had receiv'd a terrible Blow near the Town of *St. Albine*, where the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* were taken Prisoners, six thousand of the same Side slain, with the Lord *Woodvile* and almost all his Soldiers: The *French* lost twelve hundred Men with their Leader *James Galeot*, a great Commander. King *Henry* understanding this Defeat, sent over eight thousand fighting Men into *Bretaign*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Brook*, who joining themselves with the Duke's Forces, march'd towards the Enemy the *French*, who knowing they lov'd not to encamp themselves, but to come to Battel, thought to cool their Ardor by entrenching their Army, and sallying out with their Light-Horse; which they did, but with more Loss than Advantage, especially from the *English* Archers. But during these Transactions, the Duke of *Bretaign* left the World; upon whose Death, the Principal Persons of that Country, partly being bought, and partly through Faction, threw all Things into Confusion; so that the *English* not finding Head nor Body with whom to join their Forces, and being justly jealous of their Friends, as well as in Danger from their Enemies, and the Season advancing, they return'd home five Months after their Landing. So that the Battel of *St. Albine*, the Death of the Duke, and the Retreat of the *English* Succours, were follow'd a short time after by the Loss of that Dukedom; which some accounted as a Blemish of King *Henry's* Judgment, but most as no more than a Misfortune of his Time. In sum, the treacherous Proceedings of a King of no profound Reach or Judgment, prevail'd more than the Policy of one of the wisest Princes in Christendom.

Tho' the temporary Fruit of the Parliament, in their Assistance given to *Bretaign*, did not prosper; yet the lasting Fruit of it, which was wise and good Laws, prosper'd for many Years, and most of them to this Day; particularly one that made it Capital for any Person to marry an Heiress by Force. But in the raising the Subsidies granted for the Expedition into *Bretaign*, great Disturbances arose in *Yorkshire* and the Bishoprick of *Durham*; which two Counties positively deny'd the Payment of any Tax. They alledg'd that they had suffer'd great Grievancies the last Years past, and were not able to bear any more; which Refusal proceeded from the old Affection they bore to the House of *York*, which with every Motion arose and floated with all other Considerations. The Commissioners for the assessing and collecting this Tax, wanting Means to enforce them, knew not how to proceed; for each of these two Counties had given in a direct Negative to the Act of Parliament. They went therefore to the King's Friend the Earl of *Northumberland* to consult with him, who wrote to the King upon that Subject; and receiv'd Answer, *That the Subsidies being given by Parliament, and pay'd by all the rest of the Kingdom, he was resolv'd not to recede from one Penny of his Right*. The Earl calling together the principal Gentlemen and Free-holders of the County, in an impetuous Manner acquainted them with the King's Answer; which many believing to have been invented by his own Head, the meaner Sort of the People broke into his House, and murder'd him, together with many of his Servants. And not resting here, they chose Sir *John Eyremond* for their Head, a factious Person, who hated King *Henry*; and being also animated by a base Person, nam'd *John a Chamber*, an Incendiary much esteem'd by the Vulgar, they broke out into open Rebellion, and in the plac'd Terms declar'd, *They would go against King Henry, and fight with him for the Maintenance of their Liberties*. Upon which the King commanded *Thomas Earl of Surrey*, whom he had lately releas'd out of the Tower, to march and reduce them; which he soon did by defeating them, and taking *Chamber* Prisoner. *Eyremond* fled into *Flanders* to the Dutchess of *Burgundy*; *Chamber* was hang'd upon a high Gallows at *York* and some others of the principal of them were hang'd a little lower round about him.

and Forces
into Bretaign;

but is no
Effect

A Commotion
in the North.

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The Earl of
Northumberland slain.

The Insurrection
quell'd.

him. Nor did the King omit his Custom to be first or second in all his war-like Exploits; making good his usual Saying when he heard of Rebels, *That he desir'd but to see them*: For he march'd after in Person; and tho' in his Journey he heard the News of the Victory, yet he went as far as *York*, where he settled all the Taxes without the least Abatement.

About the same Time that the King lost so good a Servant, as the Earl of *Northumberland*, he likewise lost a faithful Friend and Allie in *James* the Third King of *Scotland*; who was brought to a miserable Period rather by evil Counsel, than evil Nature. He had naturally good Inclinations; but they were all poison'd by the Practice of a sort of People, that has been ever ominous and contagious to all Princes: His Thirst after absolute Sovereignty was insatiable; and he esteem'd not his legal Authority, but sought for what was not permitted by the Constitutions of his Kingdom; so that his Ruin arose from his hating the Liberty of such as give him good Counsel; and loving Flattery in those who advis'd him Ill. The Discontent and Hatred of many of his Nobility and People, breaking forth by Degrees into seditious Alterations at Court, this unfortunate Prince was at last detested by them; so that taking up Arms, and surprizing the Person of Prince *James* his Son, partly by Force and partly by Threats, they compell'd him to head their Party. Whereupon King *James* made Application to the two Kings of *England* and *France*, and likewise to Pope *Innocent* the Eighth; who highly resented this Treatment, and might have succour'd him in good Time, if he had had Patience to expect them in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, a Place sufficiently safe. But he judging *Strivelin* to be a more convenient Place to receive those whom he expected from the Northern Parts of his Kingdom, was in marching thither at *Bannock's Bourn* engag'd and defeated: Whereupon retiring to a Water-Mill, in hopes of saving himself in certain Vessels not far off, he was there miserably slain; and *James* the Fourth his Son, by way of Penance girt himself with a Chain of Iron, to which he added one Link every Year after as long as he liv'd. The Pope had dispatch'd away *Adrian de Corneto*, upon this Occasion for *Scotland*, a Man of noble Qualifications, who came to *London* two Days before the News of this unfortunate Accident. Designing to return, he was honourably entertain'd, and became in great Favour with King *Henry*, and no less Familiarity and Friendship with *Morton* the Chancellor. Insomuch that the King, finding him agreeable to his Inclinations, preferr'd him to the Bishoprick of *Hereford*, and afterwards to *Bath* and *Wells*, and employ'd him in many of his Affairs of State, that had Relation to the Court of *Rome*. He was a Man of great Learning, Wisdom and Dexterity in Business of State; and having not long after ascended to the Degree of Cardinal, he greatly paid the King, in his diligent and judicious Advertisements of the Occurrences of *Italy*.

Troubles in Scotland.

James the Third slain.

In the latter End of the Fourth Year of this Reign the King again call'd a Parliament, more for the making of good Laws, than for the raising of any Subsidies. This Prince was always a celebrated Law-giver; and among many good Laws in this Parliament, one was made to prevent Depopulations by Inclosures, with so much Care and Policy, that the military Power was thereby advanc'd, the middle Sort encourag'd, and the exorbitant Power of the Nobility in course diminish'd. Nor did the King in this Parliament throw off his Cares and Hopes concerning *Bretaign*, but thought to recover all by Policy, tho' his Arms had been unfortunate, and to deprive the *French* King of the Fruit of his Victory. The Sum of his Design was to encourage *Maximilian* King of the *Romans* to proceed in his Suit for the Marriage of *Anne* the Heiress of *Bretaign*, and to assist him in the Consummation of it. But *Maximilian* was then reduc'd to great Straits by a Rebellion of his Subjects in *Flanders*, who made him Prisoner in the Town of *Bruges*, and oblig'd him to swear to several unreasonable Things. And tho' this Indignity was resented by his Father the Emperor; yet it was never effectually reveng'd; but the Inhabitants were

A Parliament

King Henry
sends Succours
into Flanders,
to the King of
the Romans.

Their Success.

so exasperated that the Lord *Ravenstien* took Occasion to join with the Lord *Cordes* Governour of *Picardy*, and to seize upon *Ipres* and *Sluce*, while the other besieged the Town of *Dixmude*. King *Henry* not willing to break with *France*, nor yet to let *Flanders* be lost, sent over the Lord *Morley* with a thousand Men to the Lord *D'Aubigny*, Governour of *Calais*, with secret Instructions to assist *Maximilian*, and to raise the Siege of *Dixmude*. This was so well obey'd, that to those thousand another thousand being added, which he drew from the Garrisons of *Guisnes* and *Hammes*, he pass'd over the Water of *Graveling* by Night, and got into *Newport*; where augmenting his Forces by six hundred *Germans*, and led on by a trusty Guide into *Dixmude*, while the Enemy had no Suspicion of it, he set upon them unawares, and was victorious, with the Slaughter of eight thousand Men, and the gaining of all their Artillery and Baggage. The *English* only lost about a hundred Men, and the Lord *Morley* himself; and the Lord *D'Aubigny* return'd to *Calais*, leaving his wounded Men with some Volunteers at *Newport*. The Lord *Cordes* being at *Ipres* with twenty thousand Men, thinking to recover the Disgrace at *Dixmude*, immediately invested *Newport*; and making a furious Attack upon it, he succeeded so far as to take the principal Fort or Tower, and to set up the *French* Standard upon it. Yet they were soon after beaten from it by the *English* and the Help of some fresh Succours of Archers, by good Fortune arriving at that Instant in the Haven of *Newport*: Which so discourag'd the Lord *Cordes*, that he immediately broke up the Siege and retir'd. By this Means Affairs became more exasperated between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; and the more by the vain Words of the Lord *Cordes*, who declar'd himself an open Enemy to the *English*, beyond what belong'd to the present Service, making it a common Saying of his, *That he could be content to lye seven Years in Hell, so he might win Calais from the English*.

A. D.

1490.

Reg. 5.

The King of
the Romans
contracted to
the Heiress of
Bretaign.

King *Henry* not satisfy'd in assisting *Maximilian* with his Arms, endeavour'd to do the like by his Counsel; persuading him to resume the Marriage with the Heiress of *Bretaign*. Which *Maximilian* accordingly perform'd, and so far prevail'd with the young Lady, and the principal Persons about her, as the Marriage was consummated by Proxy, with a Ceremony unknown in these Parts. For she was not only publickly contracted, but stated as a Bride, and solemnly bedded; and whilst she lay in Bed, *Maximilian's* Ambassador came in, and in the Presence of several of the Nobility, put his naked Leg between the Espousal Sheets; that the Ceremony might be thought to amount to a Consummation, and actual Knowledge. After which the publick Proclamations were made in the Names of '*Maximilian* and *Anne* by the Grace of God, King and Queen of the *Romans*, Duke and Dutches of *Bretaign*, &c. But *Maximilian* thinking himself secure, very imprudently neglected the Prosecution of this Affair, and proceeded to other Matters less material. In the mean Time, the *French* King, after a Consultation with his Divines, proceeded more effectually, and by secret Instruments and subtle Agents of both Sexes about the young Lady, first sought to remove the Point of Religion and Honour out of the Mind of the Lady her self, in which there was a double Labour. For *Maximilian* was not only contracted to the Lady, but *Maximilian's* Daughter was likewise contracted to the *French* King. For the Contract with the *French* King, it was readily alledg'd that *Maximilian's* Daughter being under Years of Consent, it was not obligatory, but dissolvable at Pleasure. But for the other Contract, the *French* King's Friends could only alledge, That it being done without the Consent of her Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, whose Ward and Client she was, it was sufficient to vacate any Contract whatsoever, tho' it could not vacate a Marriage after Cohabitation and actual Consummation. As for the Ceremonial Consummation, they made Sport with it, and declar'd, *That it was an Argument that Maximilian was a Widower and a cold Lover, who could content himself to be a Bridegroom by De-*

puty.

puty, and would not take a small Journey to put all out of Question. So that the young Lady, wrought upon by these Reasons, finely instill'd by the French King's Agents; and allur'd likewise by the Youth and Grandeur of the Monarch, and fearing to make her Country the Seat of a ruinous War, at length she secretly yielded to accept of the French King for her Husband.

The French King breaks the Contract.

But during this secret Treaty with the Lady, the better to secure it from Opposition and Interruption, King Charles had recourse to his usual Arts, and sent a solemn Embassie to King Henry, to treat of a Peace and a League with him; joining it with an Article in the Nature of a Request, That the French King, according to his Right of Sovereignty and Tutelage, might with the King of England's Leave dispose of the Marriage of the young Dutchess of Bre- taign, as he should think good; offering by a Judicial Process to make void the Marriage of Maximilian by Proxy. This was the Design and Substance of the Embassie, which was deliver'd in a long formal Oration, fill'd with Com- pliments and Artifice, and with amusing Declarations of the French King's Designs of recovering the Kingdom of Naples, and conquering the Ottoman Empire. And the better to effect this Matter, the French King continu'd in his Court and Custody the Daughter of Maximilian, who had formerly been sent to him, to be bred and educated in France; and still caus'd it to be reported, that he design'd to proceed in that Match. As for the Dutchess of Bre- taign, he desir'd only to preserve the Right of Sovereignty, and give her in Marriage to some Allie, as might depend upon him. King Henry was much displeas'd at the Embassie, well perceiving the ambitious Designs of the French King, and that Bre- taign would now be lost. Therefore he resolv'd to make use of that as a just Pretence for War, but at the same time not to discourage the other's Designs upon the Kingdom of Naples. His Answer deliver'd to the Ambassa- dors was full of Caution and Regard to the present Circumstances; yet he di- rectly renew'd his Claim to the Dominions of France, or at least to such a Tri- bute as might be proportionable to what he ought to hold in Possession. The Ambassadors were surpriz'd at this Demand, and in some Heat declar'd, That their Master's Sword would be sufficient to maintain his Scepter, and after some other Discourses, they were all dismis'd but one, and a new Embassie dispatch'd from King Henry into France. All this prov'd of no Effect; for not long after, the King of France, breaking through all Difficulties, publicly marry'd Anne Dutchess of Bre- taign, and took the Dukedom into his own Hands; having lately sent home the Daughter of Maximilian. About the same Time was born the King's second Son Henry, who afterwards reign'd by the Name of Henry the Eighth.

His subtle Ma- nagement with King Henry.

He marries the Heiress of Bre- taign.

King Henry VIII born.

Maximilian now perceiving that he was doubly defeated at one Blow, both as to the Marriage of his Daughter and his own, he lost all Patience, and cast- ing off the Respect due to Princes, he fell to violent Invectives against the Per- son and Actions of the French King: Declaring him To be the most perfidious Person in the World, who had made a Marriage compounded between an Ad- voury and a Rape; permitted by the just Judgment of Heaven, that the Nul- lity being apparent to the World, the Progeny of a Manso unworthy might not reign in France. And immediately he sent Ambassadors both to King Henry and to Ferdinand King of Spain, to excite them to War, and to enter into a League offensive against France, promising to concur with great Forces of his own. Upon which King Henry call'd a Parliament, and propos'd the War to the Nobility and Gentry, rousing them by the Fame of the glorious Victories at Cressy, Poictiers and Agencourt, and encouraging them to grant suitable Sup- plies for so great an Occasion. This had its Effects, and the War with France was with much Chearfulness approv'd of in Parliament; which judg'd that the Honour of the King and Kingdom had suffer'd by the Loss of Bre- taign. But the King's Intentions were very different from what they appear'd: He knew that he could not rely upon the Forces of Maximilian, who was so weak of him-

A. D.

1491.

Reg. 6.

7.

A War de- clar'd against France.

himself; nor upon those of *Ferdinand*, who had exhausted his Powers by the Wars of *Granada*. He also knew that *France* was now entire, and at Unity within it self, and never so powerful for many Years before; and that it was now come to a Custom of Encamping cautiously, and not to fight but with apparent Advantage, which would weary his People, weaken his Forces, and impoverish his Kingdom. Finding therefore these Inconveniencies and Difficulties, he projected for the gaining of two Points: The one how to make the War turn to his Profit, and the other how to recede from it with the Security of his Honour. For Profit it was to be made two Ways, upon his Subjects for the War, and upon his Enemies for a Peace: For the Point of Honour, he knew that as he could not trust to the Assistance of *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*; so the Impotence of one, and the double Proceedings of the other, would give him a fair Occasion to accept of a Peace. These Things he wisely foresaw, and did as artificially manage; by which every thing succeeded according to Expectation. The Parliament readily consented that Commissioners should go forth, for the gathering and levying a Benevolence from the more able Sort; which Tax, call'd Benevolence, was invented by *Edward* the Fourth, for which he sustain'd much Envy, and was abolish'd in Parliament by *Richard* the Third to engratiate himself with the People. It was now reviv'd by this King, with the Consent of Parliament, which was otherwise in King *Edward*'s Time, and rais'd exceeding great Sums; insomuch that the City of *London* contributed more than nine thousand Pounds. In this Parliament Liberty was given for all Men to sell or mortgage their Lands without Fines for Alienation, to furnish themselves with Mony for the War; which prov'd a great Step to the Diminution of the Estates and the exorbitant Power of the Nobility.

A Benevolence
granted.

The King of
the Romans in
Distress.

Succours sent
him by King
Henry.

King *Henry* having got great Sums by the Means of Benevolences, in a short Time rais'd a powerful Army; and knowing that King *Charles* had renew'd his ancient Confederacy with *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, he proclaim'd War against them both; but not without Suspicion that *Maximilian* would fail him at his greatest Need. For tho' his Wants and Weaknesses were capable of Remedy, if he were succour'd against his Subjects that molested him, yet his Nature was incapable of it. It was impossible for him to maintain ten thousand Men for two Years, according to his Promise; tho' being inrag'd at his double Affront, he hop'd to raise something out of nothing. But what still weaken'd this Prince was the Rebellion of the Lord *Ravestein*, who being supported by the *French* King, had possess'd himself of *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, the chief Cities of that Country; and then made himself Master of *Sluce*, and the two Castles that were its Security, seiz'd upon the Ships, and hinder'd the Commerce of the whole Country. The Duke of *Saxony*, Lieutenant to *Maximilian* soon found Means to invest *Bruges* and *Sluce*, but could not take the latter without Forces by Sea; wherefore he sent News of his Wants to *England*. King *Henry* being desirous to support *Maximilian*, sent twelve Ships well furnish'd with Men and Ammunition under the Command of Sir *Edward Poynings*; who having block'd up the Haven of *Sluce*, besieg'd the Town by Sea, while the Duke did the like by Land, and play'd with his Cannon upon the two Castles in which the Preservation of the Town consisted. They were valiantly defended for twenty Days, in which Space the Earl of *Oxford*'s Brother was slain; and might have held out longer, had not the Besiegers in the Night burnt the Bridge built between the two Castles, which forc'd them to surrender, together with the Town of *Sluce*. *Bruges* soon follow'd, which gave Occasion for many others to do the like.

In the mean time King *Henry* past the Summer in ordering his Soldiers for his Expedition into *France*; and finding himself in a Readiness, he sent Sir *John Risley* and *Ursenick* to *Maximilian*, to agree upon the Place for Meeting: But finding him utterly unprovided, they sent secret Advice to the King, and waited for his further Commands. The King, who suspected the same, praised their

their Discretion, and commanded them to tarry 'till new Directions were sent them, and to conceal that Prince's Weakness, that his Men might not be discourag'd. His Army was compos'd of twenty five thousand Foot, and sixteen hundred Horse; the chief Nobility flocking to it, some to purchase Merit, and others to avoid Disgrace in not following their King. He landed at *Calais* on the sixth Day of *October*, which caus'd many to admire that he should undertake so great a War at so late a Season. But these Difficulties serv'd him to make his People believe what he never design'd; declaring *That since he intended a resolute War, 'till he had conquer'd France, the Season was of no Importance, having Calais at his Command, from whence he might easily draw out his Army, in the Spring.* As soon as he was landed, the *English* Ambassadors from *Flanders* certify'd him that there were no hopes of Assistance from *Maximilian*, who was altogether unprovided of Men and Mony. This was made known, and spread through the Army; and tho' the *English* were no ways discourag'd, yet it was a kind of Preparative to a Peace. To work the same Effect, there came Letters from the Lord *Cordes*, with an Overture for Peace in behalf of the *French* King; which contain'd such Conditions, as it would have been unreasonable not to have harken'd to it. From other Parts it was confirm'd that King *Ferdinand* had agreed with him, having receiv'd from him the County of *Roussillon*, without repaying the Mony for which it was mortgag'd to him: This made all Men see a Necessity of Peace. King *Henry* notwithstanding, playing the Game with Art, deputed the Bishop of *Exeter* and the Lord *D'Aubigny* to meet the Lord *Cordes*; while he, without Delay, on the nineteenth Day of *October*, went and invested the Town of *Boloign*, a Place well fortify'd and garrison'd, and not to be taken without much Time and Blood. *Boloign* was besieg'd near a Month without any memorable Action, and when all Things were ready for a general Assault, News was brought that a Peace was concluded, to the great Surprize of most of the Army, who had great Hopes of extraordinary Advantages. In effect it was rather a Bargain than a Treaty, in which King *Henry* was to receive from the *French* King seven hundred forty five thousand Crowns at present, for the Charge of this Expedition; and twenty five thousand Crowns yearly, for his Charges sustain'd in the assisting *Bretaign*. This Annuity was left somewhat indefinitely, when it should determine or expire; which caus'd the *English* to esteem it as a real Tribute, carry'd under fair Terms: For in Reality it was paid both to the King, and to his Son *Henry* the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any Computation of Charges. The *French* King also assign'd great Pensions and rich Gifts for the present to all King *Henry's* principal Counsellors and Ministers: Which whether the King permitted, to save his own Purse from Rewards, or to communicate to them the Envy of this Treaty, was diversly interpreted. For unquestionably the King had no Inclination to own this Peace; and therefore not long before the Conclusion, he secretly prevail'd with some of his chief Officers to advise him to a Peace under their Hands, in the Nature of a Petition. This Peace was pleasing to both the Kings; but gave great Discontent to some of the Nobility, and principal Persons of the Army, who had either sold or engag'd their Estates, upon the Hopes of the War. They took the liberty to say, *That the King valu'd not the plundering his Nobility and People, to feather himself:* And some made Sport with what the King had said in his Parliament, *That when the War was once begun, he would make it pay it self;* declaring, *The King hath literally kept his Promise.* Having risen from *Boloign*, at *Calais* he wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, applauding the great Sums he had obtain'd; well knowing that the full Coffers of the King was always good News to the City. Upon the seventeenth Day of *December*, he arriv'd at *Westminster*, where he kept his *Christmases*.

King Henry goes into France with a great Army.

He invests Boloign.

A Peace concluded.

Tribute paid to England.

Several discontented.

The King returns to London.

In the same Year, the Kingdom of *Granada* in *Spain*, after a War of eight Years successively, was entirely conquer'd by the Reduction of the Capital City; *Bobadi-*

Boabdila the last of the *Moorish* Kings, having sustain'd a Siege of eight Months, surrender'd it to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; which gave an Occasion of solemn Rejoycings in the City of *London*, and Cathedral of *St. Paul's*. Now as if every Thing had contributed to fill the House of *Spain* with Honour and Riches, that they might transfer it to the House of *Austria*, it happen'd almost at the same Time that *Christopher Columbus* a *Genoese* discover'd the new World of *America*; which prov'd vastly advantagious to the *Spanish* Monarchy, and from its Riches obtain'd the Name of the *West-Indies*.

America discover'd

A. D. 1492. Reg. 2. **IV.** King *Henry*, having concluded all his Affairs with *France*, at the same time begun to be haunted with new Spectres rais'd by the Fascinations of the Dutchess *Margaret*, who could never be at rest 'till she had produc'd a new Duke of *York* to embroil the Affairs of this King. This prov'd a more exquisite Counterfeit than *Lambert Symnel*, more finely done, and own'd by greater Hands, the King of *France* and *Scotland*, as well as the Dutchess her self. As for *Lambert*, his greatest Excellency was his beautiful Presence, and that he did not mis-become his Robes; but this Youth exceeded all former Actors, and became one of the strangest Examples of Personation, that ever was known in elder or later Times. The Dutchess *Margaret* had entertain'd an irreconcilable Hatred against *Henry* and the House of *Lancaster*, insomuch that she val'd no Fraud nor Injustice, so she might oppress it, tho' her own Niece was so nearly concern'd in the Happiness of it. For which Reason she had formerly favour'd *Lambert*, whom *Simon* had set up; but failing in that Design plotted by a Priest, she resolv'd to contrive one her self, and to make so hard and intricate a Knot, as neither *Henry's* Wisdom, nor Sword, should be able to untie, or cut in sunder. The Person she design'd for this new Duke of *York* was a Youth of mean Extract, whose Father was a *Jew*, turn'd *Christian*, nam'd *John Osbeck*, dwelling at *Tourney*, 'till being necessitated by some Occasions, he went with his Wife to *London*, where she bore him this Son. There King *Edward* did the Child the Honour to be his God-Father, which caus'd many to believe he had some secret Interest in him; and some were of Opinion that he had really begotten him. He was nam'd *Peter*, which according to the Custom of the *Dutch* Tongue, was converted to *Perkin*; and those who did not first know him gave him the Sirname of *Warbeck*, so that that Name which arose first from Ignorance, was afterwards by Custom continu'd to him. His Father returning to *Flanders*, afterwards sent him to *Antwerp*, and from thence to other Parts of the World; so that at length his Travels and Conversation with divers Nations, did not only make him skilful in many Languages, but also adapted him to all Mens Humours and Customs.

The second grant Imposition, Perkin Warbeck.

His Birth and Education.

This Youth was accidentally presented to the Dutchess, as most proper for her Designs, which gave her great Satisfaction; having all requisite Qualifications, as Years, Beauty, Wit, Comeliness, and Majesty. She took an affection to him for being God-Son to her Brother; and the more because of his beauty she might judge him to be his natural Son: An Opinion which made her train and transform him with the greater Care and Diligence. She consider'd of all that was to be instill'd into his Mind, or affix'd in his Actions: She omitted nothing that might make him exactly personate the deceas'd Duke of *York*; and decipher'd to him, as in so many Pictures, the Lineaments, Resemblances and Behaviour of those of the Blood Royal, as of the King, Queen, Prince and Princess; of the first he was to speak as of his Father and Mother, of the rest as his Brothers and Sisters. She bethought her self what Questions might be ask'd him, and prepar'd him with such Answers as might become his Years: She did the like concerning such past Occurrences as might have fallen within his Knowledge, and forgot not the Particulars of the Sanctuary; how the Queen with the Duke of *York* fled thither; how he was taken from thence; how he was sent with his Brother to the Tower; the manner of their living there; the

The Dutchess of Burgundy instructs him.

Servants that attended them; their terrible Apprehensions, and the Providential Manner of his Escape. She chiefly taught him how to counterfeit innate Nobility, in which he was so docible, that he thought himself the very Duke of *York* whom he personated; and she so adapted the Places of his Peregrination to the Times, that when he should discourse of what had there hapned to him, he might readily be credited. And finding him of a miraculous Capacity, and a Penetration beyond his Years, she took a particular Delight to instruct him, and was transported with the Image of her own forming. She continually kept him in her most private Recesses, not trusting him to the Air, for the chief Part of this Mystery was, to make the World believe she had never seen him. When afterwards she perceiv'd that King *Henry* so proceeded in the Affairs of *Bretaign*, as he must of Necessity break with *France*, she thought it best to keep him no longer, but first to send him into *Portugal*, under the Conduct of an *English* Lady, where he continu'd almost a Year; all which was done, that when he was to appear in publick, it might be from a third Place. In *Portugal* he had Directions sent him to pass into *Ireland*; for *Henry* having declar'd War against *France*, it was judg'd a proper Time to molest him, and to begin this grand Metamorphosis.

According to Order, he went into *Ireland*, and made his Abode in *Cork*; where at his first Appearance, he was esteem'd a Person of great Consequence: For his graceful Deemeanor, and his Plenty of Mony and other Things, were sufficient to make the People mistake one Thing for another. Having for a while kept them in Suspence, by a sort of Force, he acknowleg'd himself to be the Duke of *York*, who having escap'd out of the Tower, and pass'd through various Fortunes, was come to that Kingdom, in Hopes that the Affection it had ever born to his House, would now continue firm to him. King *Henry* at that Time was not pass'd into *France*, but was making Preparations for that Expedition; so that the *French* King hearing of this Apparition in *Ireland*, thought it might make for his Advantage to have him with him, either to molest King *Henry*, if he continu'd in Hostility, or to make his Peace upon easier Terms. Accordingly he sent one *Stephen Trion*, a Secretary which had revolted from King *Henry* together with another, as Ambassadors to *Perkin*, inviting him to come into *France*, and offering to assist him in the Regaining of *England*. An Invitation that blew up the extravagant Vanity of this Impostor for being chosen by the Dutcheffs of *Burgundy*, receiv'd by the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and encourag'd by so great a Monarch, he concluded that Fortune never undertook so vast a Business without finishing it. When he had acquainted his chief Friends in *Ireland* with this Invitation, and by that gain'd new Credit and Reputation, he went to *France*, where he was receiv'd by the King with all Honour due to the Duke of *York*: He call'd him by that Title; and accordingly furnish'd him with Mony, Horse and Servants, and with a Guard of Soldiers under the Command of the Lord *Congreschal*: Sir *George Nevil* and Sir *John Taylor*, with above a hundred other *English* Men, waited continually upon him; and the Court to follow the Prince's Example, shew'd him the like Respect. All this was done out of Policy; for the *French* King must needs have more than a bare Guess that this Business was an Imposture. His Glory was not long liv'd here, for the Difference being ended between the two Kings, it was necessary for him to remove. King *Henry* demanded to have him deliver'd into his Hands; but the other esteeming it an unworthy Action, refus'd to do it; only he oblig'd him to depart his Kingdom. *Perkin* retir'd into *Flanders*, where the Dutcheffs and he acted their Parts with the utmost Exactness: He seem'd as if he had never been in that Country; and she, as if she had never seen him before: He pretended to fly thither as to a Sanctuary under the Protection of an Aunt, who ought to profess her self his Mother: She feign'd great Fears of being deceiv'd, as being taught Caution by *Lambert's* Example; and that this might be a Counterfeit as well as he. She oftentimes sent for him, pretending to make

He is sent in to Ireland, where he personates the decess'd Duke of York.

The French King sends for him.

*and acknow-
ledges his Title to the Crown of England.*

Upon a Peace he dismisses him.

*The Dutcheſs
of Burgundy
receives him as
her Nephew.*

an exact Scrutiny; at first seeming very doubtful, afterwards not clearly satisfy'd, and then more inclining to believe well. At last she broke out into an Admiration, and Thanksgiving to the Divine Providence, that had Commiseration for innocent Blood, and had vouchsaf'd so miraculously to preserve him. Then with extraordinary Passion she call'd him *Nephew, the Bud of the white Rose, the Hope of the House of York, and the Restorer of the Honour of England*; and assign'd him a Guard of thirty Halberdiers. Now every one began to think him really him whom he personated; insomuch that if he were respected in *France* as a foreign Prince, he was little less than worship'd in *Flanders*, by all that affected the Dutcheſs.

A. D.

1423.

Reg. 8.
9.

*Various Cen-
sures in Eng-
land.*

This News being brought into *England*, it was there greedily swallow'd by many: Passions and Fancies augmented this Belief in such as were of that Faction, in those who desir'd Novelties, in such as were discontented, and in many that were Lovers of Equity: For the Crown had neither belong'd to *Henry* nor his Wife, if her Brother had been alive. Hereupon arose Whisperings, Liberty of Discourse and Complaints: The present ill Government was in every Man's Mouth; the endless Impositions, the King's insatiable Avarice, which was the Cause of a dishonourable Peace, and the no less dishonourable Loss of *Bretaign*. The Nobility were disoblig'd and disgusted at the small Account the King made of them; so that most Mens Imaginations met in the same Point, That God being a just Judge, had preserv'd the true Heir so seat him again in his Throne, which had been twice usurp'd from him. For *Henry* had no Right to it himself, and wav'd the Right of his Wife, that he might reign alone; therefore it was not to be admir'd, if after so much Injustice, God had rais'd up his Brother-in-Law to punish him. Nor did the Matter end only in Discourse; for there were some Persons of great Quality, who were resolv'd to sound the Bottom of it; among whom were the Lord Chamberlain Sir *William Stanley*, Brother to King *Henry's* Father-in-law, the Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, and Sir *Thomas Thwaite*. These made choice of some Persons of Note to send into *Flanders*, that upon their Relation, they might ground their Resolutions; but of many, only two wou'd undertake a Business, which if fictitious, might turn to their Ruin. Sir *Robert Clifford* and *William Barley* were the Two, both of good Families; who upon their Arrival at *Flanders*, were receiv'd with great Honour by the Dutcheſs: And having long discours'd with *Clifford*, that she might understand the Intentions of those that sent them, she brought him to a Sight of *Perkin*. After many Days Conversation with him, *Clifford* wrote back into *England*, That he was the real Duke of *York*, and that he knew his Person as well as he knew his own.

*Several of the
Nobility send to
inquire after
Perkin.*

*King Henry's
politick Ma-
nagement.*

The politick King on his Part was not asleep; yet he thought if he began to arm and levy Forces he should immediately give too much Honour to the Idol. Nevertheless he shut up the Ports, that no suspected Persons might pass; and for the rest he chose to work by Countermine. He had two distinct Designs; the one to lay open the Abuse, and the other to break the Knot of the Conspirators. To detect the Abuse, he had only two Ways; the first to satisfy the World that the Duke of *York* was really murder'd; and the other to prove, that whether he was dead or alive, *Perkin* was an Impostor. For the first he secur'd Sir *James Tyrel*, and his Servant *John Dighton*, the only two that remain'd alive of the four who were concern'd in the Murder; for *Miles Forest*, the second who slew the Princes, and the Priest who bury'd them, were dead. They depos'd, That *Tyrel* saw them dead after they were smother'd; that he caus'd them to be bury'd underneath the Stairs, and cover'd them with a Stone; from whence, by King *Richard's* Order they were afterwards remov'd, and rebury'd by the Ministers of the Tower, but in what Place they knew not. But the King not satisfy'd with these Testimonies, to divert the Danger, and satisfy the World, he proceeded to search into *Perkin's* Condition and Descent. He employ'd certain select Friends, and dispers'd them throughout all *Flanders*: Those

Those who were not to stay in any settled Place, were order'd diligently to enquire after his Birth, and to give him daily Advice of what they should learn: The other, who were to reside where he was, were to counterfeit themselves Fugitives and Well-Wishers to his Party, and to profess that they were come to run the like Fortune with him. These were more particularly to search out the Designs and Correspondencies; they were to grow familiar with *Perkin's* best Friends, and to insinuate to them the Vanity of the Undertaking, in going to cope with a wise King, not to be beaten without extraordinary Forces; that the Dutchess's Favours were not answerable to their Occasions; that they wanted Aid, and were not certain of what they presum'd to be secure, which was the Assistance of the Party, and the Peoples Inclinations, both which were ineffectual. For such accurate diligent Provision was made, that all Men would forbear to declare themselves, unless they might be encourag'd by the Sight of a powerful Army, which the Duke of *York* could not shew them, tho' all *Flanders* were to declare for him. But their chief Care was to sound *Clifford* by tassing him with fair Promises; for to win him over, was almost to gain the Cause, he being the Cabinet of secret Correspondencies between *Flanders* and *England*. Nor did they find much Difficulty in effecting it; for being brought to the Knowledge of the Impostor, he was at length prevail'd upon with the Promises both of Pardon and Reward.

In the mean Time, *Henry*, by a particular Cast of Policy, caus'd all his Agents in *Flanders* to be excommunicated in *St. Paul's*, and declar'd his Enemies, that they might not be suspected his Friends; nor did he forbear, contrary to the Rules of the Church, to solicit the Confessors of the greatest Men, that he might learn how they were inclin'd. At length his Agents came to the perfect Knowledge of *Perkin's* Birth, Name, Surname, Country, Employments, and Voyages, 'till he was chang'd into the Duke of *York*: They likewise won over *Clifford*, who gave them such Proofs of his Repentance, as satisf'd the King. *Perkin's* Genealogy was publish'd in the Court, and throughout the Kingdom; and *Henry* not thinking it fit that a Mechanick and Impostor should with such Ostentation be protected in *Flanders*, he sent Ambassadors to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, then a Child; desiring, that after the Example of the King of *France*, the Impostor might be chac'd out of *Flanders*. The Answer given by the Minister of State was, *That the Dutchess was absolute in her own Territories, and they could not hinder her from acting as she thought fit*. King *Henry* was not satisfy'd with this Answer, as knowing her Power to be less than was represented: And having learn'd that she had a mighty Interest in the Arch-Duke's Council, and finding that *Perkin* would still be protected in Opposition to him, he immediately recall'd the *English* Merchants from *Flanders*, and banish'd the *Flemish* Merchants out of *England*, and remov'd the Staple of Cloath and Wooll from *Antwerp* to *Calais*, to the great Detriment of the Inhabitants of *Flanders*. Moreover upon Advertisements from *Clifford*, the King imprison'd the Lord *Fitz-Water*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William D'Aubigny*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Cressenor*, *Thomas Awood*, *William Worsley*, Dean of *Pauls*, and certain Priars. These were all arraign'd and convicted of High-Treason; for which *Montfort*, *Ratcliff* and *D'Aubigny* were beheaded; the Lord *Fitz-Water* being sent Prisoner to *Calais*, by his endeavouring to escape, lost both his Hopes and Life: The rest were pardon'd; and the Lord-Chamberlain that Time was out of Policy left unmolested.

He discovers
Perkin's Pedigree.

Several executed.

The King had created his second Son *Henry* Duke of *York* in *Westminster*, where, as it is usual in such Solemnities, divers Knights of the *Bath* were made. But hearing that *Clifford* was arriv'd in *England*, he withdrew himself to the Tower, there to examine him; that if he should accuse any of extraordinary Quality they might be imprison'd without Noise or Obstruction. *Clifford* being admitted into his Presence, and having receiv'd Pardon upon his Knees, was commanded to

A. D.
1494.
Reg. 2.

Stanley Lord-
Chamberlain
impeach'd.

declare what he knew of the Conspiracy. He immediately accus'd the Lord-Chamberlain, Sir *William Stanley*; at whose Name all present were startled, it being highly improbable that a Man of his Quality and Riches, a Favourite so near the King, and the chief Instrument in his gaining the Crown, should be a Traitor. Whereupon being advis'd to reconsider what he said, he without Hesitation or Change of Countenance, accus'd him as before; for which Reason *Stanley* was confin'd to his Chamber, and the next Day examin'd by the Council. He deny'd some few Circumstances, but confess'd the main Crime; relying upon his former Actions and Merits, for which he erroneously presum'd the King would pardon him. Tho' he had put the Crown upon his Head, yet his Endeavours to take it away, had wholly cancell'd that Obligation. However King *Henry* was very doubtful whether he should take his Life or not: The Love and Reverence which he bore to his Father-in-law, pleaded for Clemency; but Example and the Condition of the Times urg'd for Severity. But if it be true what some Authors write, his Riches bore down the Balance; he being esteem'd one of the most mony'd Men in *England*; for in his Castle of *Holt* were found forty thousand Marks in ready Mony, besides Jewels and Goods; and in Revenues in Land and Fee he had three thousand Pounds a Year of old Rents, a considerable Estate in those Days. However after six Weeks Distance of Time, which the King did honourably interpose, both to give Space to his Brother's Intercession, and to shew to the World that what he did was with Conflict and Reluctancy, he was arraign'd of High-Treason, condemn'd, and soon after beheaded. This was a remarkable Instance of the Fall of a mighty Favourite, which afforded Occasion for Diversity of Discourses, and for some to treat King *Henry's* Memory with great Severity. We at this time are ignorant of the main Circumstances of his Case, and the true Motives for the King's Proceedings; but what seems most probable is, that he thought his Merits beyond Reward, and therefore aspir'd to a Greatness more than a Sovereign could bear. He was succeeded in his Place by *Giles Lord Dawbeny*, a Man of great Sufficiency and Valour, and the more because he was gentle and moderate.

He is beheaded.

A. D.

1425.

Reg. 10.
11.

Libels dispers'd.

The Death of the Lord-Chamberlain threw the whole Court under Apprehensions; one Man durst not trust another, and every one fear'd lest his Friends might prove like *Clifford*. Yet such was the Spirit of Detraction, that they made use of Pen and Paper to express what they durst not do with their Mouths: Swarms of Libels, those Instruments of Sedition, were dispers'd against the Council and the King himself; for which five mean Persons were apprehended, and put to Death. *Perkin's* Party daily decreas'd; no Man durst think any more of him, and but a very few tarry'd with him in *Flanders*; among whom *Barley*, *Clifford's* Companion, was principal, who notwithstanding afterwards chang'd his Opinion, and together with his Pardon obtain'd Leave to return home. And now the King finding *Ireland* to be the Place of greatest Danger, it was necessary for him to establish an undoubted Authority in that Kingdom. He made Choice of two to serve him in two several Offices; the Prior of *Langton* with Title of Commissioner, to inspect the civil Government of the Kingdom; and Sir *Edward Poynings*, who was to have Charge of the Militia, giving him many Soldiers, and a large Commission, to which the Deputy the Earl of *Kildare* was subordinate. The Prior met with no Difficulty; the Laws being his Arms, and the peaceful People the Matter of his Jurisdiction; but *Poynings*, who was to deal with stubborn Men and Rebels, had not the like Fortune. For *Ireland* being full of Woods, Bogs and desert Places, he spent much Time there to small Purpose; killing and taking some few Prisoners, which made not much for the main Enterprize. So that being displeas'd with those, who having no Intention to withstand him, had no cause to fear him, he proceeded to accuse the Earl of *Kildare*, as if he had secretly assisted them. He therefore sent him Prisoner into *England*, without any Proof against him besides his own Suspicion; and the Earl so fully justify'd himself, that he was declar'd

declar'd Innocent, and re-establish'd in his former Government. But if *Poyning's* had no Success with those who withstood him, yet he had such good Fortune with the rest, as to prevail with them in Parliament to allow of all Ordinances made in *England* till that Day, which formerly had no Force in that Kingdom. This memorable Act is call'd *Poyning's Law*, being made in the tenth Year of this Reign, and observ'd to this Day.

Ireland establish'd.

The ill Success of the Conspiracy did not so quell the Resolutions of *Perkin*, but that he thought the Affections of his Party rather oppress'd than expir'd; and that a new Spirit would so revive them, that *Henry* should find it difficult to suppress them. Thus flattering himself, he assembled certain Troops of Men of desperate Fortunes, who for Debts or Misdemeanors durst not appear otherwise; and embarking them, he came to Anchor before *Sandwich*, landing some of his Men to learn News, and to discover how the People were in those Parts affected, reporting that he had great Forces coming in a Fleet after him. The King at this time was gone his Progress, and was now with his Mother in her House at *Latham*, whom he went to visit; that by his repairing thither, the World might know that the Death of Sir *William Stanley* had not really Disgusted his Father-in-law. Here he heard of *Perkin's* Arrival; by which he receiv'd the Advantage of the great Opinion of his People, who esteem'd him a wise Prince, judging nothing had happen'd to him which he did not foresee; and that his retiring into the Northern Parts was one of his Politick Fetches; for knowing he had left the South free from Danger, he design'd to allure *Perkin* to land, that he might be sure not to escape. But however it was, at the first News he resolv'd to return, and was not well pleas'd at the second, which inform'd him that he was gone again; well perceiving that this Trouble might be of long Continuance. The Cause of *Perkins's* Departure arose from the Care of the *Kentishmen*, who had well observ'd the Condition of those who had landed, and that there were but few *English* among them, and those of no Worth or Consideration; wherefore they advis'd with the chief of the County concerning their taking Arms; which being determin'd, they shew'd part of their Men upon the Sea-Shore, to invite him on land; and dispers'd the rest, as if they were ready to run away. But *Perkin* soon perceiving their Design, would not stir out of his Ship; but suffer'd several of his Men to be cut in Pieces on the Shore, and a hundred and fifty to be taken Prisoners. All which were hang'd upon the Sea-Coasts of *Kent*, *Norfolk* and *Sussex*, for Sea-Marks or Light-Houses, to teach *Perkin's* People to avoid the Coast. Shortly after the King returning to *London*, honour'd the Serjeant's Feast with the Presence of himself and Queen; being a Prince ever ready to countenance the Professors of the Law, after that declaring, *That as he govern'd his Subjects by his Laws, so he govern'd his Laws by his Lawyers*. In the same Year dy'd *Cecily Nevil*, Dutches of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, in extream old Age; a Woman who had liv'd to see a numerous but a wretched Progeny, involv'd in Misery and Blood; and to see three Princes of her Body crown'd, and four murder'd, besides the many Executions of those of her own Family, and the Infamy of being declar'd an Adultress by her own Son *Richard*: Afflictions that could scarcely happen to a Person less than her self.

Perkin lands some Men in Kent, but to no Effect.

The Death of the old Dutches of York.

In the same Year, and eleventh of this Reign the King call'd a Parliament, where many Laws were made; the principal of which was the famous Statute of Submission, which has been so much canvass'd of late Years. The Lord *Bacon's* Account of it is in these Words: It was a Law of a strange Nature; rather Just than Legal, and more magnanimous than provident. This Law did Ordain, that no Person that did assist in Arms, or otherwise the King for the Time Being, should after be impeach'd therefore, or attain'd, either by the Courte of Law, or by Act of Parliament. But, if any such Attainder did happen to be made, it should be void and of none Effect; for that it was agreeable to Reason of State, that the Subject should not enquire of the Justness of

The famous Statute of Submission made

the King's Title or Quarrel; and it was agreeable to a good *Conscience*, that, whatsoever the Fortune of the War were, the Subject should not suffer for his Obedience. The Spirit of this Law was wonderful Pious and Noble; being like in Matter of War, unto the Spirit of *David* in Matter of Plague, who said *If I have sinned, strike me; but what have these Sheep done?* Neither wanted this Law Parts of prudent and deep Foresight: For, it did the better take away Occasion, for the People to busie themselves, and pry into the King's Title; for that howsoever it fell, their Safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw to him the Love and Hearts of the People, because he seem'd more careful for them, than for himself. But yet it took off from his Party that great Tie and Spur of Necessity, to fight and go Victors out of the Field; considering their Fortunes were protected, whether they stood or run away.

Perkin goes
into Scotland'

In the mean Time *Perkin* being retir'd to *Flanders* to the Dutches *Margaret*, it was judg'd necessary both by her and him, that he should remove from thence, and proceed in the Work they had so unfortunately begun. This Resolution was befriended by the Distaste which *Maimilian* took at *Henry*, for taking the Commerce of *England* from their States; and by the like Disgust taken by the *Frenck* King, for his having lately enter'd into a League against him, as to his Affairs in *Italy*. *Perkin* therefore went first into *Ireland*; but *Poyning's* Care having prevented his Chief Expectations, he retir'd into *Scotland*, grounding his Hopes upon the natural Enmity between the two Kingdoms, and upon the Recommendation of King *Charles* and *Maximilian*. He had solemn Audience given him by *James* King of *Scotland*, in the Presence of his chief Nobility; where his Majestick Looks, augmented by a most happy Demeanor, captivated the Minds and Opinions of all that heard him. With a graceful Assurance he told the King, *That he was the unfortunate Richard Plantagenet, Son to King Edward the Fourth, who drawn by fraudulent Promises from the Bosom of his Mother, was brought to the Tower of London, there to be murder'd with his Brother Edward; but pity arising in the Breast of those who executed that cruel Office, they were contented with the Death of the eldest Brother, and sav'd him, giving him Life, Liberty, and Means to escape.* Then he proceeded to recount the various Changes of Fortune that had attended his Fate; and to insist upon the generous Encouragements he had receiv'd from foreign Princes, who were inspir'd with a Spirit of Greatness and Piety; and likewise to enlarge upon the innumerable Acts of Injustice and Treachery contriv'd against him by *Henry Tudor*, the present Usurper of the *English* Throne; whose various Methods to asperse him, and his incessant Labours to destroy him, were alone sufficient to prove he was no Impostor. Therefore he had recourse to the Arms of *Scotland*, whose King was of that Generosity and Bravery, as not to refuse the Supplications of a distressed Prince flying to him; especially when he was sure to meet with a Recompence answerable to the Greatness of the Favour. In summ, *Perkin's* Expressions, the Compassion of his Case, the Recommendation of so many Princes, and their secret Promises, or perhaps the Occasion to begin a War with King *Henry*, mov'd King *James* to promise him his Assistance; which he readily effected, tho' many, who knew the Imposture, dissuaded him from it. And moreover he did not only appoint him an Attendance and Entertainment, answerable to his pretended Quality; but that it might be believ'd he took him for the real Duke of *York*, he gave him in Marriage his nearest Kinswoman the Lady *Catharine Gordon*, a young Virgin of admirable Beauty and Virtue.

King James
receives him.

A. D.

1496.

Reg. 7.

He enters Eng-
land.

His Declarati-
on.

Such Provisions being made as the Enterprize requir'd, King *James* with a considerable Army enter'd *Northumberland*; where *Perkin*, under the Name of *Richard* Duke of *York*, the true and lawful Heir to the Crown of *England*, publish'd and dispers'd a formal Declaration, the Substance of which was this: That being by the Grace of God, and Favour of *James* King of *Scotland*, enter'd

'ter'd into the Kingdom of *England*, he declar'd his coming was not to make
 'War upon his Subjects, but to free them from the Tyranny with which
 'they were oppress'd. That tho' it was known the Crown belong'd to the Royal
 'House of *York*, of which there remain'd no other Pretender than himself, the
 'only surviving Son of *Edward* the Fourth; yet *Henry Tudor* had usurp'd the
 'Crown from him, and by inhuman Methods design'd to deprive him of his
 'Life, boasting that he had eas'd the Nation of a Tyrant, when he had made
 'himself a greater than the other. That *Richard's* Tyranny was the more ex-
 'cusable, since his Nephews being suppos'd to be dead, he had some Pretence
 'to give a Colour to it: The Difference between the two was, That *Richard* a
 'true *Plantagenet*, had for his Arm the Honour of the Nation, and the Sub-
 'jects Tranquillity; but *Henry* meanly born, without regard to either, had sold
 'the Kingdom's best Friends for ready Mony, made a dishonourable Peace, and
 'not only oppress'd the Subject, but unjustly put to Death the Lord Chamberlain,
 '*Stanley*, and several others, who were ready to withstand his Oppressions. *Rich-*
 '*ard* had been mov'd to Tyranny by Ambition, *Henry* by Avarice; Ambition
 'had made use of cruel Means, but Avarice, not only of cruel, but bare extor-
 'ting Methods: His Cruelty appear'd not only from the Deaths of many, but
 'by his Imprisonment of the Earl of *Warwick*, Son to the Duke of *Clarence*; his
 'Baseness and Extortion, by his intolerable Subsidies, Taxes, and Impositi-
 'ons, under the Name of Benevolences, and by the Wars and Peace made only
 'to heap up Treasure. And because his Usurpation of the Crown had made
 'him live in perpetual Fear, not only of Men, but of Women, he had marry'd
 'Ladies of the Royal Blood to Persons of mean Condition; particularly a
 'Sister of himself the Duke of *York*, and a Sister of his Cousin the Earl of *War-*
 '*wick*, that he might have less Reason to fear future Oppositions. Now as he
 'came to free them from Violence by such Forces as God should give him, so
 'by his plenary Regal Authority, he did at that present Time free them from
 'all Grievances, by perpetually abolishing all that had hitherto been impos'd
 'upon them, contrary to Law and Custom: And that the good Will of his Sub-
 'jects might not be prejudic'd by the Law, for having illegally obey'd the Usur-
 'per, he granted a general Pardon for all their Transgressions, upon Condition
 'they submit themselves to him, and acknowledge him for their King; the most
 'forward of whom should enjoy the greatest Marks of his Regal Favours. Next,
 'he would maintain all that his Ancestors, especially what his Father *Edward*
 'of glorious Memory, had sworn to; which was the Preservation of their Privi-
 'leges and Liberties, the Franchises of the Clergy, Nobility and People. Then
 'he promis'd a Thousand Pound in ready Mony, and a hundred Marks a Year of
 'Inheritance, to whomsoever should take or kill *Henry Tudor*. Lastly he de-
 'clar'd that the King of the *Scots* assisting of him was not done out of any Pact or
 'Promise prejudicial to *England*, but meerly out of Generosity and Justice;
 'and whenever he had put him in Condition to defend himself by his *English*
 'Subjects, he would return to *Scotland*, only with the Honour of having re-
 'stor'd an injur'd Prince. This Declaration prov'd like Seed sown on the Sands: *It has no effect.*
 Wherefore King *James* after he had long in vain expected some Commotion, he
 betook himself to plunder and destroy with as little Mercy as the *Scots* had wont
 to do in former Times. Having enrich'd his Soldiers he return'd back, hear-
 ing that great Forces were marching against him, knowing it would be dange-
 rous for him to stay while he was incumber'd with the great Booty he took
 along with him.

At this time the Merchants were much discontented at the Breach of Com-
 merce between *England* and *Flanders*; so that meeting with a fit Occasion,
 they began to treat of it with their several Princes, since the reducing it to the
 former Condition would make for the Advantage of both Sides, therefore it was
 desirable by both. The Arch-Duke was now sensible that *Perkin* was an Im-
 postor, and that to favour him any longer would injure his Reputation, as it
 had

*A Treaty with
Flanders.*

*A Subsidy gran-
ted against
Scotland.*

A. D.

1497.

Reg. 12.
13.

*A Rebellion in
Cornwall.*

*The Lord Au-
deley heads
the Rebels.*

had already lessen'd his Revenues. Therefore being ready to comply, Commissioners were appointed on both Sides, who concluded a perfect Treaty both of Amity and Intercourse, between King *Henry* and the Arch-Duke; containing Articles both of State, Commerce and Freedom of Fishing. To these Articles, was added an Inhibition of either Side to entertain the Rebels of either Country; in which Article the Territories of the Dutchess *Margaret* were expressly nam'd, that *Perkin's* Adherents might not be shelter'd there. After the Intercourse was thus restor'd, the *English* Merchants again repaired to their Mansion at *Antwerp*, where they were receiv'd with Procession and great Joy. Having settled this Affair, the King call'd a Parliament, where he much aggravated the Malice and the dishonourable Treatment of the King of the *Scots*, who under the Pretence of supporting one whom all had discarded, had turn'd his Arms upon unarmed and unprovided People, only to pillage and depopulate, contrary to the Laws both of War and Peace: Concluding that he could neither with the Honour, nor the Safety of his People, suffer these Injuries to pass unreveng'd. The Parliament well understood him, and gave him a Subsidy, limited to the Sum of a hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, besides two fifteens. For his Wars were always to him, a Mine of peculiar Ore; Iron at the Top, and Gold and Silver at the Bottom.

The King, tho' he avoided to fight with Enemies abroad, yet he was still enforc'd to fight for his Mony with Rebels at home: For as soon as the Subsidy began to be levy'd in *Cornwall*, the Inhabitants exclaim'd against it as an unjust Exaction: And since the *Scotch* Commotion was so far from them, they thought only the neighbouring Counties were oblig'd to Contributions; as if when the Head akes, the Legs and Feet were unconcern'd, and might transfer their Duties to the Arms and Neck, as the nearest Members. To make good this Insurrection two numerous Heads appear'd; the one a Black-Smith or Farrier, call'd *Michael Joseph*, and the other an Attorney nam'd *Thomas Flam-mock*, each of whom had their particular Ends: The Black-Smith was mov'd by Ambition, believing such an Action would add Lustre to his Memory, and that his clownish Loquacity would procure him the first Place among the People: The Attorney having gain'd Credit by his Profession, had so far won upon their Opinions, as they believ'd the Refusal of this Subsidy, and their Mutiny to be legal and meritorious. His Opinion was of sufficient Authority to interpret the Power of the King and Parliament; he had instructed them that they were not oblig'd to the Payment of any Subsidies for War with Scotland; that the Law had provided for it by Escuage and other Means, so that this Subsidy was invented to fleece the People. He therefore advis'd them to present a Petition to the King, who for the Example of others would certainly punish the Inventers of it; and they both offer'd themselves to lead them on, 'till they should find some Person of Quality, under whom they might serve. But as for Matter of Life, there was no Hazard at all, their Demand being so just, as it would be approv'd by all the other Counties; and since the publick good was consulted, from which the King's particular Interest could not be seperated. Being thus encourag'd, they took up Arms; and because they were not all provided with Bows and Arrows, they arm'd themselves with such Tools as belong'd to their several Trades. They enter'd by *Somersetshire*, and pass'd through *Devonshire*, without offering any Manner of Outrage; but coming to *Taunton*, they slew one of the Commissioners for the Subsidy, who had shew'd himself more active than the rest. At *Wells* they met the Lord *Audley*, who hurry'd on by a fatal Discontent, submitted to their General. They resolv'd to march into *Kent*, out of an Opinion which *Flammock* had instill'd into 'em, That *Kent* had never been Conquer'd, but were the freest Part of *England* and most likely to join with them. But upon their Arrival finding all Thing to the contrary, some were amaz'd, and others enrag'd. The former wisely drawing their Neck out of the Yoke, return'd home; the rest passing forward though

thought that since they had met with no Opposition in so long a March, the King and the City would suffer them to make their own Conditions: And with this foolish Imagination they encamp'd themselves within sight of *London*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*.

The King was much concern'd at the first News of this Insurrection, fearing lest he should have three Mischiefs to encounter at once; the People of *Cornwall*, *Perkin's* secret Intelligence, and the War with *Scotland*. He took to his Arms as soon as the Parliament was ended, designing to march towards *Scotland*; but being diverted by the other Occasion, he suspended that Resolution. And because he had sent the Lord *Dawbeny* with some Forces to the Borders of *Scotland*, he order'd him to return, to take such Counsel as Necessity requir'd, and sent the Earl of *Surry* in his Room, with Orders to defend the Country, in case the *Scots* should fall in upon it. He mov'd not against the Rebels at the first News, according to his usual Custom; for the Country, not being endanger'd by them, did not require it; and he was confident that wanting Money and Ammunition, they would disband of themselves, as they had already begun to do, when they fail'd in their Hopes of the *Kentish* Men. But when he saw them encamp'd near *London*, he resolv'd to attack them; and to free himself from all Hazards of Fortune, he divided his Forces, which far exceeded theirs, into three distinct Bodies: He assign'd the first to the Earls of *Oxford*, *Essex* and *Suffolk*; the second to the Lord Chamberlain. and commanded the third himself. He appointed the first to place themselves behind the Hill where the Rebels were encamp'd, and to secure all the Passages besides that towards *London*, that being inclos'd like wild Beasts in a Toil, they might not be able to escape. He order'd the Lord-Chamberlain to give them Battel in the Front, having assign'd him the best and most experienc'd Soldiers in the Army, as having the greatest Dependance upon their Valour; and he himself stay'd with the third Body between *London* and them, to supply them, if it should be needful, and to fight with such as durst march towards the City. In the mean time the Citizens were in a great Consternation, which caus'd much Confusion in the Streets, some running to the Walls, others to the River, without Order, or Knowledge what to do: For they could not believe but their coming from *Cornwall*, the utmost Bounds of *England*, must be with Intention to enrich themselves by the Plunder of that opulent City; and they did not think that their quiet Passage through other Counties was to be taken as an Argument that they would do the like upon this Occasion. But afterwards, understanding the good Order the King had taken, how that he had interest'd his own Person in the Danger; that the Enemy were to win three Battels, before they could come to the City; and that the Commanders were both faithful and valiant, they soon laid by their Fears.

That the Rebels might be more unprovided, the King politickly caus'd it to be reported in the Army, that he would not fight 'till the *Monday* following: But towards the *Saturday* Evening, the Lord *Dawbeny* according to Order set upon some Troops, which were lodg'd upon the Side of the Hill; and tho' they valiantly resisted, yet being but few in Number, they could not make good their Station. They quitting their Posts, it was easie for the King's Forces to mount the Hill, make themselves Masters of the Plain, and fall in with their main Body. Tho' they were taken unawares, and their Troops out of Order, they to well receiv'd the first Attack, as the Lord *Dawbeny*, fighting at the Head of his Men, and playing the part of a common Soldier, was taken Prisoner; but was soon after rescued: For the Rebels being ill arm'd without Commanders, Artillery or Horse, they could not so far resist, but that in a short Time two thousand of them were slain, and great Numbers taken Prisoners. The Lord *Studeley* the General, and the two Seducers, the Attorney and the Black-Smith, basely suffer'd themselves to be taken alive. Three hundred of the King's Side were slain, and most of them by Arrows; for the *Cornish* Men us'd very strong Bows,

*They march
into Kent.*

*The King pre-
pares against
them.*

*London in a
Consternation.*

*The Rebels de-
feated.*

Some three executed. Bows, and Arrows of a Yard in Length. The King came to the Place, and made many Knights Bannerets, as he had done before, when he was encamp'd in St. George's Fields; and he gave the Goods of all the Prisoners to such as had taken them. The Lord *Audely* was ignominiously led from *Newgate* to Tower-Hill, in a Paper Coat torn, and painted with his own Arms revers'd, and there beheaded. The Attorney and Black-Smith were brought to *Tiburn*, where they were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd; the Black-Smith not ceasing to shew his Vanity and Vain-glory to the very last, not doubting *But in future Times his Name would be memorable in History*. The King would not have their Quarters sent into *Cornwall*, as it had been appointed; for, hearing they were not totally suppress'd, he thought it not Wisdom to exasperate them any further. All the rest were pardon'd by Proclamation; so that, besides the Blood shed in the Field, the King satisfy'd himself with the Lives of only three Offenders, for the Expiation of this dangerous Rebellion.

Some Action with Scotland. The King of *Scotland* hearing of this Rebellion, took Advantage from it, and went to besiege *Norham* Castle, waiting all the Country in his Passage. This Castle belong'd to *Fox* Bishop of *Durham*, who foreseeing it would be invested, had doubly furnish'd it with all sorts of Ammunition; causing the Herds of Cattle, and what else might be useful to the Enemy, to be withdrawn into the strongest Recedes. The Earl of *Surry*, who was ready upon all Occasions in *Yorkshire*, hasten'd thither, at the Head of a considerable Force. Which when King *James* understood, he withdrew himself, and was pursu'd by the Earl; who not able to overtake him, sat down before *Aton* Castle, one of the strongest Places between *Edinburgh* and *Berwick*, which he soon took. Not meeting with any Oppositions he return'd to *Yorkshire*; these two Actions having produc'd no Matter of Note, but the Preservation of one Castle, and the winning of another; not answerable to the Power of the Forces, the Heat of the Contest, nor the Greatness of the Expectation.

A Treaty with Scotland. About the same Time arriv'd *Pedro D' Aiala*, a celebrated Man, sent Ambassador from *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, King and Queen of *Spain*. The outward Pretence of his Embassie, was to accommodate the Differences between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; but the true Cause was to negotiate a Marriage between *Catharine*, their second Daughter, and the young Prince *Arthur*. King *Henry*, who had a great Dexterity in getting suddenly into the Bosom of Ambassadors, readily embrac'd the outward Offer, being no ways inclinable to the unprofitable War with *Scotland*; by the Cessation of which, two great Advantages would redound to him: The one was the driving *Perkin* from that Kingdom, where he had his chief Support, and getting him into his own Hands; and the other, a peaceful Reign, freed from the continu'd Molestations of Importors. So that agreeing with whatsoever *D' Aiala* should propose, with the Preservation of his Honour, he allow'd him to go into *Scotland*; where having projected the Affair, and by the Agreement of the Council persuaded that King to harken to a Peace, he wrot to King *Henry* to send some discreet Man, who together with him might end the Business with the Commissioners of *Scotland*; which Commission was given to *Fox* Bishop of *Durham*, then residing at *Norham*. When they were met together in *Jedworth* they could not agree, by reason of many Difficulties that arose: *Henry* demanded to have *Perkin* deliver'd up to him; and *James* could not do it without great Aspersions to his Honour: For tho' he knew him to be no better than a State-Juggler, yet having call'd him the Duke of *York*, made War in his Name, and marry'd him to a near Kinswoman of his own, to deliver him up would injure his own Faith and Reputation. On *Henry's* Behalf, was likewise demanded Satisfaction for the Loss he had sustain'd, and the Restitution of such Booty as had been taken from *England*; which was impossible to be had, it being dispers'd among the Soldiers: King *James* had not sufficient to give Satisfaction to the other; and it was much easier for one to suffer the Loss, than for the other to repay it. But all

all of them being met together with a Desire of Peace, it was easie to find a Way to Accommodation; wherefore deferring the Treaty to another Season, they agreed upon a Truce, upon Condition that *Perkin* should be dismiss'd from Scotland. This being determin'd, King *James* call'd *Perkin* to him, and told him, That according to his Promise he had done what lay in his Power to serve him; then after as civil a Manner as the Subject would bear, he let him know, That the present State of Affairs requir'd him to retire from his Kingdom. *Perkin* casting all his bad Success upon the Averseness of Fortune, assur'd the King he would never be unmindful of his Favours, and so embark'd himself, together with his Wife, and such whose desperate Condition had compell'd them to follow him, in three Ships which the King gave him, and sail'd into *Ireland*; for he had no Hopes in *Flanders*, by reason of the new Alliance, between King *Henry* and the Arch-Duke.

*A Truce con-
cluded.*

*Perkin sent
from Scotland.*

The *Cornish* Men understanding that he was come into *Ireland*, petition'd him to come over to them, professing their Obedience, their Lives and Fortunes, for the advancing his Pretensions to the Crown. They who were taken Prisoners in the last Battel, having ransom'd themselves from their Captors at very small Rates, were return'd home; interpreting the King's Clemency only as the Effects of Fear and Impotence. So running into new Imaginations, and believing that the other Counties would follow their Example, they receiv'd *Perkin* with great Applause; who landed there with four little Barks, in the Month of *September*, with only a hundred and forty Men. Three thousand of the *Cornish* presented themselves before him all arm'd in the Town of *Bodmin*; from whence he issu'd out a Declaration under the Name of *Richard* the Fourth, King of *England*, making large Promises for the Ease of the present Tyrannical Government. He had three chief Counsellors to attend him, a broken Mercer, a Taylor, and a Scrivener; which three, joining with the rest, were of Opinion, That the first thing to be done, was to gain some good Town, which might make for his Safety and Reputation, and might encourage the rest. They fate down before *Exeter*, which being a great and rich City, the Hopes of Booty invited many others to come over to *Perkin*. They made specious Promises to the Citizens; among which, one was That King *Richard* would make their City a new *London*, in Recompence of their Fidelity, and for being formost in acknowledging him for their King; but wanting Artillery to force them, bare Words were not sufficient to persuade them. The Citizens let down Messengers over the Walls, and sent News of the Siege to the Court, desiring immediate Succours; which being apprehended by *Perkin*, he us'd all Methods to make himself Master of the Place before Relief could arrive. He attack'd it by Scaling Ladders, and set fire to one of the Gates, endeavouring to enter both Ways; but the Walls being well defended, the Fire extinguish'd, and many of the Assaultants slain, the Danger was soon over.

*He land. in
Cornwall.*

*He attempts
Exeter in vain.*

The King hearing of *Perkin's* Siege of *Exeter*, made Sport with it, and said to those about him, *That the King of Rake-Hells was landed in the West, and he now hop'd to have the Honour to see him, which he never yet could do.* He was extreamly pleas'd, for now he seem'd to see the Bottom of his Peril, and as it were to hold his Enemy empounded within the *English* Ocean, it being a perpetual and noble Wish of his, *That he might look his Dangers in the Face, and meet them in open Field.* He suddenly dispatch'd away Forces to relieve *Exeter* under the Conduct of the Lord Chamberlain, attended by the Lord *Brook* and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*; with Directions to declare that he was following in Person. But the Lords living in those Parts, knowing that they should do an acceptable Piece of Service, if they came unrequested into the Field, assembled many Troops: The Earl of *Devonshire*, with his Son, and the chief Gentlemen of the County on the one Side; and the Earl of *Buckingham* on the other; so as being join'd together before the Chamberlain arriv'd, they advertis'd the King of what they had done, desiring to receive his Commands.

Perkin understanding these Preparations, rais'd his Siege and march'd to *Taunton*, beginning to have one Eye upon the Crown, and the other upon the Sanctuary; tho' the *Cornish* Men much encourag'd him, promising not to abandon him, while they had one Drop of Blood in their Bodies. But whether Fear or Wariness had taught him not to trust such Promises, he resolv'd to retire; having about seven thousand Men with him, and seeming however to be courageous: But forsaking all these the next Night, he fled with threescore and ten Horse to *Bewley*, where he took Sanctuary, showing his wonted Compassion, *Not to be present when his Subjects Blood should be spilt.* The King hearing of his Flight, sent five hundred Horse after him, fearing he should escape by Sea; but finding he had taken Sanctuary, they us'd no other Violence, but to keep a sufficient Guard till they should receive new Commands. The Troops remaining in *Taunton* yielded themselves to the King's Mercy; who pardon'd them all, except a few of their Heads, who were put to Death. The King first sent to St. *Michael's* Mount, where the Lady *Gordon* was left by her Husband *Perkin*, whom in all Fortunes she entirely lov'd, adding the Virtues of a Wife to those of her Sex; and he sent with the greater Diligence, as fearing the might be with Child, by which the Business would not have ended in *Perkin's* Person. Being brought before the King, he receiv'd her not only with Compassion, but with Affection; a noble Pity giving more Impression to her excellent Beauty and Demeanour. Wherefore comforting her, he sent her to his Queen, and assign'd her an honourable Pension, which she enjoy'd during his Life, and many Years after. The Name of the *White-rose*, which had been given to her Husband's false Title, was continu'd in common Speech to her real Beauty.

The King made a solemn Entry into *Exeter*, where having thanked the Citizens for their Loyalty, he took off his Sword he wore, and gave it to the Mayor, with Power to have it always carry'd before him. He sent express Messengers to the Sanctuary to *Perkin*, with Promise of Pardon; who seeing himself destitute of all Hopes of Safety, yielded himself into their Hands, and was brought to the Court, but not to the King's Presence, tho' oftentimes out of Curiosity, he would see him out of the Gallery Window. Divers Commissioners were nominated to proceed against such as had join'd with *Perkin*, who were punish'd with Pecuniary Mulcts, which gave a general Satisfaction to the Nation. The Scorn and Mockery which *Perkin* receiv'd from the Courtiers, and from such as ran to see him, as if he had been a Monster, would have been a greater Punishment to a Man of Honour than a thousand Deaths. When he came to *London*, he was led on Horseback through all the City to the Tower, and from thence brought back to *Westminster*; suffering by the Way all Kinds of opprobrious and injurious Language: For his greater Ignominy, they led another bound near to him, who was Farrier to the King's Stables, and then a chief Counsellor to *Perkin*, who being taken in the Habit of a Hermit, he was brought to *London*, and hang'd after he had accompany'd his new Master in this Procession. *Perkin* upon Examination fully declar'd his whole Genealogy: his Father, Mother, Grand-fathers, Uncles, Cousins, their Employments, and Countries; his Travels and Voyages, together with many other superfluous Things: But concealing, or not committing to Writing, what was most essential, the several Practices of the Dutchess of *Burgundy*. He acknowledg'd his going into *Portugal*, but not that he was sent by her; and in like manner he laid open his Voyage to *Ireland*. Whereupon the Confession, being first written with his own Hand, and afterwards printed, did not fully satiate the Peoples Curiosity; since they found the Name of the chief Actres in the Comedy purposely conceal'd. But the King would not any further exasperate her; thinking it sufficient Punishment for her to be so variously censur'd as she was, together with her own Vexation, that her Inventions not succeeding should be made evident to the World. Thus this famous Impostor fell into King *Henry's* Hands after he had tormented him by Intervals for about the Space of six Years.

V. King *Henry* having now surmounted the greatest Obstacles in his Reign, there soon after occur'd a trifling and untoward Accident, that in length of Time produc'd great and happy Effects. The Castle of *Norham* is parted from the Borders of *Scotland* by the River *Tweed*; so that Neighbourhood having caus'd Conversation and Friendship between some young Men of *England* and *Scotland*, the latter us'd often to pass the River, and come to drink and sport with those of *Norham*. The Soldiers of the Garrison growing jealous of this Custom, did not think their coming proceeded from Friendship, but out of a Desire to know the Strength of the Fortifications; whereupon falling first to Words, and then to Blows, the *Scotch-men* by the Disadvantage of the Place, and Inequality in Number, were hardly treated, and some of them slain. King *James* taking this as a Design to injure him, dispatch'd away an express Herald to complain; and in case King *Henry* would not give Satisfaction, to denounce War. The latter, regarding nothing so much as Peace, answer'd, *That he was sorry for the Accident, which was wholly unknown to him; that he would enquire after the Aggressors, and give them such Punishment, as there should be no Occasion to break the Truce.* But as time pass'd on, and nothing was perform'd, *James* took it for Dissimulation, and was more offended than formerly; and certainly great Mischief might have ensu'd, had not the Bishop of *Durham*, who was Lord of *Norham*, wisely prevented it. For knowing that the Injury was done by his Men, he wrote in so submissive a Manner to King *James* about it, as he rested satisfy'd, and desir'd the Bishop to come to him, that they might treat upon the present Occasion, and upon certain other Affairs that concern'd both the Kingdoms. The Bishop acquainted King *Henry* with this, and obtain'd leave to go into *Scotland*; where meeting with King *James* at *Melrose*, he return'd such soft and modest Answers to him as soon brought him to a Reconciliation. After this the King more privately convers'd with him, and told him, *That his Desire was to have a firm and strict Amity, and the only way to effect it was by King Henry's giving him for Wife his eldest Daughter Margaret; by which the Friendship between the two Nations would be perpetual: That this was the Reason why he desir'd him to come into Scotland, hoping that by his Wisdom he might bring the Affair to a happy Period.* The Bishop modestly answer'd, *That he thought himself rather happy than worthy to be an Instrument in such a Matter; but would do his best Endeavour.* Therefore returning to *England*, he acquainted King *Henry* with the whole Design, which prov'd very acceptable to him. The Matter being long debated in Council, the Match was determin'd, provided a Peace might precede it; all which was effected, and a Peace concluded during the Lives of the two Kings, and for one Year after. But the Celebration of the Marriage was to be deferr'd, because the Lady was not yet ten Years of Age. About the same time dy'd *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, whose Obsequies were with great Pomp celebrated in *London* by King *Henry*, who could not forget the Favours he had receiv'd from him.

A. D.
1498.
Reg. 14.

The King of the Scots complains against King Henry.

He proposes to marry his Daughter.

Which causes Peace.

In the mean time *Perkin*, who was made of Mercury, hard to hold or imprison, deceiv'd his Keepers, and fled to the Sea-Coast. But such diligent Care was taken, that in a short Time he was forc'd to return back, and throw himself into the Priory of *Bethlem*, which had the Privilege of Sanctuary. The Prior being a Man of Note and Esteem, went to King *Henry* and begg'd of him the Life of *Perkin*, leaving him otherwise to the King's Discretion. Many advis'd his Majesty to take him immediately and put him to Death; but the King, who had so great a Spirit as he could not hate any that he despis'd, only said, *Take out the Knave, and set him in the Stocks.* And so promising the Prisoner his Life, he caus'd him to be brought out; and two Days after, upon a Scaffold erected in the Palace Court at *Westminster*, he was fetter'd and set in the Stocks, for the whole Day. And the following Day, the like was done

A. D.
1499.
Reg. 15.

Perkin set in the Stocks.

at the Cross in *Cheap-side*; and in both Places he publickly read his Confession, which he had formerly committed to Writing, that the World might be fully convinc'd of his being an open Impostor. He was again put into the Tower, but he could not hold from relapsing into his former Error: For growing intimate with four of his Keepers, who were Servants to Sir *John Digby*, Lieutenant of the Tower, and making them believe he was the true Duke of *York*, he so far prevail'd with them, as they persuaded the Earl of *Warwick* to escape away with *Perkin*; which by their Help was to be effected by murdering the Lieutenant, and taking the Keys of the Tower. But this Conspiracy was reveal'd in Time, and prevented; and in this again the Belief of the King's nice Wisdom did raise a sinister Opinion, that *Perkin* was but his Bait to ensnare the unfortunate Earl of *Warwick*. For the Instant while this Conspiracy was operating, there broke forth another Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, a Cordwainer's Son nam'd *Ralph Wilford*; a young Man set up and instructed by an *Austin* Friar, call'd *Patrick*. But this being mismanag'd by the over Zeal of the Friar, they were both apprehended; the young Man was executed, and the Friar condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment. This Accident gave the King occasion to send the true Earl of *Warwick* out of the World: Whereupon it was thought that *Perkin's* Flight, and his second Endeavour to do the like, were wrought by his Artifice; he giving Way to the First, that he might put *Perkin* to Death; and stirring the Second, to free himself from the Earl and *Perkin* together. But however it was, *Perkin* being convicted of this last Conspiracy, and condemn'd to die, was hang'd at *Tiburn*; where he again openly read his Confession, and affirm'd it upon his Death to be true. Here was the End of one of the longest Plays of that Kind that had been remember'd; and might perhaps have had a different Period, if he had not met with a King extraordinary wise, valiant and fortunate.

He forms a
Conspiracy.

He is hang'd
at Tiburn.

The Earl of
Warwick be-
headed.

The End of the
Plantagenets.

Immediately after, the poor Earl of *Warwick* was arraign'd before the Earl of *Oxford*, as High-Steward of *England*, for conspiring together with *Perkin*, against the State and Person of the King; and being prov'd guilty by his own Confession, was shortly after beheaded upon Tower-Hill. This caus'd the King to be severely censur'd, as having no Reason to condemn him: For having been Prisoner from the ninth Year of his Age 'till the twenty fourth, and always in fear of Death, he was kept in so great Ignorance, that he did not know a Duck from a Hen; and therefore so little capable of the Fault, that he was not capable of the Contrivance; and his Confession of it was only in Hopes of a Pardon. King *Henry* endeavour'd to lay the Cause of his Death upon the King of *Spain*, thewing his Letters, in which he declar'd, *He could not resolve to marry his Daughter to Prince Arthur, since as long as the Earl of Warwick liv'd, he was not certain of the Kingdom's Succession*: Which might be a Reason of State, but not of Justice; insomuch that God would not give a Blessing to that Match, of which the religious Princess *Catharine* was afterwards sensible. For Prince *Arthur* dying in a short Time, and she being divorc'd from King *Henry* after twenty Years Marriage, she said, *It was no wonder if God had made her unfortunate in her Marriages, since they were seal'd with the Blood of the Earl of Warwick*. This Earl was the last Heir Male of the Blood and Surname of *Plantagenet*; whose Race, as it was a long Time glorious for giving renowned Kings to *England*, so in the latter End it became odious to God and Man, for the horrible Fews, Murthers and Perjuries committed within it self, which finally threw open all those Fences, which the Possession of Majesty and Numerosity of Issue had for some Ages cast about it; letting in thereby the Surname of *Tudor*, being but two Descents *English*, and which after three Descents, and five Princes, did likewise wholly disappear.

A. D.

1500.

Reg. 15.

The Nation being now freed from all civil Disturbances, was afflicted by a great Plague, which rag'd so terribly in *London*, and other Parts of the Land, that it caus'd the King to go over to *Calais*, together with his Queen and Family.

mily. This being known to Arch-Duke *Philip*, he sent Ambassadors to him to congratulate his Arrival, and to know *if he would be pleas'd that he himself should come and visit him; upon Condition he might be receiv'd in some open Place*; for which several specious Reasons were given. The Ambassadors were graciously receiv'd, the Condition was fairly interpreted, and St. *Peter's* Church not far from *Calais* appointed for the Place. As he was coming towards *Calais*, the King went out to meet him, when he suddenly alighted from his Horse to hold the King's Stirrop, which the King would not permit; but affectionately embracing him, he led him to the Church appointed for the Parly. The Causes of the Arch-Duke's coming were two; his own good Nature, because he or his Council had offended him by protecting an Impostor, so that he would omit nothing that might give the King Satisfaction: The other, was the Advice of his Father, and Father-in-law, who counsell'd him to establish a strict Amity with King *Henry*, for the Benefit of the *Netherlands*, and his own Safety against the Violences of *France*; but chiefly, because both hating the new King *Lewis*, they hop'd for many Advantages by his Friendship. The Arch-Duke fail'd not to use all the Art he could, tho' by Nature he was not addicted to Dissimulations; terming him *His Father, Patron and Protector*. The Matters concluded between them were the Confirmation of the former Treaties, and two reciprocal Marriages; the one of the Duke of *York*, the King's second Son, with the Arch-Duke's Daughter; the other of *Charles*, the Arch-Duke's eldest Son, with *Mary* the King's second Daughter: But all of them being either Children or Infants, these Marriages succeeded not, but evaporated through Time and Interest. The Arch-Duke was but just retir'd, when the King of *France* sent the Governor of *Picardy*, and the Bailiff of *Amiens* to visit King *Henry*, acquainting him with his Victories, together with his gaining of the Dukedom of *Milan*, and his Imprisonment of the Duke *Lodwick Sforza*. The Plague being by this Time ceased, King *Henry* return'd to *London*, well satisfy'd with the Testimony he had receiv'd, of the good Esteem in which he was held by the neighbouring Princes.

A Plague.
The King goes
to Calais.

His Interview
with Arch-
Duke Philip.

The King re-
turns.

At the same Time *Jasper Pons*, a learned and well-bred Man, came into *England* from Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, upon the Occasion of the Year of *Jubilee*; for since they only receiv'd the Benefit of it who went to *Rome*, he thought it fit to have it commuted for by remote Countries, where the Inhabitants could not make such long Journeys: Inasmuch as they staying at home, might receive the same Indulgences, if they would give a certain Sum of Mony to be employ'd against the *Turks*, whose Approaches *Hungary, Germany* and *Italy* did much apprehend. This Man so wisely manag'd this Affair, that he obtain'd large Sums of Mony, without any Murmurings, but against the King's Person; who being too much given to extort from his People, it was thought he would not have permitted such Sums to be rais'd, unless he himself had been a Sharer. However the Matter was propounded from the Pope in the publick Consistory, in the Presence of all the Ambassadors then resident at Court, with a Design to invade the *Turkish* Dominions in three several Places; in *Thrace*, by the *Hungarians, Bohemians* and *Polanders*; in *Greece*, by the *French* and *Spaniards*; and at *Constantinople* by the Pope himself, accompany'd by the King of *England* and the State of *Venice*: And he sent Nuntio's to all Princes, that they would join their Forces and Monies according to their Abilities, in so pious a Work. The Answer which the King gave to *Pons* was, *That he was ready to accompany his Holyness, but the remote Distance of his Country would put him to double the Inconveniencies with any others: That the Kings of France and Spain were first to be made Friends, who were fittest to accompany him; which if it could not be effected, all other Designs would prove vain. But if both should refuse, rather than his Holyness should go alone, he would wait upon him; upon Condition he might have some good Towns upon the Sea-Coast of Italy put into his Hands, for the Retreat and Security of his Men.*

The Pope pro-
poses a War a-
gainst the
Turks.

The King's An-
swer.

claration, as superficial as it was, gave the King that Reputation abroad, that not long after he was elected by the Knights of *Rhodes*, Protector of their Order; all Things contributing to honour a Prince, who had gain'd such high Esteem for his mighty Wisdom and Abilities.

*The Conclusion
of the fifteenth
Century.*

This Century concluded with the Deaths of three great Prelates in *England*; Cardinal *John Morton*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; *Thomas Rotherham*, Arch-Bishop of *York*; and *Thomas Langton*, Bishop of *Winchester*. The first was succeeded by *Henry Dean*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; the second by *Thomas Savage*, Bishop of *London*; and the third by *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Durham*; all Men Eminent in their several Stations.

A. D.

1501.

Reg. 16.

*The Marriage
of Prince Ar-
thur with Ca-
tharine of
Spain.*

VI. This sixteenth Century began with the famous Marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Infanta *Catharine* of *Spain*, who was sent over with the greatest Pomp and Attendance; a Marriage that was seven Years in compleating, then solemniz'd with the utmost Splendor and Magnificence, and memorable for the wonderful Consequence it produc'd many Years after. The Tedioufness of the Negotiation proceeded not only from the tender Years of the Persons to be marry'd, but from the two Kings themselves, who being both of great Policy and profound Judgment, stood long at a Distance viewing each others Fortunes and Success; well knowing that the very Name of the Treaty gave a Reputation of a strict Amity between them; which on both Sides serv'd to many Purposes, that their several Affairs requir'd, and yet they still continu'd free. The Infanta had for her Portion two hundred thousand Crowns, a noble Dowry in those Days, without any Covenant of Restitution either to her self or Family; and in lieu of that she had set out for Jointure the third Part of the Principality of *Wales*, the Dukedom of *Cornwall*, and the Earldom of *Chester*; and if she should come to be Queen, she was then to have as much as any other Queen of *England* ever had. This Lady was now eighteen Years of Age, and Prince *Arthur* above fifteen; yet notwithstanding it prov'd a great Question, and a Matter of Controversie several Years after, whether ever he had Carnal Knowledge of her. In the Examination of which, a peculiar and material Passage was alleg'd, which tho' light, and disagreeable to the Majesty of History, cannot fairly be omitted: That in the Morning after the Consummation, Prince *Arthur* call'd for Drink, and finding the Gentleman who brought it to smile at the Passage as an unusual Thing, he told him *He had been in the middle of Spain, which was a hot Country, and his Journey had made him thirsty, and if he had been in so warm a Clime, he would have been drier than himself.* However it was, this marry'd Couple liv'd not many Months together;

A. D.

1502.

Reg. 17.

*Prince Ar-
thur's Death.*

*Catharine con-
sented to
Prince Henry.*

for on the second Day of *April* Prince *Arthur* dy'd at *Ludlow* Castle, where he kept his Court as Prince of *Wales*. There is little remaining of the Character of this Prince, but only that he was very studious and learned, beyond his Years, and beyond the Custom of great Princes. His Death was a great Trouble to the King; the Infanta was left as a Burden to him, and if his Son Prince *Henry* was to marry another Wife, he was to find out a second Jointure, a Matter repugnant to the publick State, and his frugal Disposition: Whereupon resolving to marry him to the same *Catharine*, he wrote concerning that Affair both to *Spain* and *Rome*. King *Ferdinand* was satisfy'd; but he met with Difficulties in procuring a Dispensation from the Pope, and gaining his Son's Consent, who tho' he was but twelve Years of Age, much oppos'd the Matter, but at length was contracted, and afterwards marry'd to her: And the secret Providence of God ordain'd that Marriage to be the Occasion of mighty Events and Revolutions.

About the same Time the King met with some new Disturbances from the House of *York*. *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, who was slain at the Battel of *Stoke*, left his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Suffolk*, Heir to his Humour, and his Misfortunes; insomuch that reflecting that he was Son to *Elizabeth*, Sister both

to King *Edward* the Fourth, and *Richard* the Third, he thought he might take an uncontroll'd Liberty under any King's Reign. He had kill'd a Man; and in such a Manner, as the Circumstances much aggravated the Crime. However King *Henry* granted him his Pardon; but so as he was oblig'd to pass all the Course of Law, to appear before the Judges, and receive Sentence of Condemnation. This Manner of Proceeding was so sensible a Mortification to his high Spirit, that reputing the Favour as a Mark of Ignominy, he suddenly left the Nation, and went into *Flanders* to his Aunt, the Dutches *Margaret*. At which, tho' the King was offended, yet he was resolv'd to apply nothing but Lenitives, giving Order to his Agents in those Parts to offer him Pardon and Incouragement, if he would return; knowing that Despair in banish'd Men begets Thoughts little serviceable to themselves, and very troublesom to others. It succeeded according to his Expectation: For the Dutches, either because she found his Genius inferior to the King's, or being oblig'd by the Concealment of her Name in *Perkin's* publick Confession, declin'd assisting him; so that he return'd home, and was reconcil'd to the King. But arrogant and proud Dispositions, such as this unhappy Earl's, leading Men into Dangers and Difficulties, brought this Person at last to his Ruin, under King *Henry* the Eighth.

The Earl of Lincoln disaffected.

He is reconcil'd to the King.

The fortunate Marriage of *James* King of *Scotland* with the Princess *Margaret*, which was treated of some Years past by the means of Bishop *Fox*, was celebrated in the beginning of this Year; which together with the preceding Year, was remarkable for two Marriages, and two Deaths: For the Marriage of Prince *Arthur* and his Death, the preceding Year; and for the Marriage of the King of *Scotland*, and the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* this present Year; that noted Queen dy'd in Child-bed in the Tower, and the Child not long after. This Marriage was perform'd by Proxy, and publish'd in *January* at *St. Paul's* Cross, when *Te Deum* was solemnly sung. And certainly the wonderful Joy shewn by the Citizens was more than could be expected, in a Case of so great and fresh Enmity between the Nations, especially in *London*, which was sufficiently distant from feeling any of the former Calamities of the War; therefore some have attributed it to a secret Instinct and Inspiration, touching the Happiness to ensue in future Ages. The Marriage in *August* following was consummated at *Edinburgh*; the King bringing his Daughter as far as *Colli-Weston* on the Way, and then consigning her to the Attendance of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who with a noble Train of Lords and Ladies, brought her into *Scotland* to the King her Husband. The Portion given by King *Henry* was ten thousand Pounds; and the Jointures and Advancement assur'd by the King of *Scotland*, was two thousand Pounds a Year, after his Death, and one thousand Pounds a Year in present, for the Lady's Allowance or Maintenance, to be set forth in Lands of the best and most certain Revenue. During this Treaty, the King remitting the Matter to the Council, some of the Table warily put the Question, *That supposing the King's two Sons should die without Issue, that then the Kingdom of England would devolve to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the Monarchy of England.* To this Scruple the King made a sort of a Prophetical Answer, *That if such a Case should happen, Scotland would be but an Accession to England, and not England to Scotland, because the greater would certainly draw the less; which was a safer Union for England, than that of France.* The Effect of this Marriage is thus describ'd by the Bishop of *Ross*: 'There was a perfect Peace and sincere Amity between the two Realms of *England* and *Scotland* for a long time after. And truly during the Life of King *Henry*, no Cause of Breach was given by either of the Princes, but they continu'd in great Love and Friendship, and mutual Society, contracting of Marriages, continual Interchange of Merchandize between the Subjects of both Kingdoms, as if they had been all under the Obedience of one Prince; where through Justice, Policy and Riches did flourish and abound through-

A. D.

1503.

Reg. 18.

The King of the Scots marries Henry's Daughter Margaret.

The happy Effects of the Marriage.

‘throughout the whole Ile of *Albion*. And this is the happy Match that gave the lawful Succession of *England* to the Kings of *Scotland*, which happen’d without Opposition in latter Days.

A. D.

1504.

Reg. 25.

*The King's co-
racious Procee-
dings.*

*The Extortions
of Empson and
Dudley.*

*The King too
severe.*

VII. King *Henry*, finding himself secur’d by the Amity of *Scotland*,^{24m} strengthen’d by that of *Spain*, cherish’d by that of *Burgundy*, and all Domestick Disturbances extinguish’d, now more than ever indulg’d his avaricious Temper, by endeavouring to gather and heap up Treasure. And as Princes more easily find Instruments for their Will and Humour, than their Service and Honour, he had gotten two Persons proper for his Purpose, *Richard Empson* and *Edmund Dudley*, who became so excessive and burdensome, that the People esteem’d them as his *Horse-Leeches and Shearers*. *Dudley* was of a good Family, Eloquent, and one that could put odious Business into good Language; but *Empson*, who was the Son of a Mechanick, throwing off all Respect, always triumph’d upon the Fact perform’d. These two being Lawyers by Profession, and Privy-Counsellors by Authority, turn’d Law and Justice into Rapines and Extortions. Many Laws at that Time, either by Reason of the Civil Wars, or the Neglect of the Judges, were forgotten, or grown out of Use; and the Patrimony of the Crown, enjoy’d by many by Vertue of long Leases, being become almost as good as Fee-Simple, mov’d the King to examine them strictly; and these two, who were thought the best Practicers in the Law, were by him chosen for that Purpose, and full Authority given them. They rais’d up many Informers and Accusers; and the Accused being put in Prison, and there kept beyond the usual Time, they were compell’d to purchase their Liberties with large Sums of Money. Others being cited by them, or their Delegates, were condemn’d, contrary to the Ordinary Course of Law; sometimes by false Witnesses, and other times by false Pretences, by which many rich Persons were impoverish’d. Such Judges, as, govern’d by Integrity, resisted their Wills, were either better taught by Imprisonments, or ruin’d by Amercements. Wards were not suffer’d to enter upon their Lands without vast Disbursements; and Laws which at several Times had been enacted more for Terror than Punishment, and some that had also been repealed, were without any Remission, rigorously put in Execution. These and many other Courses, fitter to be bury’d in silence than repeated, they had of preying upon the People, both for their Master’s Advantage and their own; insomuch that they arriv’d at great Riches and Substance. In these Matters the King himself was too nearly concern’d to escape Censures and Reflections; and we have this peculiar Story remaining of his blameable Conduct. The King as he came to *Henningham*, a Castle belonging to the Earl of *Oxford*, who was a Principal Minister both in Peace and War, was there receiv’d and entertain’d with much Splendor and Magnificence: All that held Land by any Title of the Earl, came at that Time to give their Attendance: of which many were Gentlemen, and others Yeomen: They all wore the Earl’s blue Liveries and his Feathers in their Hats; but the rest of their Apparel was according to every Man’s Condition. When the King came forth, and found them orderly plac’d in two Rows in the great Hall, he having nicely observ’d them, ask’d the Earl, *If they were all his Servants*: The Earl with a Smile answer’d, *They were his Tenants and Retainers, who upon this Occasion came to wait upon his Grace*. The King having thank’d him for his good Entertainment, said, *That the Report of his Hospitality came short of the Truth; but he could not suffer his Laws to be broken in his Presence; therefore his Attorney must talk with him about it*. The Nobility were then restrain’d from giving above a certain Number of Liveries; so that the Earl was forc’d to compound for no less than fifteen thousand Marks. It is very probable that this unusual Action of the King’s, whose Business was ever to depress the Nobility, might proceed as much from Policy as Avarice.

In the mean Time the Earl of *Suffolk*, either through Hatred or Discontent, or for the Debts he contracted at Prince *Arthur's* Marriage, fled a second Time into *Flanders* with his Brother *Richard*; to the great Dissatisfaction of the People, who reasonably judg'd that some Disorder would ensue. The King resorting to his former Arts, immediately caus'd Sir *Robert Curson*, Governor of the Castle of *Hammes* near *Calais*, to fly from his Post, and offer his Service and Assistance to the Earl. This Knight having insinuated himself into the Earl's Secrets, and learning from him who his cheif Supporters were in *England*, he advertis'd the King of all with the utmost Secrecy; but still maintian'd his own Credit and inward Trust with the Earl. Upon his Advice the King attach'd *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, who had marry'd the Lady *Catharine* Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, *William De-la-Pole*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *George Abergavenny*, Sir *James Tyrrell*, Sir *John Windham*, and Sir *Thomas Green*. The Issue was, *William Courtney* was detain'd Prisoner during the King's Life; not so much out of Guilt, as his near Relation to the House of *York*: *De-la-Pole* was likewise kept Prisoner, tho' more at large; *Abergavenny* and *Green* were set at Liberty, *Tyrrell* and *Windham* were beheaded, and the rest of inferior Quality hang'd. This was that *Tyrrell*, who was concern'd in the Murder of *Edward* the Fifth and his Brother in the Tower; for whom so easie a Death was too small a Punishment. Then to keep up *Curson's* Credit in *Flanders*, and conceal his Intelligence in *England*, about the same time there was publish'd at *St. Paul's* Cross the Pope's Bull of Excommunication and Execration against the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the said *Curson*, with some other Abettors of the Earl; in which it appears Heav'n was made too much to bow to Earth, and Religion to yield to Policy. But shortly *Curson*, having perform'd his Business, return'd into *England*, where he gain'd as much the Favour of the King, as he did the Reproach of the People. His Departure extreamly abated the Courage of the Earl, who found he was betray'd: Therefore endeavouring to procure Help from foreign Princes, he went into *Germany*, and from thence into *France*: But his Labours proving vain, he return'd into *Flanders* under the Protection of Arch-Duke *Philip*, where he continu'd for about two Years.

The Earl of Suffolk causes new Disturbances.

Several executed.

In a Parliament call'd this Year, where *Dudley* was chosen Speaker, several wise Laws were enacted; and there was also granted to the King a Subsidy both for the Temporality and the Clergy. And yet notwithstanding, before the Year was expir'd there went out Commissions for a general Benevolence, tho' there were no Wars, nor Fears of any. The same Year the City of *London* gave five thousand Marks for Confirmation of their Liberties; a Thing more proper for the Beginnings of Kings Reigns, than the latter Ends. Neither was it a small Advantage that the Mint gain'd upon the late Statute, by the Recoinage of *Groats*, and *Half-Groats*, since call'd Twelve-Pences and Six-Pences. As for the Mills of *Empson* and *Dudley*, they still did grind more than ever; so that it was surprizing to see what golden Showers did pour down at once upon the King's Treasury: The last Payments of the Marriage Portion from *Spain*, the Subsidy, the Benevolence, the Recoinage, the Redemption of the City's Liberties, and the several Contingencies. He had now but one Son, and one Daughter unprovided for; he was wise, of an exalted Spirit, who needed not to make Riches his Glory; and he excell'd in many other Things; only Avarice ever finds in it self Matter of Ambition. It seems he thought to leave his Son such a Kingdom, and such a Mass of Treasure, as he might chuse his Greatness where he pleas'd. Then to add to his Honour and Fame, this Year Pope *Julus* sent to him a Cap of *Maintenance*, and a Sword, as to a Defender of the Church; which Cap and Sword were receiv'd with many pompous Ceremonies.

The King increases in Riches.

But not long after the King was concern'd and perplex'd about the Death of the famous *Isabel* Queen of *Spain*, and Mother to his Son's Wife; by reason of the exact Resemblance that was in the Government of their Kingdoms, between *Ferdinand* and himself, both of them reigning in the Right of their Wives.

A. D. 1505. Reg. 20. 21.

A. D. 1506. Reg. 21.

Wives. And tho' *Henry* had obtain'd his Kingdom under the Title of the House of *Lancaster*, won it by the Sword, and had it confirm'd both by Parliament and Pope, and tho' he had never admitted of his Wife's Right; yet he could not but be apprehensive, That *Ferdinand's* quitting the Crown to his Daughter, might by Way of Example effect and prejudice his Cause, and make immediate Way for his Son Prince *Henry*. The Case was the same, and the foremention'd Securities were with many Men of no Weight, in Comparison of Natural Extract. To determine this Matter with least Opposition, Queen *Isabel* left the Administration of the Kingdom to her Husband *Ferdinand* during his Life, tho' her Daughter *Joan* was immediate Heir. But this highly disgusted the Arch-Duke *Philip* who had marry'd this Heir; for being become King of *Spain* in Right of his Wife, he thought he was injur'd, as being reputed unfit to govern without his Father-in-law's Assistance and Superintendency. To remedy this Grievance, before *Ferdinand* should be settled in his pretended Administration, he took shipping with his Wife in *January*, when it was believ'd that he would never have taken a Voyage of that Nature. He had hardly left the Coast of *Flanders*, when taken by a sudden Tempest, his Fleet was dispers'd upon the Coast of *England*; so that he was forc'd to get on shore at *Weymouth*, contrary to the Advice of some with him. The great Number of his Ships had given Alarm to the Country, so that many Troops of armed Men hasten'd to *Weymouth*, not knowing but it might be some Enemy to invade the Nation. Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, and Sir *John Carew*, who were their Commanders, understanding the Cause of his Landing, desir'd him to rest himself in Sir *Thomas's* House, 'till they could inform the King of his Arrival; to which he consented, as knowing that otherwise they would not suffer him to depart. The King hearing of this, sent the Lord *Arundell* by way of Compliment, to let him know that he himself would shortly come and give him a Visit; but *Philip* fearing to lose too much Time, resolv'd to go himself to *Henry*, causing his Queen to come slowly after him. He 'was met six Miles from *Windsor* by Prince *Henry*, and one Mile from thence by the King, who receiv'd him with all the Terms of Honour and Friendship. He treated with them of the Marriage of their Children, and of his own Marriage with *Margaret*, the Dutches Dowager of *Savoy*, Sister to *Philip*: He renew'd all Confederacies made between them in the preceding Year, by the Name of Arch-Duke *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, now by the Name of King of *Spain*. These had better Success for the *English* than the former, especially in the Fishing Trade; at which the *Flemmings* were much offended. He with much Difficulty obtain'd the Person of the Earl of *Suffolk*, who liv'd under the Protection of *Philip*: *Henry* knew so well how to persuade him, by passing his Royal Word he would not put him to Death, that *Philip* sent for him into *Flanders*; the one desiring to have him before the other departed, and the other not to depart 'till he was arriv'd, that it might be believ'd that he had been in a Manner compell'd to deliver him up. As soon as the Earl was arriv'd, and put in safe Custody in the Tower, *Philip* departed well pleas'd from *England*, and was receiv'd in *Spain* without any manner of Resistance, *Ferdinand* totally quitting the Government to him; which he enjoy'd but for a while, for he dy'd shortly after.

Arch Duke
Philip arriv'd
in England
by a Storm.

His Enter-
tainment.

He goes to
Spain.

His Death.

A. D.

1507.

Reg. 22.

King Henry de-
clares himself ill.

The Earl of *Suffolk* being in the Tower, and King *Henry* freed from all manner of Trouble and Molestation, he betook himself to Domestick Affairs, and sent his Chaplain, the famous *Thomas Wolsey*, afterwards Cardinal, to the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of the Marriage with the forenam'd Dowager of *Savoy*. This Treaty in a great Measure prov'd the first Rise of *Wolsey*, who perform'd the Journey and the whole Matter with such Celerity of Dispatch as was almost incredible; for which he receiv'd the King's particular Thanks, and Favour. This Marriage was never consummated, by Reason of King *Henry's* Indisposition of Health that shortly ensu'd; for he now began daily to decline and

and draw towards his End: The Gout, a Disease more troublesom than mortal, was the Forerunner of a Distillation, which falling upon his Lungs brought him into a kind of Consumption, which he perceiving, he began to give himself totally to pious Works. For this Year he gave greater Alms than ever he did before, and discharg'd all Prisoners about the City, that lay for Fees or Debts under forty Shillings. He hasten'd his religious and charitable Foundations; and hearing also of the Outcries of his People against the Oppressions of *Empson* and *Dudley*, with their Accomplices, partly by devout People about him, and partly by publick Sermons, he began to be touch'd with great Remorse and Compunction. Yet still these two Devourers of the People, tho' they could not but hear of these Scruples in the King's Conscience, as if the King's Soul and his Mony were lodg'd in several Offices, and the one never to interfere with the other, proceeded with as great a Rage as ever. Many for slight Causes were molested in their Estates, and in their Lives: One dy'd in Prison before his Cause could be heard; another being in Prison for denying to pay a Sum contrary to Law, was not let out 'till the next Reign, when *Empson* was put in his Place.

He proceeds to Acts of Charity.

To make good the usual Custom of promising Obedience to new Popes, the King sent Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, with two other Ambassadors, to Pope *Julius* the Second, which he had not formerly done, tho' he was elected some Years before. They urg'd much for the Canonization of King *Henry* the Sixth, but did not succeed; either because the Pope held that Honour at an excessive Rate, or that he was willing to make a Distinction between Innocents and Saints. Being dismiss'd by the Pope, they carry'd the Garter, and all the Robes and Badges of of that Order to *Guido Ubaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*, who thankfully accepted of the Honour. This Year the King furnish'd his Hospital in the *Savoy*, which had been a noted Palace of the *Lancastrians*; and likewise he founded three Monasteries for the *Conventual* Friars of the Order of St. *Francis*, and three for the *Observants* of the same Order, in distinct Places. Besides which, his pious Mother the Lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond*, not long before this Time, founded two noble Colleges in the University of *Cambridge*, call'd *Christ* and St. *John's*. These were spiritual Improvements and Advantages: But the last Act of State that concluded this King's Temporal Felicity, was the Agreement of a Glorious Match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, afterwards the great Emperor, both being of tender Years; which Treaty was perfected by Bishop *Fox*, and other Commissioners at *Calais*, the Year before the King's Death. In which Alliance he took so much Satisfaction, that considering he was to have two Kings for his Sons-in-law, he declar'd *That he thought he had built a Wall of Brass about his Kingdom*. So that now there was nothing to be added to this great King's Felicity, who had arriv'd at the Top of Human Glory, but a quiet and seasonable *Exit* to secure him against any future Blows of Fortune.

A. D.
1508.
Reg. 22.

The King's last Acts.

And this prov'd his Fate; being foretold by a regular consuming Sickness, which gave him full Time to provide against all the Terrors of his last Hour. He liv'd almost all his Time in Troubles, but always with Success and Victory: He found a Kingdom involv'd in Civil Wars, he left it in a settled Peace. His Subjects, who were impoverish'd by the past Disorders, were notwithstanding his Taxations; by reason of his wise Government become rich; and he did not only free the Crown from all Debts, but left behind him in *Richmond* a vast Treasure of a Million and eight hundred thousand Pounds Sterling; so that he was justly accounted the richest Prince in *Europe*. To crown all, in his last Year, as well as his first, he did an Act of Piety, worthy of Imitation; he granted a general Pardon, as expecting a second Coronation in a better Kingdom; and did also declare by his Will, that Restitution should be made of those Sums, which had been unjustly taken by his Officers. And thus this *Solomon* of *England*, as he is call'd by some, dy'd at his Palace at *Richmond*, upon the

A. D.
1509.
Reg. 24.

His great Treasure.

His Death.

twenty second Day of *April*, in the fifty third Year of his Age, after a most politick and fortunate Reign of twenty three Years and eight Months.

His Interment.

The Manner of his Interment was thus: His Body was brought into the great Chamber, where resting three Days, it had solemn Mass and Dirige sung by a Miter'd Bishop; whence remov'd into the Hall, had there the same Service the like Space, as also in the Chappel for three Days longer; and in every Place a Herse adorn'd with Banners, Escutcheons and Pendants, and with the Attendance of Mourners. From whence it was convey'd into a Chariot, cover'd with black Cloath of Gold, drawn by five noble Courfers cover'd with black Velvet, adorn'd with Escutcheons of fine Gold, with his Effigies over it, apparell'd in rich Robes, with the Crown on the Head, and Scepter and Globe in the Hands, environ'd with Banners of Arms of all his Dominions, Titles and Genealogies; a great Number of Prelates praying, with other Attendants before the Body, and nine Mourners and about six hundred Torches following it. In this Order it was met at *St. George's Field* by the Religious of all Sorts in and about the City, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Officers in Black; and was brought through *London* to *St. Paul's*, and plac'd in the Quire under a stately Herse. Whence after a solemn Mass, and Sermon preach'd by the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, it was next Day with the same State convey'd to *Westminster*, having the Royal Banner born on a Courser trapped with the Arms of the Defunct, and there by six Lords taken out of the Chariot, and set under a most glorious Herse full of Lights; the Representation lying upon the Coffin upon a Pall of Gold, about which the Mourners being plac'd within the first Rail, Knights with Banners within the second, and Officers of Arms without the same, *Garter King of Arms* cry'd aloud, *For the Soul of the Noble King Henry the Seventh*; when the Quire beginning *Placebo*, and ending at *Dirige*, clos'd the Solemnities of that Day. The next Day were three Masses solemnly sung by Bishops, at the last of which were offer'd the Banner and Courser, Coat of Arms, Sword, Target and Helmet, the Nobility offering their rich Palls of Cloath of Gold, &c. And thus, the great Officers breaking their Staves, his Body was interr'd in his own magnificent Royal Chappel; in which a glorious Monument of Copper was erected for him, and finish'd by a *Florentine* at the Expence of a thousand Pound; which is thus describ'd by the Lord *Bacon*: He lyeth bury'd at *Westminster* in one of the stateliest and daintiest Monuments of *Europe*, both for the Chappel and the Sepulchre; so that he dwelleth more richly dead in the Monument of his Tomb, than he did alive in *Richmond*, or any of his Palaces.

His Character, and Reign.

To say something of the Person and Character of this mighty Prince; he was of great Vigour and Strength of Body, lean, and of Stature taller than the common Sort; of a wonderful Beauty and fair Complexion; with a Countenance pleasing and smiling, especially in Conversation. Yet he had a high Spirit and haughty Courage, and govern'd without a Rival; not admitting any near or full Approach either to his Power, or to his Secrets, and all without any affected Ostentation. He was a Man of wonderful Abilities, and had many excellent Qualifications; he was sober, moderate, chaste and pious, had a quick Wit, and a profound Penetration, which in all great Perils and Emergencies was supernatural, and in a manner divine. And indeed as to Wisdom and Policy he seem'd to excel all Princes, always shewing in them something admirable and surprizing; by which he surmounted infinite Difficulties, both before and after he came to the Crown, and brought Peace, Union and Tranquility to a Nation divided, distracted, and besiear'd with Blood; gaining the full Possession of a Throne by a Complication of all the Titles that ever made a Man King, as Inheritance, Marriage, Conquest, Usurpation and Election, besides the Pontifical Confirmation. Having obtain'd the Crown, he politickly took care to put gradual Stops to the Power of the Nobility, who had lately rais'd such Storms in the Nation, which he perform'd by procuring three several Laws:

Laws: By one of which the Barons Lands were made alienable, which would cause them insensibly to divide and break in Pieces: By another he encourag'd Husbandry, ascertaining Proportions of Land for Tillage; by which the Country Farmers, living more plentifully, would not so readily be seduc'd by their Lords to disturb the publick Peace: By a third, Retainers were lopp'd off; so that the Nobility were stripp'd of their mighty Retinues, and could not easily compose a Cavalry, which was usually made up of these Followers: By all which, the Balance of the Nation was gradually alter'd, and the Commons obtain'd a greater Power and Figure than ever they had before. As his Wisdom was great, so he took care to be serv'd by the ablest Men that could be found in the Nation, both as to War and Counsel; nor did he regard how subtle they were, for as to that he knew himself to have the master Reach. His Government and Power was extensive and great, yet no King ever yielded more to his Parliaments, which still made it greater, so that many foreign Princes either courted or dreaded it. Some reckon it among his principal Glories, that three Popes, *Alexander* the Sixth, *Pius* the Third, and *Julius* the Second, did in their several Times, with the Consent of their Cardinals, elect him for *Chief Defender of Christ's Church*, before all other Christian Princes. He always profess'd to love and seek Peace; and it was his usual Preface to his Treaties, *That when Christ came into the World, Peace was sung, and when he went out of the World Peace was bequeath'd.* Yet he is blam'd with making himself somewhat little by being ambitious, and a little poor in admiring Riches: But as to his Ambition, it was better regulated than in any of his Predecessors; and his Avarice might be said to be more the Effect of his Policy than his Temper. The most real Stains upon his Memory was his taking off the Lord *Stanley's* Head, who had set the Crown upon his, and his unfair Execution of the young Earl of *Warwick*, without any certain Guilt, or perhaps none greater than his being the last of the *Plantagenet* Race; which seem'd to have been reveng'd upon his own Race and Progeny: For his Possession in the first Line ended in his Grand-Children, as that of *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth had done before him. He seems to have been more than ordinary solicitous about his Posterity, and by a fam'd Tradition we are told that he sent to enquire after his Successors from a celebrated Prophet or Negromancer, who in his Answer return'd him this remarkable *Latine* Verse, *Mars, Puer, Aleto, Virgo, Vulpes, Leo, Nullus*: But how far this was accomplish'd in the Characters of his Successors, will better appear from the following History.

S E C T. II.

The Reign of King HENRY the Eighth.

Containing 37 Years, 9 Months, and 5 Days.

I. IN the last Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York* were join'd and cemented; but now they were intirely united in the Person of King *Henry* the Eighth, in whose Character and Life there was such uncommon Variety, that he may be said to have inherited the good and bad Qualifications of both those famous Families. He succeeded his Father with the universal Applause and Satisfaction of the Nation; being now near nineteen Years of Age, and happily endow'd with all the Perfections of Body and Mind. As to his Person, it was extraordinary tall, beautiful and majestick, and he had great Strength and Agility of Body, which

A. D.
1502.
Reg. 1.

signal-

signally appear'd in several Jufts and Tournaments before and after he came to the Crown: For at Tilt he bore down a brave Man at Arms, both Horfe and Rider; at Barriers threw Sir *William Kingston* a Knight of great Strength to the Ground; and with a Battel-Axe combated with *Giot*, a Gigantick German, and lent him more powerful Blows than he could repay. Then besides his having a magnanimous Spirit and extensive Soul, he had the Happiness of a nice and learned Education, being design'd by his Father, during the Life of his Brother *Arthur*, for the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*; and not only the more necessary Parts of Learning were infus'd into him, but even those of Ornament; so that besides his being an able Linguist, Philosopher and Divine, he was also a curious Musician and Composer. All which Qualifications, being join'd to so excellent a Personage, caus'd him to be lov'd and admir'd by his Subjects, and also to be courted and rever'd by his Neighbours.

*The Beginning
of King Henry's
Reign.*

Thus happily began this remarkable Reign, when the young King, following the Advice of able Counsellors, committed fewer Errors than when he govern'd by a more unlimited Will; for as they were selected by the wise Lady *Margaret* his Grandmother, so he took their Impressions readily, both out of Diffidence of his own Abilities in managing a Kingdom, and a Desire to be free as to those Exercises most agreeable to his Youth and Dispositions. His chief Counsellors were *William Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor; *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, Secretary and Lord Privy-Seal; *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, Lord Treasurer; *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Steward of the King's Household; Sir *Charles Somerset*, Lord Chamberlain; Doctor *Thomas Ruthal*, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Sir *Henry Wyat*, and Sir *Edward Poynings*. By the Advice of these Counsellors, one of his first Acts, after the finishing his Father's magnificent Funeral, was his Care to perform his Father's former Appointment in marrying the Lady *Catharine* of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; to which probably, but out of Respect to Filial Piety, he had not the greatest Devotion; and for relinquishing of which, no doubt he might have more easily obtain'd a Dispensation from the Pope, than his Father had done for getting it allow'd. But Obsequiousness to his Father's first Appointment, (tho' contrary to his last Thoughts) and Respect to the Advice of his Council, so far prevail'd with him, that he would not be crown'd till the Marriage was solemniz'd, that one Coronation might serve for both Parties. Accordingly, about six Weeks after his Father's Decease, on the third Day of *June*, he marry'd the Princess *Catharine* at the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s House in *Fleetstreet*; where among the numerous Ceremonies, this is remarkable, that tho' the Bride was a Widow, she was attir'd all in White, to express her untouch'd Virginity, upon which she and her Friends ever insisted. Shortly after, the King, having made twenty four Knights of the *Bath* in the Tower, upon *Midsummer* Day was crown'd at *Westminster*, together with his Queen, by the Hands of *Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with wonderful Magnificence, and all the Circumstances of State. All the Nobility, Spiritual and Temporal, did their Homage; and the People, according to ancient Custom, being ask'd *Whether they would receive him for their King?* they unanimously cry'd, *Yea, Yea!* Then to perform the most noble Part of his Father's Will, he proclaim'd a Pardon for all Crimes, except Treason, Murder, and Felony, and promis'd Restitution of all Goods unjustly taken from any of his Subjects. And because the Instruments of such Injustice are always most odious, and nothing gives a People more Satisfaction, than seeing their Persecutors punish'd; he caus'd *Empson* and *Dudley*, the two chief Actors in the late rapacious Proceedings, to be committed to the Tower, and divers of the inferior Agents, call'd Promoters, to be set in the Pillory in *Cornhill*, with Papers on their Heads, and then to ride through the City to *Newgate*, with their Faces to the Horse-Tails.

His first Marriage, with Catharine of Spain.

At Coronation.

Empson and Dudley committed.

And now the King, having taken several Prospects of his neighbouring Princes, thought fit to call a Parliament in *January* following; in which the principal Proceedings seem to have reference to *Empson* and *Dudley's* Extortions; which were so represented, that the King was willing in some measure to restrain his own Authority, that he might enlarge the Peoples Confidence and Affection towards him. And as divers of those Statutes, by which the late King *Henry* took Advantage of the People, were repeal'd, explain'd or limited; so *Empson* and *Dudley*, who had formerly been condemn'd, were now attainted of High-Treason. After they had continu'd above half a Year longer in Prison, the King, to satisfy the importunate Clamours of the People, caus'd them both to be beheaded; in which, according to some, he acted more like a good King, than a good Master. However by this, and his remitting of several Fines, he gain'd the Love and Affection of the Nation at this Time, and was in perfect Peace and Safety with his People. This gave him Opportunity to follow those Liberties and Pleasures which were most suitable to his youthful and vigorous Disposition; yet his Exercises were not sportful alone, but had in them a mixture of Letters and Arms. For tho' he us'd Feasting, Masks, Dancings, Singing, Playing upon many Instruments, making Verses, and the like; yet his more serious Entertainments were Study of History, and School Divinity, in which he much delighted, as likewise in Jufts, Tourneys, and Barriers, and that not in an ordinary Manner, but with the two-handed Sword and Battel-Axe. These again were adorn'd and set out with most costly Pageants and magnificent Devices, and those so frequently, that they did not only consume much Time, but also great part of his vast Treasure. And indeed never any King delighted more in Pomp and Show; his Court was marshall'd like a Camp, and his Camp set out like a Court; so that *Mars* and *Venus* seem'd to be in Conjunction all this Reign, and Love and Honour as fashionable as in the Romances of those Times. Nor needed he any thing besides his own Example to draw the young Nobility after him, who were now no less considerable for their Number than their Quality; so that all the neighbouring Nations were both sensible and apprehensive of his growing Greatness.

For this Reason several Ambassadors repair'd to him from *France*, *Scotland*, *Denmark*, *Italy*, and other Places, who were entertain'd after a most magnificent and extraordinary Manner. The Business of *Lewis* the *French* King was chiefly to keep a good Correspondence between the two Nations, while he proceeded with his Wars in *Italy*; which was the Cause of a new Treaty between *England* and *France*. And whereas at the Treaty in 1498, King *Lewis* had given Caution to *Henry* the Seventh to pay that which remain'd of the seven hundred and forty five thousand Crowns, due from a former Treaty between *Charles* the Eighth and the said *Henry*, in 1492; He did now stipulate to pay the Remainder of the said Sum. The Business of *Scotland* was Congratulation, in the Name of King *James* the Fourth, his Brother-in-law and Sister, with a Confirmation of a late Treaty of Peace; and that of *Denmark* was chiefly to establish a better Course for Trade and Commerce. But because Pope *Julius* the Second became jealous of the Greatness of the *French* in *Italy*, he earnestly sollicit King *Henry*, by reminding him of the Glory of his Ancestors, and offer'd him the Honour to be *Caput Fœderis Italici*. Upon this the King sent *Bambridge*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, to reside at *Rome*, and to treat of these Affairs. In the mean time the *French* march'd forwards and invested *Bononia*, while the Pope lay sick in the Place, and forc'd his Holiness to very hard Conditions, which sounded so ill, that King *Henry* immediately made a League with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* for his Defence; which occasion'd greater Actions afterwards. *Ferdinand* sent an Embassie both to congratulate King *Henry* for the Birth of a Son, which liv'd near eight Weeks, and to desire his Assistance against the *Moors* in *Africa*. His Request was immediatly granted, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy* was sent with fifteen hundred Archers, who afterwards

A. D.

1510.

Reg. 2.

They are executed.

The King's usual Exercises.

His Correspondents.

A. D.

1511.

Reg. 2.

He grants Aid to several.

wards returned home richly rewarded. In the like Manner *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low-Countries*, obtain'd of the King fifteen hundred Archers to assist her against the Duke of *Guelthers*, tho' Confederate both to the *French* and *Scotch*. These under the Command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, were upon their Landing met by the Lady Regent, and treated with great Testimonies of their Worth, and afterwards dismiss'd with unusual Marks of Honour. So that at present every Thing contributed towards the Fame of the *English* King and Nation.

The Seas in-
fested,

and clear'd.

Yet the King's Authority over the narrow Seas, which had been carefully preserv'd by his Ancestors, was about this Time somewhat lessen'd by the Piracies of *Andrew Barton* a *Scotch* Man. This Person, in Revenge of his Father's Death and other Injuries, having in vain sought Redress for a Ship taken from him by some *Portuguese* obtain'd Letters of Mark from *James* the Fourth his King, but upon Condition that he should not exercise Piracy. Notwithstanding which, he seiz'd upon several *English* Vessels, upon Pretence of their carrying *Portuguese* Goods, and pillag'd them. To remedy which Inconvenience, the two Sons of *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* were employ'd; the Elder, call'd *Thomas*, commanding in one Ship, and *Edward*, the younger Brother, in another. In the open Sea they engag'd with *Barton's* two Ships, which, tho' less than the other, maintain'd a cruel Fight; the obstinate Pirate, tho' wounded even to Death, encouraging his Men with his Whistle to his last Breath. But the *English* so well pursu'd their Point, that at last they forc'd their Ships, took all the Men Prisoners, and at *London* presented them to the King; who, upon their Submission, graciously pardon'd them, upon Condition they departed the Kingdom within twenty Days. King *James* hearing of this, sent to require Satisfaction, as being against the Treaty between them; but it was answer'd, *That it did not become a King to impute Breach of Treaty to his Confederate and Allie, only for shewing Mercy to Pirates.* The Messenger, rather silenc'd than satisfy'd with this Answer, return'd to his King, who when Occasion was offer'd, fail'd not to shew how much he resented the Death of *Barton*. Having settled all things in Quiet, King *Henry* pass'd away his *Christmass* at *Greenwich*, with the extraordinary Pomp of many unusual Masks, Interludes, and other glorious and expensive Entertainments.

A. D.

152.

Reg. 3.
4.

The King de-
clares War a-
gainst France.

II. While King *Henry* liv'd in Peace and Felicity at home, the *French* King proceeded in the Wars of *Italy*, with so much Success, that the Pope was compell'd to sollicite the Assistance of him and *Ferdinand* of *Spain*. This being variously debated in Council, it was at last determin'd that this was a fair Opportunity to recover the *English* Dominions in *France*. Whereupon the King resolv'd, together with calling a Parliament, to send to *Lewis* the Twelfth a monitory Embassie, requiring him to desist from the War against the Pope; but *Lewis*, whether out of his own Courage, or that he thought the Emperor assur'd to him, regarded not his Advice. King *Henry* therefore, that he might have more than one Pretence to invade *France*, sent bravely to require all his Patrimonial Inheritance of *Normandy*, *Gascony*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, &c. and in case of a Refusal, to denounce War. This then being proclaim'd, Levies were commanded, and Supplies granted by a Parliament that met in the Beginning of this Year, in which several new Laws were enacted.

The War with *France* being determin'd, it was consulted in what Part the *English* should begin: And tho' that of *Calais* seem'd the most ready Way, yet because King *Ferdinand* promis'd to join with the King of *England* in this War, it was by his Consent resolv'd to land in some Part of the *Spanish* Dominions; and that from thence, both their Armies being united, should jointly invade *Guienne*, and *Gascony*. The General nam'd by King *Henry* was *Thomas* Gray Marquess of *Dorset*, with whom went, besides his three Brothers, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surry*, the Lord *Brook*, Lord

Lord *Willoughby*, and Lord *Ferrers*, with divers Knights and Esquires, all of them brave Persons, and ten thousand Soldiers; of whom one half were Archers, who besides their Bows and Arrows carry'd Halberts, which they pitch'd on the Ground while their Arrows were shot, and then took them again to do Execution on the Enemy. These landed the third Day of *June* on the Coasts of *Biscay*, where within three Days after their Arrival, there came from the King of *Spain* a Marquess and an Earl to receive them; but without any of those Necessaries promis'd them. After the Army had lain many Days expecting Aid and Provisions from King *Ferdinand*, at length a Bishop came from that King, desiring them to have Patience for a while, and shortly they should have full Satisfaction. In the mean Time the *English* Men being forc'd to feed much upon Garlick, and to drink hot Wines, fell into such Sicknes, that many of them dy'd, to the Number of eighteen hundred Persons; upon which Discouragement, the Lord Marquess sent to *Ferdinand* to know his Resolutions, who return'd Answer, that the Duke of *Alva* was ready to join him with a great Power. And shortly after the Duke of *Alva* did advance with a powerful Army, as if he design'd to join him according to Promise; but being come within a Day's March, he suddenly turn'd towards the Kingdom of *Navarre*, under Pretence it was necessary to begin the Expedition through that Country. Here that King not answering his Expectations, he took the Occasion to drive him out of his Kingdom, and to conquer it for the use of King *Ferdinand*. This *Spanish* Policy was no ways pleasing to the *English*, who finding nothing but Words from the King of *Spain*, and being weary of so many Delays, they fell upon some Towns in the Borders of *Guienne*; but for want of a competent Number of Horses, they were unable to perform any Thing of moment. At which Time the Lord Marquess fell sick, and the Lord *Howard* supply'd the Place of General; to whom the King of *Spain* once again sent Excuses, desiring him, since the Season was so advanc'd, that he would be pleas'd to break up his Camp, and dispose his Men into the neighbouring Towns 'till the following Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his Promises. King *Henry* in the mean Time, understanding the King of *Spain's* Intentions, sent his Herald *Windsor* with Letters to the Army, ordering them to continue there, for shortly he design'd to send them a new Supply of Forces, under the Conduct of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain. But this so incens'd the Soldiers, that in a Fury they had slain the Lord *Howard*, if he had not yielded immediately to return home; who thereupon was forc'd to hire Ships, and in the Beginning of *December* they landed in *England*; being taught by this fruitless Expedition what Reliance was to be had on *Spanish* Promises. King *Henry* was much offended, and design'd to have punish'd some of his Officers; but it was soon made appear to him, that King *Ferdinand* was only blamable, who had no greater Design than the Conquest of *Navarre*.

An Army sent into Spain to invade France.

But to no Advantage.

Tho' this Voyage was successless, yet Sir *Edward Howard*, who conducted the Marquess to *Spain*, having with his Fleet first clear'd the Seas from Enemies, landed at a Bay in *Bretaign*, and march'd seven Miles into the Country, from whence, after burning some Towns, he brought away rich Spoils. Not satisfy'd with this, he put his Men on Shore at *Conquet*, and several other Places; where the *French* still receiving the worse, they at last desir'd a Parly. The Substance of which was, *That the English should desist from this kind of desultory and cruel War, which tended only to burning of Villages, and ruining the Poor.* But he reply'd, *He was not to take his Directions from them; that it was the Part of brave Gentlemen to defend their Country, and not meanly to sue for Mercy.* After which, and a Banquet in his Ship, they were dismiss'd, and the *English* Admiral return'd home. The *French*, in the mean Time, making great Preparations by Sea, King *Henry* thought fit to reinforce his Fleet, adding to twenty Ships under the Command of his Admiral, twenty five more under the Command of those brave Men that attended him; placing

Sir Edward Howard invades the French Coasts.

in the chief Ship, call'd the *Regent* of a thousand Tun, Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Master of his Horse, and Mr. *John Carew*, with seven hundred Men; in the *Sovereign*, the famous Sir *Charles Brandon* and Sir *Henry Guilford*, with sixty of the tallest Yeomen of the Guard. This choice Fleet meeting with thirty nine Sail coming out of *Brest* in *Bretaign*, attack'd them; where two of the greatest Ships on both Sides being grappled, fell on Fire by some Accident, or as the *French* would have it by the Design of *Brimauguet* the Commander. The Captains of the *English* Ship, the *Regent*, and of the *French*, call'd the *Cordeliere*, together with the Soldiers in them, perish'd all, except a few who escap'd by swimming. However the rest of the *French* were so terrify'd with the Sight, that they immediately stood off, some to *Brest*, and others to the adjoining Islands. To repair this Loss, King *Henry* built a Ship the greatest that ever had been seen in *England*, calling it *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

Preparations
against France.

King *Henry* now finding that Affairs were grown to some Extremity between the two Nations, disclos'd his Design of going in Person into *France*, chusing rather to make War in his Enemies Country, than to attend it at home. That he might the better perform this, he was advis'd to discover what Correspondence he might expect from his Neighbours and Confederates; therefore he had formerly sent Sir *Robert Wingfield* to negotiate with the Emperor *Maximilian*, and ingage him to his Party, in which he found no great Difficulty; the Emperor being pleas'd that the warlike Disposition of the young King was turn'd against *France*, so that with Assurance of his Affection he encourag'd him to proceed. He endeavour'd likewise to gain the King of *Spain*, and the King of *Scotland*; but the former, having gain'd his Point as to *Arragon*, chose rather to be quiet, and the latter had actually enter'd into a League with the *French* King. For which Reason the King sent his Treasurer the Earl of *Surry* into *Yorkshire* and the Northern Parts, to have an Army in Readiness, in case the *Scots* should move in his Absence. Order was also given that the Fortifications should be repair'd, and all necessary Additions made to his Castles and Fortresses on the Sea-Coast. Together with all this Provision, he thought fit to call a Parliament, where besides enacting divers good Laws, he obtain'd two Fifteenths, and four Demies, besides a large Poll, according to every Man's Quality. In the mean Time Pope *Julius* the Second, who had kindled the War against *France*, dy'd; and was succeeded by *Leo* the Tenth, who pursuing his Predecessor's Designs, encourag'd King *Henry* in the same War. But he having now accomplish'd the Age of one and twenty Years, needed little Invitation; and the rather because he was assur'd of the Assistance of the Emperor, who was confident that however the Business succeeded between the two Nations, he could make his Advantage. That he might effect this the better, he politickly interpos'd some Difficulties; nor would he be wholly won, 'till he had obtain'd of King *Henry* a hundred and twenty thousand Ducats towards his Charge in bringing three hundred Horse and eight thousand Foot, which should enter *Burgundy*, as soon as the King attempted *Picardy*.

A. D. King *Henry* being resolv'd to proceed in his Expedition, thought fit in the
1513. first Place to clear the Sea from the *French* Navy; and therefore he sent out
Reg. 4. his own Fleet, consisting of forty two Sail, under the Conduct of Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral, accompany'd with the Lord *Ferrers*, and many other worthy Persons. These sailing to the Coast of *Bretaign*, arriv'd at *Bertram* Bay, and there lay at Anchor in Sight of the *French* Fleet, then commanded by one *Pregent*, a Knight of *Rhodes*, who keeping himself close in the Haven of *Brest*, the *English* Admiral design'd to attack him in that Place: But because the Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caus'd certain Boats to be mann'd out, expecting by that means to tow out the *French*; but this proving ineffectual, he call'd a Council of War, where it was determin'd, that first they should attack *Pregent* and his Gallies, lying in *Blancfable* Bay, and then

then set upon the rest of the Fleet in the Haven of *Brest*. And it was further appointed, That the Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, and others, should land with a competent Number to attack the Forts, which the *French* had there rais'd; while the Admiral with little Gallies and Barges enter'd the Bay, so that the *French* might at once be attack'd by Sea and Land. But tho' this was determin'd by a Council of War, yet the Admiral had a Project by himself, occasion'd by a *Spanish* Knight, who affirm'd that he might enter the Bay with very little Danger; therefore calling a few select Friends, he made them privy to his Design, which was to take upon him the whole Enterprize, with only their Assistance; and was so confident of Success, that he wrote to King *Henry* to come in Person and have the Honour of the Enterprize himself; but the King being otherwise diverted, did not come. On *St. Mark's* Day the Admiral put himself in a small Barge, appointing three little Gallies, and his own Ship-Boat to attend him, with which he suddenly row'd into the Bay, where *Pregent* had moor'd up his Gallies just to the Ground; from whence and the Forts on the Land came a terrible Storm of Shot: Yet still the Admiral row'd on, and coming to the Gallies bravely drove out the *French* Soldiers. The Bay was shallow, and the other Ships, by reason of the Lowness of the Tide, could not enter; which the *French* Men perceiving, they enter'd the Gallies again, and renew'd the Fight with Pikes and other Weapons; whereupon the Admiral attempting to return to his Barge, which the Stream had driven from thence, was with a Pike thrown over-board and drown'd; the just Issue of his inconsiderate Enterprize. Upon which sorrowful Accident, the Lord *Ferrers* with the rest return'd into *England*: After whose Departure *Pregent* put to Sea with his Gallies, and coasting about the County of *Sussex*, burnt some poor Cottages; but the King suddenly made a new Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Brother to him that was drown'd, who so scour'd the Seas, that the *French* were no more to be seen on any Coast of *England*.

A successful Attempt made upon *Brest*.

All Preparations being made for the Expedition into *France*, it was yet debated whether King *Henry* should go in Person: Some urg'd the Affection and Tendernefs of the Nation for his Safety; and that, if he dy'd at this Conjunction, the People were still so affected to the House of *York*, that they might take *Edmund de-la-Pole*, Earl of *Sussex*, out of the Tower, and set him upon the Throne: And that the War in *France* was not of that Consequence, that the King should make such a Personal Desertion of his own Kingdom. Others alledg'd, That to commit an Army, with the Flower of the Nobility and Nation, to any one Subject, was not only unsafe, but to the Prejudice of many worthy Competitors for that Honour; and that it was no new thing for the Kings of *England* to march at the Head of their Armies in Foreign Countries. But it was reply'd, That 'till the King had a more numerous Issue, it was against all Reason of State to hazard the Kingdom in such Tumults as might ensue; to which Opinion it is believ'd the King would have condescended, had not fresh Letters arriv'd from the Emperor, in the Pope's Name exhorting him speedily to come over, and promising that he would not only meet him, but take Pay under him. Therefore for a full Security, it was thought fit that *De-la-Pole* Earl of *Sussex*, who had continu'd many Years Prisoner under *Henry* the Seventh, should have his Head struck off, as that King had order'd upon his Death-Bed. He was certainly of a turbulent and audacious Spirit; but whether any true Matter was alledg'd against him, does not sufficiently appear by any Record.

The Earl of *Sussex* beheaded.

The King now resolving to go in Person, thought fit to send his Vanguard before; which was commanded by *George Talbot* Earl of *Strawburgh*, who was accompany'd by *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *Thomas Dowry* Lord Prior of *St. John's*, the Lords *Fitzwater*, *Hastings* and *Cobham*, Sir *Robert Kitchell*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, and many other gallant Knights and Esquires.

and the Number of above eight thousand Men, who arriv'd at *Calais* in Mid-May. These were again follow'd by the Middle-Ward of about six thousand more, commanded by the Lord Chamberlain *Herbert*, and accompany'd by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent* and *Wiltshire*, the Lords *Audley*, *De-la-Ware*, *Carew* and *Curson*, who came to *Calais* fifteen Days after. These two Commanders tarrying some Time for the King's Directions, at length march'd in good Order towards *Terouënne* in *Artois*, before which Town they arriv'd upon the twenty second of *June*, pitching their Tents about a Mile distant. This Town was defended by a large Ditch, strong Bulwarks, and sufficiently provided with great Ordnance; there was in it a Garrison of about two thousand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Lances, commanded by Monsieur *de Teligny*, and Monsieur *de Crequy*. To relieve which, the *French* rais'd a puissant Army; to which were added ten thousand Men more under the Duke of *Gueldres*, and six thousand under *Richard de-la-Pele*, Brother to *Edmund* lately beheaded. In the mean Time King *Henry*, having constituted Queen *Catharine* Regent, pass'd over to *Calais* upon the last Day of *June*; bringing with him the rest of the Army, which was transported in four hundred Vessels; and with him also the Almoner, and new Favourite *Thomas Wolsey*. The King, having stay'd a few Days, and receiv'd some Visits and Compliments, hear'd that the *French* design'd to relieve *Terouënne*, under the Command of the Duke of *Longueville*, and Marquess of *Rotelin*; which occasion'd him to hasten his Departure with his Army, which consisted of about nine thousand fighting Men, besides near three thousand more belonging to the Carriages. The famous Sir *Charles Brandon*, lately created Viscount *Lisle*, had the Vanguard, accompany'd by the Earl of *Essex*: The King came in the main Battel, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on the right Hand with six hundred select Men, and Sir *Edward Poynings* on the left with as many more, Sir *Henry Guilford* carrying the Standard Royal; the Rere-guard being compos'd in a great Measure of the Retinue of *Fox Bishop of Winchester*, and *Thomas Wolsey*, was led by Sir *William Compton*; and after all came Sir *Anthony Oughtred* and *John Nevil* with four hundred Spears. This small but well appointed Army was scarce enter'd into the *French* Confines near *Ardres*, when News was brought that the Enemy appear'd; but as the *English* approach'd they thought fit to retire. In the March of the King's Army two Pieces of Ordnance miscarry'd, one of which was lost, the other happily recover'd from the *French*. Upon the fourth of *August* the King arriv'd at *Terouënne* before which he caus'd a sumptuous Pavilion to be erected, and continu'd to shew his usual Splendor and Magnificence.

The King pass'd
over with an Army
into France.

He comes before
Terouënne.

The Emperor
receives him.

While the King thus lay before *Terouënne*, the Emperor *Maximilian* upon the twelfth of *August* arriv'd at the Camp, in the Quality of the King's Soldier, and therefore not only wore the Cross of St. *George*, but receiv'd his daily Pay, which was a hundred Crowns a Day: An Honour never shown to any King of *England* before, for which he was royally receiv'd, and lodg'd in a Tent of Cloath of Gold: And as no Emperor had ever serv'd as a Soldier under a King so no Soldier was ever lodg'd in so much State and Magnificence. At this Time the City of *Terouënne* being in some Distress for want of Victuals, the *French* King appointed all his Horse, to the Number of eight thousand, to convey Provisions into the Place: But King *Henry*, by the Advice of the Emperor, had made Bridges to pass his Men over the River, to the other Side of the Town, where the Access was easiest; in such a Manner, that when the *French* Convoy came with their Provisions, and thought to have enter'd the Town, they found the *English* Army there ready to oppose them. Whereupon a fierce Battel was fought between them; but in the Conclusion, the *French* were put to flight, and with so much Speed and Precipitation, that from thence it was call'd by the Name of *The Battel of Spurs*, because they more us'd their Spurs in running away, than their Lances in fighting. In this Battel the Duke of *Longueville*, the Marquess of *Rotelin*, the Lord *Clermont*, and several others were

The Battel of
Spurs.

were taken Prisoners, with six Standards; for which Success the King and the Emperor congratulated each other upon the Place of Battel, and afterwards assisted at a solemn *Te Deum*. A few Days after, the *English* having obtain'd some new Advantages, the Town despairing of Relief surrender'd it self and Ordnance to the King of *England*, upon Condition that the Garrison might depart in an honourable manner with all their Arms and Baggage. Upon which, on the twenty fourth of *August*, the King, still having the Precedence of the Emperor, enter'd the Town, and din'd in the Bishop's Palace; where it was at length resolv'd that the Town and Fortifications should be demolish'd, all but the Cathedral Church, and religious Houses; and all the Ordnance was sent to *Aire*, to be kept there for the King's Use.

*Torouane
surrenders to
the King.*

After this it was concluded, that the King should lay Siege to the City of *Tournay* in *Flanders*; whereupon he set forwards in three Bodies: The Earl of *Shrewsbury* led the Vanguard; the King and the Emperor the main Battel, and the Lord *Herbert* the Rere-ward. In this Order the King's Army advanc'd towards *Tournay*; but by the way, he went and visited young Prince *Charles* of *Spain*, afterwards Emperor, and the Lady *Margaret* his Governess, in the Town of *Lisle*; where he was entertain'd with all Magnificence and Reverence. Being come within three Miles of *Tournay*, he sent *Garret* King at Arms to summon the Place; But the Inhabitants, tho' they had but few Soldiers amongst them, stood upon their Defence. Whereupon the King invested it on all Sides, and made such fierce Batteries upon it, that tho' it was written on the Gates of the Town, *Thou hast never lost thy Virginity*, yet now it was forc'd to submit, and likewise to pay ten thousand Pounds Sterling, and an annual Pension of four thousand Pound *Tournois* for the Space of ten Years. And then *Thomas Wolsey*, the King's Almoner, who was now made Bishop of the Place, calling before him all the Citizens, young and old, swore them to the King of *England*; the Number of whom was eighty thousand Souls. This done the King enter'd the Town triumphantly, and calling to his Presence *Edward Guilford*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *John Dansy*, *William Tyler*, *William Hussey*, *Christopher Garnish*, and some other valiant Gentlemen, he gave them the Honour of Knighthood. And then remembering the honourable Entertainment the Prince of *Spain* and the Lady *Margaret* had given him at *Lisle*, he invited them solemnly to his new City of *Tournay*, and conducted them into the Place with great Splendor and Triumph. During their Abode here, among other publick Entertainments, there were held solemn Jufts and Tournaments, the King and his Companion in those warlike Exercises, *Brandon Lord Lisle*, victoriously answering all Comers. Besides these there were Banquets, Dancings and Masks, after an extraordinary Manner; and this was King *Henry*'s Custom and Disposition, that he could not with-hold from Revellings in the midst of Arms and War; and fair Ladies and brave Soldiers were equally in his Esteem. After he had concerted some new Measures with the Emperor, and finding the Season far advanc'd, he left the Government of *Tournay* to Sir *Edward Poynings*, took leave of the Emperor, and return'd first to *Calais*, and so into *England*, to the general Reputation of his Arms throughout the Nation.

*Tournay
invested and
taken.*

*Great Enter-
tainments.*

*The King re-
turns to Eng-
land.*

But this was not the only Reputation gain'd by the *English* Arms this Year: For whilst King *Henry* was employ'd in his War against *France*, *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, retaining in his Mind some Resentments, thought he could not more seasonably revenge himself, and more conveniently oblige the *French* King, than at this Time to invade the Kingdom of *England*. Therefore, having first denounc'd War by his Herald, he sent the Lord *Humes* his Chamberlain, to forage the Borders; which Sir *William Bulmer* hearing, us'd that Diligence, that he overtook and fought with him in his Retreat, so that he recover'd a rich Booty. King *James* hereupon in Person, with an Army of fifty thousand Men or more, enter'd the Country, and after a few Days Siege took *Norham* Castle. Upon which *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* hasten'd his Army,

*James King of
Scotland in-
vades England*

con.

consisting of twenty six thousand Men, appointing his Son the Lord Admiral to come by Sea, and meet him near *Alnwick*; which was perform'd by this gallant Lord, who brought a thousand Men with him; whom when the Earl had view'd, and given necessary Orders, he march'd towards King *James*, who had remov'd to a Hill call'd *Flodden*, on the Edge of Mount *Cheviot*, where he strongly intrench'd his Army. Here the Earl of *Surry* desir'd nothing more than a Battel, finding all the adjacent Country so forag'd and pillag'd, that he could not long subsist: Therefore on *September* the fourth he thought fit to send *Rouge-Croix* Herald, with a Trumpet, and Instructions to King *James*, to declare to him, *That in regard he had violated his Faith and League, and in a Hostile Manner enter'd the English Ground, that on Friday next he would give him Battel, if he would stay so long as to accept it.* His Son the Admiral so requir'd the Herald to certifie King *James* of his Voyage by Sea; and *because he could meet no Scotch Ships there, he landed, that he might justifie Andrew Barton's Death:* Adding further, *As he expected no Mercy from his Enemies, so he would spare none, but the King himself, if he fell into his Hands; and to make all good, he would be in the Front of the Battel.* King *James* receiv'd the Message with Joy, and as he was a Prince of great Courage, by his own Herald he assur'd the Earl, *That he did so much desire to ingage with him, that if he had been at Edinburgh, he would have left all Business for that Purpose; and therefore he would not fail to abide Battel at the appointed Day.* After that the Herald deliver'd to the Earl a Protestation, and a short Vindication of his Master's Proceedings.

The Earl of
Scotch marches
against him.

Upon the Return of the Message, the Earl advanc'd within three Miles of *Flodden*; but perceiving that King *James* still kept upon the Hill, which was inaccessible, he sent *Rouge-Croix* again with a Letter subscrib'd by himself, his Son, and divers other Noblemen and Knights, where in respectful Terms, they provok'd him to descend from his Fortifications, and fight in a large Plain between them call'd *Milfield*, insisting also upon the Validity of his own Message. But receiving no satisfactory Answer, the Earl remov'd with his Army to such a Camp, that if the *Scotch* did not leave the Advantage of their Situation, he might cut off all their Provisions. This caus'd the King to change his Measures, who firing his Huts, covertly remov'd by the Benefit of the Smoak, but still kept on the high Ground, where he made a Stand. Immediately the Earl travers'd some Bogs and Marshes, 'till he arriv'd at the Bottom of this Bank; where finding the Ascent not very steep, he appointed the Vanguard to his two Sons, the main Battel to himself, and the Rere to Sir *Edward Stanley*, and then bravely encourag'd his Men to Battel. The King well observing this, and judging the *English* were making a very disadvantageous Approach, he exhorted his Men to behave themselves like valiant Soldiers, and thereupon join'd Battel. The Earl's youngest Son Sir *Edmund Howard* at first was in some Distress, by the singular Valour of the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argile*, but the Lord *Dacres* coming to his Succour, as also one *Heron*, the Fight was renew'd; the Earl's eldest Son the Lord *Thomas* pursu'd his Cause better, but met with a noble Opposition from the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montross*. The King's Battalion and that of the Earl's likewise maintain'd a long and cruel Fight. In the mean Time Sir *Edward Stanley*, by means of his Archers, constrain'd the *Scotch* to descend the Hill, and to open their Ranks to avoid the Storms of Arrows, by which they seem'd to give one of the first Overtures of Victory to the *English*. Which being perceiv'd by the King, he redoubl'd his Courage, and perform'd Wonders; but the valiant Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Edward Stanley*, who had defeated their Opposites, coming in with the Lord *Dacres* Horse, the *Scotch* were so distress'd, that for their last Defence they cast themselves into a Ring. No Man perform'd more than the King in his Person; but after a bloody Fight of three Hours, pressing forwards, he was slain in the Field, as the *English* Writers assert; others say afterwards. In conclusion the

The Battel of
Flodden-Field.

Scot.

Scots were defeated, with the Loss of most of their Nobility, one Arch-Bishop, two Bishops, four Abbots, and about ten thousand others. On the *English* Side, according to *Polydore*, there dy'd about five thousand, tho' others say fewer; and this Battel was call'd *Floddon-Field*, in which the Earl took all the *Scotch* Ordnance, and particularly seven extraordinary fair Culverins, call'd *The Seven Sisters*. Then giving God Thanks, the Earl dismiss'd the greatest Part of the Army, and retir'd himself home, 'till the News of King *Henry's* coming to *Richmond* brought him thither; taking order in the mean Time, that the dead Body of King *James*, being embalmed, should be carry'd first to *Newcastle*, and then to *Shene* in *Surry*, where it was honourably interr'd. And thus was King *James* the Fourth cut off in the thirty ninth Year of his Age, and twenty fifth of his Reign, who in regard of his Princely Virtues, deserv'd a longer Life and Reign; yet we know not how to free him from the Scandal of Breach of Faith in this last Expedition. He was succeeded in his Kingdom by his Son *James* the Fifth, then but two Years of Age.

King James
slain, and the
Scots defeated.

King *Henry* having gain'd such Advantages over *Scotland*, where his own Sister Queen *Margaret* was now Regent, he thought he could not act more justly and prudently, than to bestow suitable Recompences upon his brave Commanders who had been most serviceable to him. Accordingly upon the second Day of *February*, *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* was by him created Duke of *Norfolk*, a Title conferr'd on his Father by *Richard* the Third, but again extinguish'd; his eldest Son the Lord *Thomas Howard* being also made Earl of *Surry*; together with which he had an Augmentation of Arms for his Achievement in *Floddon-Field*. Sir *Charles Somerset*, who in Right of *Elizabeth* his Wife was Lord *Herbert* of *Chepstow*, &c. was now created Earl of *Worcester*. Sir *Charles Brandon*, Viscount *Lisle*, was now also created Duke of *Suffolk*; and Sir *Edward Stanley*, not long after made Lord *Mountcagle*. Lastly, the aspiring Almoner *Thomas Wolfey*, Bishop of *Tournay*, was also made Bishop of *Lincoln*. And as the King conferr'd Honours upon others, so not long after he receiv'd some from the Hands of Pope *Leo*, who sent him a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being provok'd with the *French* King, he transferr'd, by Authority of the *Lateran* Council, the Title of *CHRISTIANISSIMUS* from him upon King *Henry*. This with great Pomp and Solemnity was publish'd the *Sunday* following in the Cathedral of *St. Paul's*, and afterwards attended with extraordinary Revellings, Masques and Tournaments; in which last the King and new Duke of *Suffolk* were victorious Defendants against all Comers; who having the noble Prisoners Duke of *Longueville* and the Lord *Clermont* for their Spectators, spread the Fame of their Valour and Chivalry into Foreign Nations.

A. D.

1514.

Reg. 5.

New Advancements.

About this Time the great Friendship between King *Henry* and the *Flemmings* began to abate upon this Occasion: King *Henry* the Seventh his Father had concluded a Match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*; but by reason of her Age, and the want of a secure Jointure, it was deferr'd during his Life. But now the present King seeing his Sister of a suitable Age, began to revive the Contract, and signify'd as much to the Council of *Ilanders*, from which he found nothing but formal Excuses, and unnecessary Delays. The *French* King had speedy Intelligence how much King *Henry* was disgusted at these *Spanish* Proceedings, and resolv'd to make the most advantageous Use of it, which was to gain the Princess *Mary* for himself, and by that procure Peace with *England*, now he was ancient and fatigu'd with Wars. For this Purpose, he so far pleas'd the Pope as he became his Mediator; and both of them sent Ambassadors to King *Henry*, the Pope to persuade him to a Peace with *France*, the *French* King to treat about a Marriage with the Princess *Mary*. Upon whose Embassies, King *Henry*, partly to satisfy the Pope, and partly to advance his Sister, did not unwillingly hearken to their Proposals. But during this Negotiation, some Acts of Hostility pass'd between the *English* and *French* Fleets,

A Treaty with
France.

Fleets, and some Ravages were committed in both Nations: Yet in no long Time King *Henry*, by the Advice of his Council, and especially of his then growing Favourite *Wolsey*, concluded both the Peace with *France*, and the Marriage of his Sister *Mary* with the *French* King: The Substance of the Treaty and Agreement was, that the King of *England* was to hold *Tournay*, and King *Lewis* oblig'd himself in a Bond of a Million of Crowns, to be paid at several Payments to King *Henry*, in Consideration of the Expences of the War, and the Arrears of the Pension stipulated in the Year 1492. As to the Marriage, King *Henry* was to give four hundred thousand Crowns with his Sister, and *Lewis* to assign her a Jointure as great as any Queen of *France* ever had, which she was to enjoy during Life, where-ever she resided.

The King's Sister marry'd to King *Lewis*.

She is crown'd in France.

These, and some other Articles being concluded, the Princess *Mary* was brought to *Dover* by King *Henry* and his Queen, where with an honourable Train she took Shipping, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, being her chief Conductors. Their Fleet had not pass'd two Leagues at Sea, before a sudden Storm separated the Ships, whereof some were driven to the Coasts of *Flanders*, others to *Calais*, and that of the Princess struck in at *Boloign*; where by Boats her Train was landed, and her self carry'd on Shore in the Arms of Sir *Christopher Garnish*. From hence with thirty six Ladies, riding upon fine Horses trapped with Crimson Velvet embroider'd with Gold, her own Horses and Chariot set out with Tissue Cloth of Gold and Crimson Velvet, and her self with those Advantages of Beauty that made her seem more like an Angel than a Human Creature, she met with King *Lewis* at *Abbeville*. There on the ninth of *October* the Marriage was solemniz'd with great Splendor; where the *French* so gaz'd at their new Queen's Beauty, that neither they nor their infirm old King could be satisfy'd with any other Object while she was present. On the fifth of *November* she was crown'd Queen of *France* at *St. Denis*, at which Time *Francis* the *Dauphin* held the Crown over her Head, as being too ponderous for her to wear; and the following Day she was receiv'd into *Paris*, after a most magnificent manner. In Honour of this Marriage and Coronation, the *Dauphin* had caus'd solemn Jufts and Tournaments to be proclaim'd in *Paris* the seventh of *November*. Upon Notice of which in *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and his four Brothers, with several other Men of Quality, obtain'd leave of King *Henry* to be at the Challenge; where they all behav'd themselves with great Success and Agility, especially the great Duke of *Suffolk*, whose Glory the *Dauphin* so much envy'd, that he caus'd a *German*, the strongest and tallest in the Court of *France*, secretly to encounter him, purposely to have him foil'd: But this turn'd to his greater Honour; for by the Blows he gave the *German* at Barriers, he soon let the Assembly know he was his Superior. King *Henry* at home was no ways inferior in Magnificence; and at publick Jufts he himself broke no less than three and twenty Spears; and in one single Encounter he overthrew Man and Horse to the Ground. About this Time the King rejoic'd at the Birth of a Son, which in a short Time dy'd. Nor was the Satisfaction of King *Lewis* much longer; who being aged and infirm, after eighty Days Possession rather than Enjoyment of his Queen, dy'd upon the first of *January* 1515. He was succeeded by *Francis de Valois*, a Prince of about twenty two Years of Age; in which, as well as Manners, there was much Conformity between King *Henry* and him; particularly they were judg'd two the noblest Personages, not only of their Quality, but of their Time.

Her Husband Lewis dies.

A. D.

1515.

Reg. 7.

III. All Things being now in a State of Peace, and *Francis* the *French* King desirous to hold a good Correspondence with *England*, King *Henry* sent over *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* and others to the *French* Court to strengthen the Alliance, and to bring over the Queen Dowager his Sister into *England*. Here that Lady cast her Eyes upon the graceful Duke of *Suffolk*, and entertain'd such

such an Affection for him, that she made no Scruple to discover her Inclinations to both Kings; desiring *Francis* to mediate the Marriage, and her Brother *Henry* to approve of it. *Francis*, fearing lest *Henry* by contracting her elsewhere might enter into some greater Alliances, readily consented; but *Henry*, for the Conservation of his Dignity, kept at a little Distance; however he had long since design'd her for the Duke. The young Queen believing that this Formality was the greatest Impediment, protested by Letters, *That if the King would have her marry'd otherwise than to her own Inclinations, she would shut her self up in a Religious House.* Therefore to obviate all Difficulties, by a peculiar sort of Courtship, she prefix'd to the Duke the Term of four Days to gain her Consent, *in which, if he did not prevail, he should for ever lose all Hopes of obtaining her.* And thus without any Pomp they were privately marry'd in *France*; and by the Intercession of King *Francis* and *Wolsey* at home, they soon recover'd King *Henry's* Favour. After which they took their leave of the *French* Court; the Queen carrying with her of the Jewels, Plate and Tapestries of *Lewis* the Twelfth, to the value of two hundred thousand Crowns; among which was a noble Diamond call'd *Le Miroir de Naples*, which King *Francis* would have gladly redeem'd at a great Price. Orders were also taken for the Payment of her Jointure, which was sixty thousand Crowns a Year. Being arriv'd in *England*, the Marriage between them was publickly solemniz'd with great Pomp and peculiar Sort of Tournaments, in which King *Henry* highly signaliz'd himself; and ever after the Duke continu'd a special Favourite at Court, where he generally shew'd himself more of the brave Courtier, than the profound Statesman.

She marries to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk.

But the greatest Favourite of all was *Thomas Wolsey*, whose Power and Grandeur began now to swell to a prodigious Extent, and to such as had not been known in the *English* Nation. This extraordinary Person was Son to an honest poor Man of *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*; and by means of a handsom Education, his own Parts and Dexterity, he rais'd himself through Variety of Preferments, to the highest Stations both in Church and State, and to the Splendor and Magnificence of any Prince in *Europe*. His first Preferment was a Fellowship in *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*; from whence removing to *Calais*, he got to be Chaplain to King *Henry* the Seventh, who successively made him Dean of *Lincoln*, chief Almoner, and a Privy-Counsellor. The present King *Henry* coming to the Crown, he so well conform'd himself to his Disposition, that he soon engross'd his Favour to himself. Upon the taking of *Tournay*, the King made him Bishop of that Place, and not long after Bishop of *Lincoln*; and this Year upon Cardinal *Bembridges's* Death, he was made Arch-Bishop of *York*; and by the Interest of the two Kings of *England* and *France*, the Pope made him a Cardinal, and likewise Legate *a Latere*, by which he had a Power superior to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. Then that there might be no interfering between the Legantine and Chancery Courts, he was likewise made Lord Chancellor of *England*, in Room of Arch-Bishop *Warham*, who now retir'd to give Place to this aspiring Favourite. Being thus at the Helm of Church and State, he made the most splendid Appearance of any Subject in *England*, and besides the Purse and Mace, he ever had two large Silver Crosses and Pillars born before him by the tallest Priests in the Kingdom. For the better Maintenance of this chargeable Estate, the King first bestow'd on him the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and after that the Bishoprick of *Winchester* and the Abby of *St. Albans* in *Comendam*; and with them he held in Farm the Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Worcester* and *Hereford*, injoy'd by Foreign Incumbents; and had likewise the Disposal of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices in *England*. From all these, and the numerous Presents he receiv'd from Foreign Princes, his annual Incomes equal'd, if not exceeded the Revenues of the Crown; and in this Capacity he kept eight hundred Servants, among whom were nine or ten Lords, fifteen knights, and forty Esquires. All foreign Treaties and Places of Trust at

Cardinal Wolsey's Rise and Character.

home were of his ordering; he acted as he pleas'd, and his Ascendant over the King was such, that there never appear'd any Party against him all this Time. He us'd the most insinuating Artifices to gain the King to himself; undertaking to ease him of the Burden of Government, and to give him all the Pleasure of it; he was the most earnest and readiest in all the Council to advance the King's only Will and Intention; and whereas others advis'd him to leave his Pleasures, and attend his Affairs, this Prelate persuaded him to what was most agreeable to his Appetite. Having got into such Power, he observ'd the King's Inclinations exactly, and follow'd his Interests closely: For tho' he made other Princes retain him with great Presents and Pensions, yet he never engag'd the King into any Alliance that was not for his Advantage. He was an extraordinary Minister of State, but as a Churchman the Disgrace of his Profession; being lewd and vicious, and exorbitantly proud and ostentatious, and indeed the main Debaucher of his Sovereign Master. In a Word he had all the Qualifications necessary for a great State's-Man, and all the Vices ordinary in a great Favourite.

A. D. 1516. Reg. 7.
Margaret Queen Dowager of Scotland flies into England.
 During the grand Power of this Cardinal, King *Henry's* Sister *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland*, having marry'd *Archibald Douglass*, Earl of *Angus*, by reason of Factions among the Lords of *Scotland*, was compell'd to fly into *England* with her Husband, and seek Protection from her Brother; who assign'd her the Castle of *Harbottle*, in *Northumberland* for her Residence, where she was deliver'd of a Daughter nam'd *Margaret*. From thence the King sent for her and her Husband to come to his Court; and thereupon, with a noble Attendance, Queen *Margaret* riding upon a white Palfrey, which the Queen of *England* had presented to her, behind Sir *Thomas Parre*, pass'd through *London* to *Baynard's* Castle, and from thence to the Court at *Greenwich*: But her Husband, the Earl of *Angus*, was secretly before departed into *Scotland*, upon which King *Henry* with some Resentment said *It was done like a Scot*. However she was joyfully receiv'd by the King and Queen, and her Sister *Mary* Queen Dowager of *France*; who all enjoy'd a Happiness rare for Princes in that Kind, which was to see each other, after they had been once dispos'd in foreign Parts. But as this was a Meeting of three Queens, so the Occasion of it proceeded from the Marriage of two of them to inferior Persons, the Duke of *Suffolk* and the Earl of *Angus*. King *Henry*, for the more Honour of her Arrival, order'd solemn jousts, in which he himself was the principal Challenger, and overthrew Sir *William Kingston*, both Man and Horse. In the same Year dy'd *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, Father to Queen *Catharine*; for whom King *Henry* caus'd a solemn Obsequy to be kept in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul's*. But the Mourning lasted not long; for it was shortly after succeeded by the Birth of the Princess *Mary*, afterwards Sovereign Queen of *England*. As to Queen *Margaret*, after she had been a Year in *England*, she return'd into *Scotland*.

The Birth of Queen Mary.

Cardinal Wolsey's Management.

The publick Affairs being now left to the Management of Cardinal *Wolsey*, several great Men began to withdraw themselves from the Court, as first the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, who went and liv'd in their respective Diocesses; next the Duke of *Norfolk*, who having borrow'd Mony of the King for his Journey into *France*, and being unable through the Cardinal's Opposition to obtain a Remission of it, or otherwise to pay it immediately, he retir'd into the Country; so that the Cardinal had an uncontroll'd Liberty to govern all, under Colour of doing the King Service. For in whatsoever he acted, that was his Pretence, tho' in many Things he rather innovated than reform'd; from whence Clamours often arose among the People, who understanding nothing so much as their Ancient Customs, seldom endure a Change, tho' for their real Advantage. In this Year all who manag'd any Mony for the King in the Wars or otherwise, were by the Cardinal's Command call'd in Question; among whom some by Bribery, and some by Policy escap'd, while others

others were condemn'd in great Sums; so that he may be said to have so much of a good Servant, as not to suffer any other to deceive his Master. To accompany this Severity also, he caus'd Perjury to be vigorously punish'd, in which he is much commended. Some Courts also were erected in Favour of poor People, against the Oppressions of the Great, which at first were much frequented; but at last the People receiving many Delays and Disappointments in their Suits, they left them, and had recourse to the Common Law, as too much fearing Innovations. And the Character of Just cannot be deny'd to the Cardinal, in all Affairs of publick Judicature, of which he was ever apparently studious; so that where Disorders were committed, he generally punish'd with Severity. This he did both in Ecclesiastical as well as Civil Affairs, by which means he accidentally became a prime Instrument in that great Work of the Reformation of the Church; which sort of Work is oftentimes by the ordering of Providence effected by the Hands of wicked and scandalous Agents.

About this Time there happen'd a great Riot and Sedition in the City of London, from some Citizens and Apprentices of the poorer Sort, who being offended that all their chief Customers were won from them by the Diligence and Industry of Strangers, and others pretending to have receiv'd some Affronts and Indignities from them, found some Occasion to make an Insurrection against them; and the rather, because the seditious Sermons of one Doctor *Bele*, by the Instigation of *John Lincoln* a Broker, had not a little incited them. The Apprentices and others being gather'd together in great Numbers, began with breaking open some Prisons, from whence they took divers Persons committed thither for abusing and hurting of Strangers: Nor could the Mayor or Sheriffs then present hinder this Outrage; nor Sir *Thomas More*, tho' much respected by them, as being late Judge of the Sheriffs Court, and a Native of the City. The Prisoners now let loose advis'd the Multitude to run to the House of one *Meutas* a French Man, much hated by them; where they kill'd some, chac'd the rest, and plunder'd all his Goods; from whence they went to other Strangers Houses, which they pillag'd in the like manner. The Cardinal hearing of this, and not being much more in the Peoples Favour than the Strangers, fortify'd his House with Men and Ordnance; but the Lieutenant of the Tower proceeded further, and discharg'd some of the great Pieces among them. This, with the Completion of their design'd Revenge, caus'd them about three a Clock in the Morning to disperse and go home. But on their Way, they were first apprehended by the City Officers, and afterwards by some Followers of the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Surrey*, who hearing of this Disorder, and taking the Inns-of-Court Gentlemen with them, clear'd the Streets of this unruly Company. The Beginning of the Sedition was hereupon examin'd, and Doctor *Bele* and *John Lincoln* sent to the Tower. About three Days after the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Surry* his Son, with about thirteen hundred armed Men, came into the City, and joining with the Lord Mayor, proceeded legally against the chief Offenders, to the Terror of the Citizens, who were the more apprehensive, because the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon the killing of a Priest of his, was reported to have said, *I pray God I may once have the Citizens in my Power*. By the Statute of the Second of *Henry* the Fifth, they were all found guilty of High-Treason: But however much Mercy was shew'd; for of two hundred and seventy eight Prisoners, only *Lincoln* and three or four more, were hang'd drawn and quarter'd; and about ten more were hang'd on Gibbets erected in the Streets. All the rest in their Shirts, bound in Ropes and Halters about their Necks, were brought to *Westminster-Hall*, where the King late attended with his principal Nobility: And when the Cardinal had charg'd them with the Greatness of their Offence, they all cry'd out *Mercy, Mercy!* upon which the King by the Mouth of the Cardinal pardon'd them all; which Clemency purchas'd the King no small Love amongst the People.

A. D.

1517.

Reg. 8.

An Insurre-
ction in London.

It is quell'd.

All are par-
don'd but a
few.

The Beginning
of the Refor-
mation in Ger-
many.

In this same Year were the Beginnings of a much more remarkable Commotion in *Germany*, which did not only raise a grand Fermentation in that Country, but in a few Years affected all *England*, and the greatest part of Christendom. This was in some measure occasion'd from the mighty Progress of *Selim* the *Turkish* Sultan, whose powerful Arms Pope *Leo* propos'd to repel with the utmost Vigour both by Sea and Land. In order to that he sent his Emissaries to all Christian Princes; and to excite the Peoples Devotion, and procure their Alms and Benevolence for so great a Work, he sent several Agents to preach Indulgences in every Province. The Conditions of which were, that without Distinction of Persons or Sins, whosoever perform'd certain Religious Rites, and paid certain Sums of Money, should obtain a full Remission of all their Sins, and several other Benefits besides. The Management and Sale of these appear'd very scandalous to many good People, but especially to a certain Monk nam'd *Martin Luther*, a Doctor and Reader in Theology in the University of *Wittenberg*, a Man of a bold Spirit, an impetuous Resolution, and eloquent Tongue. The Agents had furnish'd him with sufficient Matter for Reproach: For they made direct Marchandize of what was judg'd the most sacred Treasures of the Church; they kept their Courts or Shops rather in Taverns, and consum'd a great part of what they collected in Debaucheries; and besides it was certainly known, that the Pope design'd to apply considerable Sums to his own proper Use. Now tho' it was more agreeable to Reason and Policy to have remov'd the occasion of this Clamour; yet Pride and Interest so far prevail'd, that by neglecting, and perhaps despising the Arguments of a private Monk, the Contest soon grew high, and was gradually blown up by Declamations, *Theses*'s, and Books on either Side. *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, whose Wisdom and Virtue was exemplary in *Germany*, both maintain'd and animated *Luther*, for the Honour of his new University of *Wittenberg*. He at first began with proposing of Doubts, then being hard beset and roughly treated, he engag'd to maintain and make them good; and afterwards meeting with greater Severity, he proceeded openly to declaim against the Pope, the Corruptions and Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, so as to bring about that mighty Work of the REFORMATION. So small a Spark as this Collision first made, could never have rais'd so great a Fire, if the World had not been strongly dispos'd to it, by the just Prejudice they had conceiv'd against the Popish Clergy, whose Ignorance and lewd Lives had so expos'd them to Contempt and Hatred, that every one was ready to join with such as oppos'd their Practices.

A D. The like Corruptions were at the same Time in *England*, and the Effects of these great Changes in Religion were soon felt in that Country, where now
1518. Cardinal *Wolfey* reign'd like a Pope of this other World. For this Year being
Reg. 2. made Legate *a Latere*, he was by a Bull from Pope *Leo* enabled to visit not only Monasteries, but all the Clergy of *England*, and to dispence with Church-Laws for one whole Year: Which tho' it gave him great Power, it caus'd much Offence, as abridging the Authority of the Bishops, and scandalizing the whole Clergy, who were extreamly defam'd by the Cardinal's Informations. And now the Pride and Ostentation of this Prelate did so much increase, that on solemn Feast-Days, he would say Mass after the Manner of the Pope himself; not only Bishops and Abbots serving him in the Office, but even Earls and Dukes giving him Water and the Towel. All which was but a kind of Prelude to what follow'd: For, erecting a particular Court of Jurisdiction, which he call'd the *Legate's Court*, and placing in it as Judge one *John Allen* Doctor of Law, a Person of Infamy, all manner of Rapines and Extortions were committed there. For making Enquiry into the Lives of every Man, no Offence escap'd Censure and Punishment, unless they privately gave Money: And as the Rules of Conscience are in many Cases of larger Extent than those of the Law, so he found Means to search into their most secret Recesses. Besides,
under

Wolfey's
Grandeur and
Power.

under this Colour, he arrogated a Power to call in question the Executors of Wills and Testaments. He summon'd also all Religious Persons whatsoever; who casting themselves at his Feet, were severely chidden; and terrify'd with Expulsion, 'till they had compounded: Besides all Spiritual Benefits that fell, were conferr'd on his Creatures. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* understanding how all Orders were thus treated by the Cardinal, went and acquainted the King; who reply'd, *He should not have heard of it but from him*, and desir'd him to go and tell *Wolsey*, that if any Thing be amiss, he would amend it. Upon which this grave Person seriously admonish'd him to be cautious, and declar'd *That, in concerning himself with the Wills of the Dead, he assum'd a Power not claim'd by the Pope himself; and his disposing some Benefits in the Gift of the Nobility, he thought was an Usurpation upon them*. All the Use that *Wolsey* made of this was to hate the Arch-Bishop, with whom he was formerly offended, only because he stil'd himself his Brother, in the Subscription of his Letter: But to prevent any ill Offices from him he temper'd his Speech for this Time. But shortly after his Agent *John Allen* being accus'd by one *London* a Priest, it sufficiently appear'd that all the former Allegations against *Wolsey* were true; which caus'd the King to rebuke the Cardinal so sharply, that after this Time he became better, or at least more wary than before.

He is a little check'd.

But still the Cardinal lost no part of his Interest or the King's Favour; and still retain'd the same Reputation and Influence in all foreign Courts, and particularly in that of *France*; between which and that of *England* he manag'd Affairs with such a nice Policy, that King *Henry* once openly said, *That now he perceiv'd Wolsey would govern both*. The *French* King at this Time being very desirous to have the City of *Tournay* restor'd to him, by large Presents and larger Promises won the Cardinal to move the King in it; who upon his plausible Persuasions was willing to treat about it. Upon which Account the *French* King sent the Lord *Bonquet* High-Admiral of *France*, and the Bishop of *Paris*, who with an unruly Retinue of about twelve hundred Men, arriv'd in *England*; and on the twenty seventh of *September* were met at *Black-Heath* by the Earl of *Surry*, High-Admiral of *England*, attended with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to *London*, where they were lodg'd in Merchant Taylor's-Hall. On the last of *September*, the Ambassadors went to the Court at *Greenwich*, where after a long Communication, a Treaty was at last concluded under Pretence of a Marriage between the *Dauphine* of *France*, then not a Year old, and the Princess *Mary*, Daughter to the King of *England*: That in Name of her Marriage Mony, *Tournay* should be deliver'd to the *French* King, he paying to the King of *England*, for the Castle he had built in that City, six hundred thousand Crowns in twelve Years: And if the Marriage should not take Effect, then *Tournay* should be again restor'd to the King of *England*. These and other Articles being concluded, noble Entertainments and great Presents being made, the Princess *Mary*, of two Years of Age, was promis'd and betroth'd to the *Dauphine* in *St. Paul's Cathedral*. And the Earl of *Worcester*, with the Bishop of *Ely*, and a Train equal to the *French* Ambassadors, were sent to require Performance from King *Francis*, who thereupon took his Oath, gave eight Hostages for Payment upon the Surrender of *Tournay*, and contracted the Espousals in the Name of his Infant Son the *Dauphine*.

An Embassy from France.

The young Princess Mary contracted to the Dauphine.

In Consequence of this, on the eighth of *February* following, the Earl of *Worcester* deliver'd up *Tournay* to the *French* King; but before that was perform'd, the Cardinal took such Care that he should have an annual Stipend of twelve thousand *Livres Tournois*, for relinquishing the Bishoprick of that Place. Thus was *Tournay* gain'd by the *French*, and divers concurrent Articles not perform'd afterwards: And here it is observable that it was fatal to the Princess *Mary* to be a kind of Author of the Loss of all the *English* Possessions in *France*;

A. D.

1519.

Reg. 10.

Tournay restor'd to the French.

Tour-

Tournay being restor'd upon Pretence of Dowry now, and *Calais* lost in the Time of her Match with King *Philip* the Second. King *Francis* having obtain'd this Point, about the same Time aspir'd to another much greater, which was to be Emperor of *Germany*. For in the Beginning of this Year, the Emperor *Maximilian* dy'd; who having been Knight of the Garter, his Obsequies were solemnly kept in *St. Paul's* by King *Henry* and the Knights of that Society. Upon his Death King *Francis* us'd great Endeavours to obtain the Empire; but after many Contrivances and Struggles, it was given to *Charles* King of *Spain*; for Joy of which great Solemnities were perform'd by the Order of King *Henry*, on the seventh Day of *July*. In the same Month an Interview had been appointed between the Kings of *England* and *France*, but the Death of the Emperor, and what follow'd upon it, caus'd it to be deferr'd till the succeeding Year; both Kings in the mean Time agreeing not to cut off their Beards till they saw each other. *Francis* having now a second Son, desir'd the King of *England* to give him his Name; which was kindly acknowledg'd, and his Name call'd *Henry*, afterwards King, and second of that Name. Nor did *Francis* omit any thing that might argue his Respect; therefore with continu'd Gifts he solicited Cardinal *Wolsey*, whom he call'd his Father and Cousin, sent Presents to the Princess *Mary*, and left nothing unattempted which might secure him on that Side, knowing well how puissant an Enemy the new Emperor might prove. *Charles* on the other Side, considering how much it concern'd him to keep the Cardinal at his Devotion, soon countermin'd the French King in his own way of Bribes and Presents. *Francis* fearing the Consequences, timely provided to keep the *Scotch* his Friends; and tho' it was formerly his Motion to comprise the young King and that Nation in general within his League with *England*, yet now he strove as much to withdraw them: Therefore when King *Henry* sent to require their Oath to the Treaty, they refus'd; so that all that Business ended in a Truce only for one Year: And here the Cardinal's extream Ambition began to shew it self more openly; who designing to make himself Pope, always comply'd with those whom he thought his best Assistants. Therefore now that *Charles* the Emperor was grown the more potent; and besides it being manifest that to which Party soever King *Henry* inclin'd, he would turn the Balance, he hop'd by favouring of *Charles* to obtain his Desire. Nor wanted he continual Presents on his Part, which were equal if not exceeding the others; so that now he rejected the Assistance of *Francis*, tho' he had actually offer'd him the Voices of fourteen Cardinals, and chiefly apply'd himself to the Emperor.

Charles King
of Spain made
Emperor.

Wolsey courted
by him and the
French King.

Wolsey inclines
most to him.

A. D. 1520. Yet still the Cardinal promoted the Interview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, which was appointed to be betwixt *Guifnes* and *Ardres*; for having an equal Mixture of Pride and Vanity, he was desirous of bringing and seeing those two together, whom he was generally thought to govern. He knew also that his Presents would not be small; therefore he perswaded King *Henry* to build a new House near *Guifnes*, as might be worthy of the Reception of two such Monarchs; and to perform this, two thousand Attendants were employ'd. He also summon'd the prime Nobility to attend the King this Journey, with that Splendor which might become Persons of their Dignity; and because the Duke of *Buckingham* repin'd at the Expence, it provid one great Step to his Ruin. For the greater Magnificence, a King of Arms was sent to the *English* on the Part of the French King, with a Proclamation declaring that in *June* next, two Kings *Henry* and *Francis*, with fourteen Aids, would in a Camp between *Guifnes* and *Ardres*, answer all Concessions at Tent, Tournay and Barriers; and the like Proclamation was made by *Charles* in the French Court. These friendly Defiances stopp'd not here; for they were sent by King *Henry* to the *Low-Countries*, *Burgundy* and *Germany*, and by King *Francis* into *Spain* and *Italy*. And now the Principal Noblemen having made themselves ready to attend their Sovereign Masters, and none

Preparations
for an Interview
between
the Kings of
England and
France.

more magnificently than the Duke of *Buckingham*. The King went to *Canterbury* on the twenty fifth Day of *May*, designing there to keep his *Whitsontide*.

In the mean time *Charles* the Emperor, who much desir'd to break this design'd Interview, had so contriv'd his Voyage from *Spain*, that the Day following, he himself, accompany'd with many Lords and beautiful Ladies, came unexpectedly to *Dover*. The Cardinal hearing of this, posted away immediately to assure him of his Welcome; and the King very early next Day came to *Dover* Castle, where the Emperor was lodg'd, who met him on the Stairs, with all the Marks of Courtesie and Affection. *Charles* had great Designs at this Time, as well as the *French* King, therefore he continu'd his Endeavours to break this Interview, as well as all other Correspondence with *Francis*; and knowing no Prince could so much help or hinder him, as the King of *England*, he offer'd more advantageous Conditions than *Francis* had done. And to make all the more acceptable, he made large Presents to the Cardinal, promising upon a Vacancy to make him Pope; and that he might the better exceed his Competitor *Francis* in Presents, a great Part of the Spoils of *Mexico* had been brought him. As to the Interview King *Henry* excus'd himself to the Emperor, as being engag'd in Honour to meet *Francis*; but as to any Treaty, he would be as serviceable as he could. From thence then King *Henry* invited him to *Canterbury*, where he with great Satisfaction saw his Aunt Queen *Catharine*; but he was much more affected with the admirable Beauty of the Queen Dowager of *France*, once design'd for his Wife; and such passionate Emotions arose in his Mind, that he could not be persuaded to dance with the rest of the illustrious Company. And now having pass'd over the *Whitsun* Holy-Days in these Sports and Entertainments which the King gave him, he departed to *Sandwich*, took Shipping, and arriv'd at his Native Country of *Flanders*; while King *Henry* the same Day pass'd to *Dover*, and from thence with all his noble Train and Company to *Calais*.

The Emperor endeavours to break it by coming into England.

On the fourth Day of *June*, King *Henry*, with the two Queens and the rest of his Train, remov'd to his new built Palace near *Guisnes*, being a Square of Timber every Side containing three hundred and twenty eight Foot; the Parts of which extraordinary Building, being artificially fram'd in *England*, were now put together, and afterwards taken asunder, and brought home. King *Francis* had another Building to answer this, near *Ardres*, which like the other was most sumptuously furnish'd. Before the Kings met, the Cardinal went to visit *Francis*, and to treat with him concerning some Particulars relating to the Marriage between the *Dauphine* and the Princess *Mary*, which were soon concluded. On the following Day the famous Interview began with a Signal from a Warning-Piece, when both the Kings were mounted, and most magnificently attended. The Meeting of these two great and beautiful Monarchs was with the Sound of Trumpets, and all the Solemnity that could be invented for Persons of their Rank and Character; and being dismounted, after mutual Embraces, they walk'd Arm in Arm to a Pavilion of Cloth of Gold erected for that Purpose; where, after they had made their several Compliments, they took leave, and return'd to their respective Lodgings. Two Days after, both Kings came to view the Camp or Place of Exercise, being three hundred Yards long, and a hundred and six broad, well ditch'd and fence'd, with convenient Scaffolds on each Side for the Spectators. There were also set up two artificial Trees, with the Arms of the two Kings and their several Assistants, on which were affix'd the Articles of the Juits, Tourney and Barriers. The Assistants or Supporters on the *English* Side were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis *Dorset*, Sir *William Kingston*, Sir *Richard Jerwingham*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Mr. *Nicholas Carew*, and Mr. *Anthony Knevet*: On the *French* Side were the Duke de *Vendosme*, Mr. *St. Paul*, Mr. de *Montmorency*, Mr. de *Bryon*, Mr. de *St. Mesme*, Mr. de *Brucall*, and Mr. *Tabanes*. To encounter these many noble

The Manner of the famous Interview.

*The Valour of
King Henry.*

Persons and famous Knights come from Foreign Countries ; who presenting their Arms to the Heralds, were admitted to the Exercife, which was appointed on *Monday* the eleventh of *June*, when the Queens and Ladies took their Places, and two Kings with their Affiftances enter'd the Lifts after a glorious and magnificent manner. We want Room to particularize the Courses of these Champions, which are more largely describ'd by *Hall* and *Hollingshed* ; it may be fufficient to take Notice that none exceeded, if equall'd the two Kings, especially King *Henry* ; who in the second Course disabled Mr. *de Grandeville*, and after that fuccessfully encounter'd Mr. *de Montmorency*. This Exercife continu'd four Days, and on the following Week the Tourney began, in which there was a furious Encounter with Swords ; yet the two Kings and their Affiftance beat the Counter-Party to Difarming ; and King *Henry* particularly got that Honour, that a brave *French* Nobleman with whom he fought, presented him with his Horse as a Gage of his Victory. The next Day King *Henry* in Tourney likewise broke the Pouldron of Mr. *de Fleuranges*, and forc'd him to depart the Field. The following Day the Barriers began, and after that the casting of Hand-Spears or Darts, with the Target, and fighting with the two-handed Sword ; at which sort of Exercife much Commendation was given to King *Henry*, who with a few Strokes disarm'd his Adversary. Thus with variety of Masks, Interludes, Banquetings, and other Entertainments, and after many Compliments, Embraces and rich Presents, the two Kings took their Leaves on the twenty fourth Day of *June*, and King *Henry* came with all his Train to *Calais*.

*The Emperor
meets him near
Calais.*

Shortly after, the Emperor being at *Graveling*, with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, King *Henry* at their Request admitted of a second Interview. And for that purpose going towards *Graveling*, the Emperor met him in the way, and conducted him thither, giving him and the rest of the *English* all that good Entertainment so small a Place could afford. The next Day, the Emperor and the Lady *Margaret* went with King *Henry* to *Calais* ; where in the midst of extraordinary Maskings and Entertainments, Business was not forgot. For here all the Articles of the Tripartite League between the Emperor and the Kings of *England* and *France* were review'd ; to which the King of *France* had so fully condescended, that he sent Mr. *de Roche* to the Emperor with Letters of Credence, *That on the Word of a Prince he would inviolably observe them all*. But he soon began to change his Pretensions, and from this present Interview he began to be jealous of King *Henry's* Proceedings, as judging his Affection to himself and the Emperor inconsistent. King *Henry* having no more Business at *Calais*, took his Leave of the Emperor, who made him several new Presents, and safely return'd with his Train into *England* ; having made a Journey that display'd both his own and the Cardinal's Grandeur.

*He returns into
England.*

A. D.

1521.

Reg. 12.
13.

*The King
write. against
Luther.*

IV. All Things being in a peaceable Posture, the Doctrines of *Luther* began to spread themselves in many Parts, after an extraordinary manner: And King *Henry* being at leisure, and much delighting in Learning, thought he could not give better Proof either of his Zeal or Education, than to write against *Luther*. To which also he was exasperated, because *Luther* had oftentimes spoken contemptuously of the learned *Thomas Aquinas*, who was esteem'd both by the King and Cardinal. He therefore compil'd a Book, wherein he strenuously oppos'd *Luther* in the Point of Indulgences, Number of Sacraments, the Papal Authority, and other Particulars, to be seen in that Work of his Entituled *De septem Sacramentis*. A principal Copy of this being richly bound, was sent to Pope *Leo*, and presented by Doctor *John Clark* Dean of *Windsor*, the King's Ambassador, appearing in a full Consistory: The Pope knowing the glorious Present he brought, first gave him his Foot, and then his Checks to kiss ; then receiving the Book, he promis'd to do as much for the Approbation of it to all Christian Princes, as ever was done for

St. *Austin's* or St. *Jerom's* Works; assuring him withal, he would bestow a publick Title upon King *Henry*, in the very next Consistory. This accordingly was done, and his Holiness gave him the honourable Title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, in a pompous Letter sign'd by himself and twenty seven Cardinals: In which the King took great Pleasure, always affecting it beyond all his other Titles, tho' several of the former Kings of *England* had carry'd the same Title, as *Spelman* informs us. Being thus inclin'd to Learning, the King was much courted by all necessitous Scholars, who generally over *Europe* dedicated their Books to him, with such flattering Epistles, that it very much lessens him to see how he delighted in such kind of Extravagances. And indeed of all Things Flattery did generally most affect him; and no sort of Flattery pleas'd him better than to have his great Learning and Wisdom commended. And in this, his Parliaments, his Courtiers, his Chaplains, Forreigners and Natives, all seem'd to vie in their Excesses, and came to speak to him in a Stile that was scarce allowable to any Creature.

For which the Pope gives him the Title of Defender of the Faith.

But none manag'd him with greater Dexterity than the Cardinal, who had gain'd such an Ascendant in the Nation, that he could sacrifice the greatest Men to his Resentments; the Force of which were about this Time felt by *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, eminent both for his high Blood and his large Revenues. The Cardinal had long hated him for speaking certain detracting Words of him; and it was further said, that the Duke once holding the Bason to the King, the Cardinal, as soon as the King had done washing, dipp'd his Hands into the same Water, which rais'd such Indignation in the Duke, that he pour'd the Water upon his Feet; and this so provok'd the Cardinal that he declar'd *He would sit upon his Skirts*. To make a Jest of this vulgar Expression, the Duke appear'd before the King the next Day in a Garment without Skirts, and told his Majesty *That it was by Way of Prevention*; which added new Fuel to a Fire that could not be extinguish'd without his Blood; so dangerous it is for great Men to descend to Jestling. To remove all Supporters, the Cardinal had caus'd the Duke's chief Friend and Father-in-law, the Earl of *Northumberland*, to be imprison'd upon some suggested Crimes; and his Son-in-law, the Earl of *Surry*, to be sent Deputy into *Ireland*; so that his Friends being sequester'd from him, he might be expos'd to the worst sort of Accusations. The Duke being in this Condition, the Cardinal treated secretly with one *Charles Knevet*, whom the Duke had angrily dismiss'd from his Stewardship, and who thereupon discover'd his late Master's Life; confessing that the Duke by Way of Discourse was accus'd to say, *That if King Henry dy'd without Issue, he would obtain the Crown, and that he would punish the Cardinal*: Besides, that he had spoken the same to *George Nevil* Lord *Abergavenny*, who had marry'd his Daughter. The Duke being descended from the Daughter of the youngest Son of King *Edward* the Third, it was thought sufficient Reason for his Accusation; which was so aggravated to King *Henry*, that he order'd him to be apprehended and try'd by his Peers, and the Duke of *Norfolk* appointed Lord High-Steward for that Time. Being arraign'd, he was accus'd by *Knevet*, a Monk call'd *Hopkins*, and others, of several treasonable Designs to obtain the Crown of *England*; for which he was found guilty of High-Treason, and the Duke of *Norfolk* with a Flood of Tears deliver'd the formal Sentence of Execution. To which the other submitted, but with a Declaration of his Innocence, and Resolution not to sue to the King for his Life. Whereupon he was brought back to the Tower, where all the Favour he receiv'd, was to die the Death of a Nobleman, and be beheaded. Thus ended the Duke of *Buckingham*, much lamented by the People, who libel'd the Cardinal for it, as being thought criminal rather through Folly and rash Words, than any real Intention against the King's Person; and therefore not incapable of Mercy, if he had su'd for it in proper Terms. How he was involv'd or pursu'd by his Father's Crimes, in the Reign of *Edward*

The Duke of Buckingham prosecuted by Wolsey.

He is try'd for Treason.

and beheaded.

the Fifth, we have no great certainty; only we observe, that together with this Duke, that great Place of High-Constable of *England* remains extinguish'd, unless some extraordinary Occasion revive it.

About the same Time a new War began between two of the principal Monarchs of *Europe*, the Emperor and the King of *France*; which at divers Times and Places, continu'd near forty Years, and cost the Lives of above five hundred thousand Men. For the composing or managing of which, the Cardinal was sent over to *Calais*, with a splendid Attendance of several Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and many Knights and Gentlemen. Arriving on the second Day of *August*, he was met by the Chancellor of *France*, and the Count *De Palisse*, attended with four hundred Horse, as Ambassadors from the *French* King; and the like Number from the Emperor, with Commissions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were also Ambassadors from the Pope, whom the Cardinal mov'd to have his Holiness to be a Party also in the League; but they wanting full Commissions, Letters were immediately sent to *Rome* about that Affair; and 'till Answer might be receiv'd, the Cardinal went to *Bruges*, to consult with the Emperor. After thirteen Days magnificent Entertainment, he return'd to *Calais*; and then immediately proceeded to the Treaty of Peace with the *French* Commissioners, but in a colder Manner than before, as having his Fervor abated by some Transactions with the Emperor; so that nothing material was concluded, but that the Fishermen of both Princes might fish in the Narrow-Seas without Molestation, 'till the End of *February* following, of which he sent Advice to each Prince. During the Time of the Cardinal's Stay at *Calais*, all Writs and Patents were seal'd by him at that Place; and no Sheriff could be chosen for want of his Presence, having the great Seal with him, and such a Power as if the King had been there in Person. Before he return'd, he made a new and private League with the Emperor, of which the Lord *Herbert* has the Particulars; and intimated to the *French* King, That he doubted whether the King of *England* would hereafter be as much his Friend as formerly. At which, tho' King *Francis* was much offended, yet he signify'd by his artificial Letters that he would as much as ever continue the King of *England*'s Friend: Only he inveigh'd against the Cardinal, as a Man of no Fidelity, and withdrew many Pensions granted by him to *English* Men. Shortly after, *Tournay* was besieg'd by the Lord *Moncada*, a *Spaniard*; and tho' the *French* sent great Forces to relieve it, it was surrender'd to the Emperor on the last Day of *November*. And here in this Year 1521, we may take notice of the Invention of Muskets, which *Bellay* says were first us'd in this War. In the same Year, on the first of *December*, dy'd Pope *Leo* the Tenth; some say out of Joy, and others by Poison.

A. D. 1522. Reg. 13. 14. Upon News of this Pope's Death, immediately the *English* Cardinal aspir'd to the Tripple Crown; and sent Dr. *Pace*, Dean of St. *Paul's* with all Speed to *Rome*, to use all possible Means to make him Pope. At the same Time he wrote earnest Letters to the Emperor *Charles*, first reminding him of his Promise to him; next representing to him how unjust and factious it would be in him, openly to have a Pope of his own nominating; and since it was the Place of King *Henry* to be Arbiter of Christendom, it would be his also to be the chief Instrument of it, if he were elected. Some other Reasons *Pace* also was order'd to give among the Cardinals at *Rome*, where he was to represent how much occasion of Calumny the *Lutherans* and other Enemies of the Church would find, if an unfitting Choice were made at this Juncture; which must follow, if any belonging to *Charles* or *Francis* were elected. The Cardinal also did not forget *Francis*, to whom Indifferency, if not Favour was promis'd, in case he were Pope; which was more than he could hope for any other Way. But before *Pace* could arrive at *Rome*, *Adrian* Cardinal of *Tortosa*, and Tutor to *Charles* the Emperor, was chosen Pope on the ninth of *January*; tho' not with such an universal Consent, but that Cardinal *Wolsey* had

Wolsey sent to Calais.

He makes a private League with the Emperor.

He aspires to the Papacy:

But is disappointed.

had sometimes nine, sometimes twelve, and sometimes nineteen Voices. *Pace*, upon this Disappointment, having second Instructions to countenance his Imployment, departed to *Venice*, where he mediated a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*; urging them to join with him and the King of *England* against King *Francis*, who had first broken the common Peace, made 1518, in which the State of *Venice* was compris'd. But the *Venetians*, being engag'd to *Francis*, only took Time to advise upon it.

In the mean Time King *Francis*, not being fully provided to war with King *Henry*, continu'd for some Time his smooth Letters to the Cardinal; but at length between Impatience, and Hopes to give a great Diversion in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, he began to declare himself. Therefore, his Subjects having made some Attempts upon the *English* Merchants, when Satisfaction was requir'd, he deferr'd, or rather deny'd Reparation; which particular Insults were accompany'd with a main Breach of Treaty, as King *Henry* alledg'd. For the Duke of *Albany*, who ought to have continu'd in *France*, was now after five Years Absence return'd to his Charge in *Scotland*; and the *English* Merchants discovering an approaching Storm, withdrew their Effects from *France*, and the Scholars their Persons and Studies from *Paris*. King *Henry* also wrote sharply to *Francis*, declaring, *That whatever Excuses he made for sending over the Duke of Albany, he knew nothing was done without his Direction; and that it was the Manner of his Country to make Pretensions*; reproaching him also with Breach of his Oath. *Francis* inrag'd at this rough Expostulation, objected the last Year's secret Treaty at *Bruges* with the Emperor, requiring King *Henry* to declare himself; and caus'd all the Remainder of the *English* Merchants Goods to be seiz'd, especially those at *Bordeaux*, where they had both paid for their Wines, and Custom for them. King *Henry* upon this confin'd the *French* Ambassador to his House, and secur'd all the *French* and *Scotch* in his Kingdom for a Time, or 'till they had paid pecuniary Mulcts; and the Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz-Williams* was order'd to Sea with a strong Fleet, to secure the *English* Merchants, and take what *French* he could. Moreover because the *French* deny'd the rest of the Mony due, and detain'd the *French* Queen's Dower, the King caus'd the *French* Hostages to be kept under a stricter Guard, without using further Rigour; and because *Francis* had urg'd him to declare himself, he sent over *Clarenceaux* his Herald, declaring, *That since Francis was the Infringer of the common Peace, the King of England must join with the Emperor against him*. Upon which Ambassadors were recall'd on both Sides, and War expected. Howbeit, as the Lord *Brook*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *John Peachy*, and Sir *Edward Belknap*, all brave Commanders, dy'd about this Time, of Poison or a Pestilential Air, so King *Henry* lost those whose Service he now most needed.

Still the Cardinal kept up his Reputation to the Height, and perform'd several popular Acts; and as the Manner of the most subtle Favourites is usually to do great rather than good Actions, so this Cardinal by the perpetual Variation he seem'd to cause in the Affairs of Christendom, not only held the Minds of the People in Suspence, but render'd his Counsels more considerable to the King, than if he had pursu'd any one single Way. The last Change of which he was Author, had its Beginning at *Bruges*, where among other Things the Emperor resolv'd to repair to *England*, particularly to consult King *Henry* concerning the Affairs of *Europe*, and to treat of a Marriage between him and the King's Daughter the Princess *Mary*; and lastly, which was a singular Pleasure to King *Henry*, be personally install'd of the Order of the *Garter* at *Windsor*, while he himself sat there as Chief. And now for the more magnificent Reception of the Emperor, the Marquess *Dorset* was sent to *Calais*, and the Cardinal with a glorious Train to *Dover*; where upon the twenty sixth Day of May he assur'd that Prince of his Welcome, which King *Henry* in Person soon after confirm'd. From hence the King conducted him to his Palace at *Greenwich*,

The French King breaks with England.

The Emperor comes into England.

wich, where the Queen his Aunt receiv'd him with extraordinary Joy. Here to honour the Emperor's Presence, Royal Jufts and Tournies were appointed; where the King, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and ten Assistants, bravely kept the Place against the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and ten other Assistants on their Part. On the sixth of *June* the King and Emperor, with all their Trains rod into *London*, where the City receiv'd them with all the Ornaments and Magnificence of a Coronation; and the Emperor was lodg'd at the *Black-Fryars*, and all his Lords in the new Palace of *Bridewell*. On *Whit-Sunday* the King and Emperor rod to the Cathedral of *St. Paul's*, where the Cardinal fung High-Mass with an unusual Pomp; in the Beginning of which two Barons gave him Water; after the Gospel, two Earls; and at the last Lavatory two Dukes held the Basin, which rais'd the Indignation of some of the *Spaniards*. After many Entertainments, they both repair'd to *Windsor*, where on the nineteenth Day of *June*, the Emperor wearing the Robes of the Order, and sitting in his Stall, accompany'd the other Knights in all his Rites and Ceremonies usual at that Time. Which being done, the two great Monarchs receiv'd the Sacrament together, and swore upon the Holy Evangelists to observe the League concluded between them: The Substance of which was, That they should unite their Powers against King *Francis*, and that the Emperor should marry the Princess *Mary*, when she should be at a proper Age. Besides which, the Emperor gave his Oath to save King *Henry* harmless for all the Sums of Money and Pensions, which were or should be due to him from King *Francis*, upon former Agreements.

He is install'd
Knight of the
Garter.

He is convoy'd
by the English
Admiral to
Spain.

Shortly after the Emperor took his leave of the King, and repair'd to *Southampton*, where the Earl of *Surry* the *English* Admiral attended as his Convoy, who by a particular Patent had also been constituted Admiral to the Emperor, on the eighth Day of *June*. This Earl having accepted of that Honour by King *Henry's* Consent, landed his Men in *Normandy* near *Cherbourg*; and having destroy'd the adjacent Parts, all but religious Houses, he return'd to *Portland*. From whence setting Sail a second Time, he landed near *Morlais* in *Bretaign*, and with seven thousand Men march'd thither; where he fortunately enter'd the Town, which was soon plunder'd and burnt, and a rich Booty carry'd to the Fleet. After which the Earl caus'd sixteen or seventeen *French* Ships, which he found on the Coasts, to be burnt: And then leaving his Vice-Admiral to scour the Seas, he made certain Knights for their good Services, and return'd to *Southampton*, from whence he safely convoy'd the Emperor to his Kingdom of *Spain*. In the mean Time divers inferior Exploits pass'd between the Garrisons of *Calais* and *Boloign*, in which the *French* were for the most Part Losers. Likewise at the same Time the Lords *Ross* and *Dacres* of the North, appointed to keep the Borders against *Scotland*, burnt the Town of *Kelfie* and fourscore Villages, and overthrew eighteen Towers of Stone, with all their Bulwarks. Shortly after the Duke of *Albany*, being establish'd Governor of *Scotland*, rais'd an Army of eighty thousand Men, as some write, with which he approach'd the Borders, but made no Invasion, concluding that the Name of such an Army would terrifie the *English*. But this did not hinder the Marquess *Dorset* from entering into *Tividale*, and to *Galloway*, where he burnt many Towns and Villages, and carry'd away four thousand Head of Cattle.

The King to
raise Money
makes a Survey
of the Na-
tions.

These Warlike Exploits being expensive, oblig'd the King to make use of his Subjects Affections; the better to understand which, he caus'd a general Muster or Description to be made of all his Kingdom, commanding that each hundred should certifie the Names of all above sixteen Years of Age: That they should repair to a certain Place assign'd with their Arms, declare their Names, their Parishes, the Lords and Parsons of each Town, the Worth of the Lands and Benefices, and also the Estates and Revenues, as well as the Employments and Occupations of every particular Person: So that this Survey was almost in the Nature

Nature of another *Domesday* Book. The King rejoic'd to find his Kingdom so strong and wealthy; yet as he was not ready for a Parliament, he borrow'd of the Citizens of *London* twenty thousand Pounds, and sent Privy Seals to several other rich Persons of the Kingdom; in consequence of which, he demanded a Loan of the Tenth of the Temporalty, and a Fourth of the Spirituality: All which extraordinary Ways of furnishing the present Necessities yet ended in a Parliament the next Year. The King having thus rais'd some Mony, proclaim'd open War against *France*, unless that King made Peace with the Pope or Emperor; and accordingly commanded the Earl of *Surry*, after his Attempts by Sea, to go over to *Calais*, and with convenient Forces to join with *Florence d' Egmond*, General of the Emperor's Troops. These meeting between *Ardres* and *St. Omers*, spoil'd and burnt all the Villages in their Way 'till they came to *Hesdin*, in which the *French* had put a strong Garrison. But Autumn being far advanc'd, and the Weather unseasonable, they only could take the Town; the Castle being too strong to be attempted at this Season. They march'd therefore towards *Dourlans*, which they took and burnt, with all the adjoining Villages. The Season still continuing foul, and the *English* very unhealthful, the Army dissolv'd, and the sooner because the two Generals could not agree about their Designs. Yet before the Earl of *Surry* departed, he burnt *Marquise*, and some other Places near the *English* Pale; after which he return'd home, and gave the King an Account of his Expedition.

By the Methods of the Cardinal, as it is believ'd, Parliaments had been dissolv'd for about seven Years; but now it was thought necessary to call one upon the fifteenth of *April*, to be held at the *Black-Fryars* in *London*; and here the Cardinal took care that the Spirituality should lead the Way. The Business of a Subsidy therefore being brought into the Convocation, in general met with a fair Passage; yet *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Phillips* a Canon of *Paul's*, oppos'd it. But the industrious Cardinal silencing some, and causing others to absent themselves, so far prevail'd, that one half of the Spiritual Revenues for one Year was granted, to be paid in five Years following. From hence the Cardinal went to the House of Commons, where in an eloquent Oration, Breach of Faith was charg'd upon the *French* King, upon the League sworn for the general Peace of Christendom: And besides, the Default of Payment for *Tournay*, and other Matters were objected; so that the King could do no less in this publick Cause, than join in War against him with *Charles* the Emperor. And because the Charge of it was judg'd to amount to eight hundred thousand Pounds, it was requir'd that the foresaid Sum might be rais'd out of the Fifth of every Man's Lands and Goods to be paid in four Years. This being propos'd, the next Day Sir *Thomas More*, Speaker of the House, enforc'd this Demand, demonstrating how it was not unreasonable on this important Occasion, to pay four Shillings in the Pound. To this many Replies were made, and Objections rais'd; and it was alledg'd, That of the thirteen thousand Parishes then in *England*, the greatest Part of them could not regularly produce a hundred Marks. At last, after some Debate and Contention, it was agreed that every Man's Estate of twenty Pound yearly, should pay two Shillings in the Pound; and from twenty Pound a Year downwards to forty Shillings, one Shilling in the Pound; and under forty Shillings, every Head of sixteen and upwards should pay four Pence, in two Years. The Cardinal hearing no more intended, with great Warmth enter'd the House of Commons, and told that great Assembly, *That he desir'd to reason with those who oppos'd his Demands*; but being answer'd, *That it was the Order of that House to hear, and not to reason but among themselves*, the Cardinal departed without Satisfaction. Yet by the liberal Motion of some, those of fifty Pounds Land and upwards, were induc'd to add one Shilling more, for three Years to come; which at length being continu'd to the fourth Year, was all that could be obtain'd. In this Parliament a College of Physicians was erected, and many Pri-

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1523.

Reg. 14.

A Parliament meets.

Aids granted for War against France.

Privileges granted to the Members of it : And also an Act pass'd, That the King should have Authority for Life by his Letters Patents to reverse and annul all Attainders of High-Treason, and to restore their Heirs, &c. As there had been no Parliament call'd for seven Years before this, so by the Cardinal's Means, there was none summon'd for seven Years after. Then by Vertue of his Legantine Authority, the Cardinal dissolv'd the Convocation at *St. Paul's*, convok'd by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and call'd him and all the Clergy to *St. Peter's at Westminster* ; but we do not find any thing material transacted.

The King of Denmark visits King Henry.

In the mean Time the *Scots*, joining with the *French*, began again to threaten the *English* Nation ; but after some Struggles, they were so discourag'd, that a short Truce was made between the two Kingdoms. This gave King *Henry* Opportunity of prosecuting more important Affairs in Foreign Countries. But before he could bring them to any great Effect, *Christian* the Second, King of *Denmark*, being by his Subjects expell'd his own Country, came from *Flanders* into *England* with his Queen, and a small Retinue suitable to their Misfortunes. This did not hinder them from finding a Reception worthy of their Quality ; and Queen *Catharine*, being Aunt to the other of *Denmark*, took particular Compassion on them. Therefore after all manner of Royal Entertainment, for the Space of about three Weeks, and divers rich Presents bestow'd upon them, they thought fit, upon some new Hopes of Recovering their Kingdom, to return into *Flanders*.

An Army sent into France under the Duke of Suffolk.

And now King *Henry* began to shew himself more and more vigorous against the *French* ; and in the Month of *August* sent over the Duke of *Suffolk*, attended by the Lords *Montague*, *Herbert*, *Ferrers*, *Mowney*, *Sands*, *Berkley*, and *Powis*, with divers other Knights and Gentlemen, and about thirteen thousand Men. With this small but select Army the Duke march'd from *Calais* into the Enemy's Country, and took several inferior Places ; then joining with the Emperor's General *Florence d'Agmond*, the Army amounted to twenty thousand strong ; yet it being near the End of *September*, and the Weather more unseasonable than usual for that Month, it was difficult to perform any great Action. King *Henry* order'd them to begin with *Boloign* ; but the Imperialists alledg'd it was impregnable, and that for entering *France*, it was better to coast the River *Somme* ; which they did, with Design to come to Battel. But finding no Forces in the Field, they besieg'd *Bray* on the River *Somme*, in which Place was a strong Garrison ; but a Breach being made by the *English*, and furiously attack'd, the Governor set Fire to the Town, and fled over the Bridge with the Remainder of his Men, with great Loss. From hence passing over the *Somme*, they march'd towards *Roye*, taking some lesser Places by the Way. This Town being summon'd, and promising to yield, Sir *Richard Cornwall* with four hundred Men was sent to take Possession of it. From thence the Army advanc'd towards *Montdidier*, being oppos'd in the way by two Commanders, who were at last taken Prisoners, with some others of Note. In *Montdidier* there was a Garrison of twelve hundred Men, under the Command of *Roche-baron* ; but after some few Hours Discharge of the Cannon, they capitulated and surrender'd. The Duke with his Army had now pass'd the River *Oyse*, and was come within eleven Leagues of *Paris* it self ; which threw the Citizens into a terrible Consternation. Nor could the Arrival of Mons. *de Vendosme* with some Forces, cure them of their Fears. But the Season being far advanc'd, and the Weather so extremely cold, that almost all the Corn in *France* was frozen and destroy'd this Year, the Army was forc'd to return ; especially since the Lady Regent in the *Low-Countries* withdrew the Pay from her Soldiers, and let all the Charge fall upon King *Henry*. However they took the Castle of *Bouchain* near the Emperor's Territories, before they broke up ; which notwithstanding, with the other Places, was soon recover'd by the *French*. Thus ended this Year's Campaign,

The Progress of it.

to the Dissatisfaction of King *Henry*, it being more to the Terror of *France*, than the Advantage of *England*.

King *Francis* was at the same time turning his Forces against *Italy*, when on the fourteenth Day of *September* Pope *Adrian* dy'd, by Poison as it was believ'd. The News of this rous'd the Ambition of Cardinal *Wolsey*, who by Letters to King *Henry* humbly intreated him to assist him to the utmost in this important Affair, and likewise to write with his own Hand to the Emperor for his Interest in this Matter. But notwithstanding all these Endeavours, the Emperor a second Time fail'd him, and *Julio de Medici* was made Pope, by the Name of *Clement* the Seventh: Upon which, *Wolsey* artificially dissembling his Resentments, thought fit in Justification of his Merits to write again to the King, declaring, *That the Election was not so clearly carry'd, but that many of the Cardinals were for him; tho' by reason of his Absence, and the dangerous State of Italy, which call'd for present Remedies, they insisted on the other.*

Wolsey a second Time aspires to the Papacy in vain.

Whereupon it was thought fit by the King and Cardinal to dispatch an Embassie to the new Pope, to congratulate his Election, and to desire him to continue his former Disaffection to *France*, and to give publick Testimonies of it according to the Greatness of the Power invested in him. The Cardinal also, by a particular Dispatch, desir'd *Richard Pace*, then at *Rome*, to procure an Enlargement of his Legantine Authority; protesting, *That by reason of the King's Prerogative and other Causes, it was not a thousand Ducats yearly to him; yet if his Power and Faculties might be encreas'd, it should be thankfully acknowledg'd.* To all which Pope *Clement* condescended. and the Legantine Power, which formerly had been granted only for five Years at a Time, was now by a new Precedent given him for Term of Life. Thus, to comfort him after his Repulse at *Rome*, the Cardinal had a Kind of a Papal Authority in *England*; of which he made the utmost Use. For forming vast Things in his Mind, and designing two famous Colleges to be erected, one at his native Place *Ipswich*, and the other at *Oxford*, towards the carrying on of those Works, he soon procur'd a Bull from the Pope to suppress several of the lesser Monasteries in *England*. In this he met with some Difficulties from the King; but *Henry*, who often wanted Money, considering, that if for his urgent Occasions he was oblig'd at any Time to seize on the other Religious Houses, he might this way discover how the People stood affected, at last granted his Request. And King *Henry* thus concurring with the Pope, who in Favour of the Cardinal gave way to this Suppression, that Overture was first made, which being afterwards pursu'd by the King's sole Authority, became the final Ruin of all the Monasteries in *England*.

He gets his Power enlarg'd.

His vast Designs.

The *Scots*, the ancient Confederates of the *French*, began again to threaten the *English* Nation under the Conduct of the Duke of *Albany*, who had lately been in *France*, and now approach'd the *English* Borders, with a numerous Army. Hearing that the Earl of *Surry*, now by his Father's Death Duke of *Norfolk*, was aiming against him with a mighty Power, he sent an Herald to him, promising upon his Honour to give him Battel, and if he took him Prisoner, to give him good Quarter: To which the *English* Duke severely answer'd, *That he would not fail to stand Battel; but if he took him Prisoner, the Quarter he would give him should be to cut off his Head, and send it for a Present to his Master the King of England.* The *English* Forces lying at *Aberwick*, were join'd by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle* and *Darcy*, with many Knights and Gentlemen; in all composing an Army of about forty thousand Men. In *October* the Duke of *Albany* sent two or three thousand Men over the Water to besiege the Castle of *Warke*; who by the Battery of their Ordnance won the outward Work call'd the *Barnekins*; and continuing their Batteries won the second Work; but then Sir *William Lisle*, Governor of the Castle, sallied out with those few he had left, and bravely repell'd the *French* Soldiers from the

A. D.

1524.

Reg. 15.

Actions with the Scots.

the Place, with the Deaths of three hundred of them: A memorable Service, for which the Duke of *Norfolk* afterwards gave him particular Thanks. This brave Duke would gladly have follow'd his Enemies to their own Country, but only his Commission was to defend *England*, and not to invade *Scotland*. Shortly after, Queen *Margaret*, Mother to the young King of the *Scots*; sent to her Brother King *Henry*, for a Cessation of Arms 'till they might conveniently have a further Communication; which being granted, the *English* Army broke up, and the Duke of *Norfolk* return'd to Court. In the latter End of the Year, and the Beginning of the next Ambassadors from *Scotland* did negotiate a Peace, and shewing that the Lords of *Scotland* were content to relinquish the *French*, upon Condition that a Marriage might be secur'd between their young King and the Princess *Mary*; but they requir'd that the Promise by which she was engag'd to the Emperor, might first be discharg'd. King *Henry* answer'd he would first confer with the Emperor about it, and therefore nothing was concluded at this Time but a Truce for three Years and a half. The Emperor hearing of this Treaty, dispatch'd an Embassie from *Flanders* to require that the Princess *Mary* might be deliver'd to him, promising hereupon to declare her Empress, and make her Governor of the *Low-Countries*; her Dower was also requir'd to be paid immediately, and that King *Henry* in Person would the next Year invade the Kingdom of *France*.

A Truce concluded with them.

Francis the French King taken Prisoner by the Imperialists.

But before King *Henry* could give a perfect Answer to these Particulars, there happen'd a remarkable Change of Affairs, which did not only affect the Kingdom of *France*, but had an Influence upon a great Part of *Europe*. King *Francis* had this Year vigorously pursu'd his warlike Designs in *Italy*, in order to recover the Dukedom of *Milan*; and because the Duke of *Bourbon*, out of great Disgust, had revolted from him, and was made General of the Emperor's Forces in *Italy*, King *Francis* warmly pursu'd him, and closely besieg'd him in the City of *Pavia*. This Duke had also receiv'd particular Incouragement, and constant Pay from the King of *England*; but by means of the ambitious Cardinal, who had secret Resentments against the Emperor, the Pay was suddenly stopp'd or withdrawn. This hapning at the Time when the Duke was besieg'd by the *French* King in *Pavia*, it drove him to such a Degree of Fear and Despair, that he resolv'd upon a most dangerous Escape. In the midst of a dark Night he order'd Part of his Men to attack the Besiegers on the weakest Side of the Town, while he sally'd privately out of a Postern on the contrary Side. The Watch being slender, and the Soldiers in a secure Sleep, a mighty Terror arose, in which the Besiegers turn'd their Ordnance to the Place of the Outcry, when as suddenly *Bourbon* gaining upon their Backs, won all their Artillery, discharg'd them against their Owners, slew their Soldiers, cut down their Tents, and lastly by the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, the *French* King himself was taken Prisoner in the Field: Behaving himself with the Courage and Bravery of a Monarch, both before and during his Captivity. This remarkable Accident happen'd on the twenty fourth Day of *February* 1524.

A. D. V. King *Henry* had now a greater Opportunity than ever of exerting his Power, and displaying his Grandeur in the general Affairs of *Europe*; yet he was very cautious how to proceed upon so unexpected a Change. When the News was brought to *England*, in Council it was thought fit the King should comply with his Confederate *Charles*, in giving some publick Demonstration of Joy. Therefore the King giong to *St. Paul's*, and causing a Mass to be sung in a more solemn Manner than ordinary, seem'd to celebrate the Victory; tho' inwardly he was not so well satisfy'd with it: For, as he consider'd the Emperor now grown to a Greatness scarce allowable with Reason of State, or due Terms of Neighbourhood, he deliberated with his Council what was most proper to be done next. Whereupon it was thought fit immediately to send Ambassadors into *Spain*, to represent to the Emperor, 'How that this War being

King Henry's Proceedings upon it.

Hal.
Fol.
H.
S.
M.
H.
S.

made

made at a common Charge, it was reasonable that both should receive the Fruit of it: That the Part to which the King of *England* pretended, was Inheritance in *France*, which he desir'd might be restor'd; in which the Emperor's best Assistance could not be doubted, both because it was just in it self, and agreeable to their late Treaty; by Vertue of which he was to require the Emperor to proceed in levying Forces against *France*, in which his Majesty would likewise concur. Nor was it to be doubted that the Emperor would decline this Motion, since he himself would finally reap the Benefit of it; for as his Majesty was resolv'd to ratifie and confirm the intended Match between the Emperor and the Princess *Mary*, who was Heir not only to the Crown of *England*, but to all the Titles in *France*, so all at last would devolve upon him; which therefore might be thought so advantageous, that he could not think it unreasonable to deliver up King *Francis* into his Majesty's Hands, upon consigning the Princess to his. This Advice being approv'd by all, an Embassie was dispatch'd into *Spain*; in which it was further offer'd, That the Princess *Mary* should be deliver'd into the Emperor's Hands, upon proper Conditions. But the Emperor being resolv'd that none should partake of the Profit or Honour of the late Victory, the Embassie found no real Reception in *Spain*; upon which King *Henry* return'd to that brave and wise Resolution he had formerly taken, to make himself Arbiter of Christendom, and to punish him who interrupted the publick Peace. To which he had also many other Inducements: For the Lady *Margaret* of *Flanders*, who by Articles was to have rais'd Forces against the *French*, began already to treat with them for an Accommodation; and when Demand was made for the Payment of the Mony lent to the Emperor in his greatest Necessity, nothing was return'd but a dilatory Excuse. Nor was the King ignorant of the Treaty which the Emperor had already begun for the ransoming of *Francis*; of a Match propos'd with *Isabella* Princess of *Portugal*, which reflected on his Daughter's Reputation. Lastly the Pope's Breve, representing the Danger of Christendom from the increasing Prosperity of the *Turks*, had so prevail'd with King *Henry*, that he thought fit to lay aside all Ambition to recover his Inheritance in *France*, and to endeavour for an Universal Peace.

In Pursuance of this laudable Design, as the Remembrance of the obliging Interview between King *Henry* and *Francis* did not operate a little, so the Reputation that the latter had gain'd by his Courage in this last Action, had kindled in our generous King's Mind a compassionate Zeal for his Delivery. Therefore at the Request of the King of *France*'s Mother, who had much dispos'd King *Henry* to return to his ancient Friendship, he sent particular Orders to his Ambassadors in *Spain*, to intercede for the Liberty of King *Francis*; who had already begun the Way in a particular Letter to the Emperor, in which he declar'd, *That the greatest Comfort he found in this abandon'd Condition, was his falling into the Hands of so generous a Prince, who would not oblige him to what might be unjust to require, or impossible to perform: That he therefore hop'd sufficient Security would be accepted for his Freedom, since instead of detaining an unuseful Prisoner, he should make a King his Slave; when it was more advantageous to have him a faithful Friend, than to suffer him to die in Desperation.* None yet was so vigilant and intentive in this Affair, or the general Good of the Kingdom, as Madam *Lovise*, his Mother and Regent of *France*, who by many forcible and reiterated Embassies, drew most of the Christian Potentates and Republicks to favour the Deliverance of her Son. The Emperor finding such powerful Intercessions, of his own Accord sent some Propositions and Articles to the Captive King; some of which were so hard and displeasing to him, that he is said to have drawn his Dagger, crying, *It is better for a King of France to die after this Manner*; but was prevented from using it by one of his Attendants. Yet to gratifie the Emperor, he gave Order that two of the chief Prisoners, mention'd in the Proposals, should be set

His brave Resolves.

He designs to release the French King.

at Liberty. And after that new Conditions were offer'd the Emperor, which tho' advantageous in themselves, yet several Objections were rais'd against them, and nothing was concluded. About this Time the Emperor holding his *Cortes* or Parliament at *Toledo*, among other Things it was petition'd by the Estates assembled, that 'the Emperor being now of Age to marry, should take to his 'Wife *Isabella* the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, and not the Princess *Mary* of *England*; which was very agreeable to the Mind of him, who now aspir'd to universal Monarchy.

He makes a
Treaty with
France.

The Emperor
declines in his
Friendship to
King Henry.

The *French* King being weary of his Restraint in *Italy*, at length procur'd himself to be remov'd into *Spain*, reputed his Change of Prison as a second Liberty. Being brought to *Madrid*, he fell so dangerously sick, that the Physicians had little Hopes of his Life, unless the Emperor would be pleas'd speedily to visit him; upon whose Visitation, in which there was a pathetick Interview, he soon recover'd his Health, tho' not immediately his Strength. Here new Propositions were made for his Deliverance, and new Objections were rais'd against them. In the mean Time the Pope, the *Venetians* and Princes of *Italy*, leagu'd together in Defence of the common Cause against the Emperor, and invited King *Henry* into the Treaty; nor did it lessen their Suspicion of *Charles's* aiming at universal Monarchy, because upon his taking *Francis* Prisoner, he wrote to the King of *England* and Princes of *Italy*, *That he should not take it well if any of them disturb'd the Dominions of Francis, since being his Prisoner, he could do no less than protect him against all others.* Madam *Lovise* the *French* Regent continu'd her Messages to King *Henry*, to procure his Assistance for the Redemption of her Son; 'till at length a Treaty for that Purpose was concluded at *Moore*, *August* the thirtieth, in which was to be an Amnesty of all Injuries done in the late Wars between *England* and *France*, and other Articles confirm'd. And by another Treaty this Year at *Lyons*, the Regent oblig'd herself to pay all the Arrears due to King *Henry's* Sister *Mary*, by Vertue of her Marriage with *Lewis* the Twelfth, and also to suffer her to enjoy her Jointure without Molestation. At length the Emperor concluded a Match with his Neice *Isabella* of *Portugal*; alledging for his Excuse to King *Henry*, *That at the Petition of his States assembled at Toledo he had comply'd with his Subjects Desires, which he hop'd would be understood as no Breach of Friendship.* King *Henry*, considering the tender Age of his Daughter, and that it was incongruous to allie himself with a Prince against whom he might soon draw his Sword, seem'd well satisfy'd to relinquish the Match upon mutual Consent. After which Time the Intimacy and Amity between them became so remiss, that at length it was wholly dissolv'd: Infomuch that the Ambassadors on both Sides were recall'd, and the Emperor, who before us'd to sign all his Letters by the Title of *Son* and *Kinsman*, from henceforwards only subscrib'd *Charles*. It was the less to be wonder'd that the Emperor began now to take such State upon him, since a richer Booty than that of *Francis* fell into his Hands, that is the Empire of *Pern*, where the golden Mines of *Potosi* and many others were first discover'd.

Some Distur-
bances in En-
gland about
raising of Mo-
ny.

While Affairs thus pass'd in foreign Parts, King *Henry*, who well knew that to maintain a sure Peace at home was almost as expensive as the making War abroad, advis'd with his Council how to provide himself with Money. Yet as the Cardinal had undertaken the King should never want, as long as he might manage the publick Affairs, so they gladly discharg'd themselves on him. But the Harmony of Government consists in such a nice Proportion, that no one Part can safely be strain'd higher, unless the rest can be well tun'd to it. And this appear'd in the Actions of this Year, when Commissions being granted out into all the Counties of *England*, for levying the sixth Part of every Lay-Man's Goods, and the fourth of the Clergies, the People in general were so disgusted, that they were ready to break out into Rebellion; alledging not only their own Poverty, but that the Commissions were against Law. The King upon this re-
solv'd

solv'd to disavow the whole Proceeding; and by Letters to all Parts, declar'd, *He expected nothing from them but by Way of Benevolence.* This procur'd the Cardinal many Curfes, and the King as many Blessings; notwithstanding under the Name of *Benevolence*, he requir'd great Sums of all his Subjects, and particularly of the Citizens of *London*. This Way was likewise oppos'd by many, especially in the Country, where some Persons took up Arms; but by the Persuasion of the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, they submitted themselves, and were brought to *London*, and there secur'd. The King persisting in his Intention not to punish any on this Occasion, brought the Matter to the Council-Table; where the Cardinal by Way of Apology declar'd, *He had done nothing without first advising with the Judges, who positively affirmed the King might lawfully demand any Sum by Commission, and that the Council of State confirm'd this Method.* But the King declaring *That he was assur'd his Subjects were richer than he found them by this Commission*, all the Blame was charg'd on the false Informers, and Pardon granted to all those who deny'd the former Benevolence. Hereupon the Delinquents were brought to the Star-Chamber, where after a severe Reprimand given them, the Cardinal said, *That notwithstanding their great Offences, the King in Consideration of their Necessities, had granted them his most gracious Pardon, upon Condition they gave in Sureties for their good Behaviours.* But they replying *They had no Sureties*, the Cardinal, to show a popular Act, offer'd with the Duke of *Norfolk* to stand bound for them, at which they were discharg'd.

The prodigious Cardinal, who by the Concurrence of the Papal and Regal Authority, had suppress'd several Monasteries, and given such a Terror to the rest as to draw large Sums from them, would not so desist, but still continu'd his Purposes of converting the Profits of all those, to other Uses, which by any Colour might be reputed Supernumerary. And having thus establish'd his extensive Authority, he was judg'd by this Time, between Visitations, making of Abbots, Probates of Testaments, granting of Faculties, Licences, and Dispensations, and many other Ways, besides the great Pensions he had from Foreign Princes, to have made his Treasury equal to the King's, notwithstanding the Sums he often transmitted to *Rome*. In which way of enriching himself, his Agent *John Allen*, accompany'd with a great Train, and riding from one Religious House to another, in a kind of perpetual Progress, or Visitation, did the Cardinal no small Service. But as this at last became a publick Grievance, so the King took notice of it in so sharp a Manner, that the Cardinal was forc'd not only to excuse himself with much Submission, but also to promise Amendment; protesting withal, *That in his last Will and Testament, he had left a great Part of his Estate to his Highness.* He did not only oblige the King by this, but likewise having now built his fair Palace at *Hampton-Court*, and wisely considering how it would increase Mens Envy against him, he freely gave it to the King, who in Exchange permitted him to live in *Richmond House*. He always took Care to sooth the warm Monarch in promoting all his private Pleasures, in which he was often too great a Sharer with his Master. One of the Liberties the King took at his Leisure Hours was to follow the Charms of Love: For as all Things concurr'd, his noble Presence and Person, being further exalted by his high Dignity and Valour, it was not strange, if among so many beautiful Ladies at Court, and such a Cardinal to encourage him, he both gave and receiv'd Temptation. Among whom Mrs. *Elizabeth Blunt*, Daughter to Sir *John Blunt*, was thought, for her rare Ornaments of Nature and Education, to be the Miracle of her Time; which caus'd such a secret Intimacy between them, as at last she bore him a Son. This Child proving so equally like both his Parents, that he became the best Emblem of their mutual Affection, he was call'd *Henry Fitz-Roy* by the King, and so much avow'd by him, that having at this Time attain'd the Age of six Years, he was publickly made a Knight, and the same Day created Earl of

The Exorbitant
Power of Wol-
sey.

The King's
Pleasures.

and natural
Issue.

- Nottingham, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, Lieutenant-General beyond *Trent*, and Warden-General of the Borders of *Scotland*, and shortly after Admiral of *England*: And he was the more cherish'd by the King, because he now expected no Issue Male from his Queen.

A. D. 1526. Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.

The French King releas'd upon hard Terms.

Such was the generous Disposition of King *Henry*, that he not only interceded for the Captive King *Francis*, but likewise for the expell'd King *Christian* of *Denmark*. Therefore he sent Ambassadors to *Denmark*, to persuade his Subjects to recall him home; from whence nothing had so much chac'd him as the Guilt and Horror of shedding so much Blood among his People; but the exasperated *Danes* positively refus'd either him or his Son. But he had better Success as to the Liberty of the *French* King, which after a Year's Captivity was obtain'd upon very hard Terms, if any Thing can be hard that sets a King out of Prison. For in the Beginning of this Year, a Treaty between the Emperor and the *French* King was concluded, call'd *The Concord of Madrid*, consisting of forty four Articles, and more Particulars. Among many other Matters it was agreed, that on the same Day *Francis* was set at Liberty, his two Sons, the *Dauphine* and the Duke of *Orleans*, should be deliver'd as Hostages into the Emperor's Hands: After which *Francis* was to deliver up the Dukedom of *Burgundy* to the Emperor, restore the Duke of *Bourbon* and all his Friends, marry the Emperor's Sister *Leonora*, and indemnifie the Emperor against all Demands on the Part of the King of *England*. All which at large being solemnly ratify'd, and sworn on both Sides, on the eighteenth of *March* the *French* King was exchange'd for his two Sons on the Borders of *France* with unusual Niceness and Formality; and being once at Liberty, he immediately mounted a Fleet-Horse, and riding with the greatest Swiftness cry'd out *I'm a King, I'm a King!* in such a Manner, as tho' he then design'd to have little Regard to the late Treaty. King *Henry* having been a Principal Agent in this Affair, both as to his Captivity and Deliverance, he immediately dispatch'd Sir *Thomas Cheyney* to congratulate his safe Return, and to take his Oath to the Treaty of *Moore*; which *Francis* accepting, sent a Messenger to inform King *Henry* of the Conditions of his Delivery, and to acknowledge that he chiefly ow'd his Liberty to him; which Acts of Civility, afterwards produc'd a more firm Correspondency between these two Monarchs. By the Treaty of *Moore*, it was agreed that the *French* King should pay two Millions of Crowns to the King of *England*, at some appointed Days; and after that to pay to King *Henry* during Life the annual Sum of a hundred thousand Crowns. Not long after a new famous League was made between the Pope and *Francis*, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, call'd by the Name of the *Clementine League*, and sign'd at *Coignac* in *France*, May the twenty second, by which the Pope absolv'd the *French* King from the Oath he had sworn at *Madrid*, and they all united against the Emperor, and further declar'd the King of *England* *Protector of the League*. Upon which King *Henry*, debating in his Council how he should act in this Affair, it was nicely and succinctly determin'd, *That he ought not to be a Party, where he might be a Judge.*

The Clementine League against the Emperor.

The Emperor was exceedingly allarm'd at this League, and solemnly protested against Pope *Clement*, as an ungrateful Person, who by his Favour had been made both Cardinal and Pope, notwithstanding some Allegations that he was spurious, and incapable of either of those Dignities. He exclaim'd against the *French* King, as perjur'd and false, and against the *Venetians*, as wavering and unconstant: However his principal Care was to intangle and divide them. And tho' in *Italy*, upon publishing the League by the Pope, they levy'd their appointed Numbers, yet *Francis* being in Hopes of the Restitution of his Children, delay'd so much on his Part, that the Imperial Army gain'd such Advantage, that *Sforza* was constrain'd to yield the Dukedom of *Milan*, and fly to the *Italian* Army under the Duke of *Urbino*. About the same Time the Emperor

peror was inform'd, That in Consequence of the Pope's Relaxation of *Francis's* Oath, the Parliament of *Paris* and the King's Council had totally disannull'd the Treaty of *Madrid*, as being concluded by a Person under Constraint and Imprisonment. Further to colour this Refusal, *Francis* sent Ambassadors to *Spain*, again to assure the Emperor, *That Burgundy could not be alienated from the French Crown; and that if he would return his Sons at a reasonable Ransom, he would take his Sister Leonora for his Queen; if not, he would recover them by Force.* The several Ambassadors also of the Confederates then in his Court, and particularly the *English*, concurr'd in this Matter; requiring further, That he would recall the *Spaniards* out of *Lombardy*, and restore *Sforza*; relinquish his Pretensions to *Naples*, and not go to *Italy* with an Army; and that he would pay the King of *England*, all the Confederates of the League, in case of Refusal, denouncing War against him. The Emperor answer'd to all these Particulars, and declar'd, *He was ready to defend himself against them all.* Not long after King *Francis* sent the Arch-Bishop of *Bourdeaux*, with others, to desire the Restitution of his Children; to which the Emperor, now more incens'd, reply'd, *If he would have his Children, he must according to his Oath and Promise return Prisoner himself.* After that he privately desir'd the Ambassador to tell his Master, That by his own Acknowledgment, *He had done cowardly and perfidiously in breaking the Treaty of Madrid, and that if he deny'd it, he would make it good in Person against him.* King *Francis* wanted not Courage to reply in the same Language; but in the mean Time he caus'd an Apology to be publish'd, in Vindication of his Breach of Faith, and sent it to all Christian Princes; to which the Emperor reply'd with another, and with as much Severity as the Cause requir'd. In the mean Time King *Francis* enter'd into a new League with King *Henry*, which principally concern'd the Restitution of his two Sons, and the Monies due from the Emperor to the King of *England*. This was scarcely concluded, before the Family of the *Columna's* in *Italy*, being of the Imperial Faction, with three or four thousand Men enter'd the City of *Rome*, and ravag'd part of it; and then forc'd the Pope to fly to the Castle *St. Angelo*, where he was oblig'd to a Truce of four Months with the Emperor, to withdraw his Forces out of *Lombardy*, and to pardon all past Offences.

The French King departs from his Articles with the Emperor.

The French King makes a new League with England.

And now King *Henry*, finding no Advantage to be expected from treating with the Emperor, and understanding with what Indignity the Pope had lately been us'd, he resolv'd according to his former League to join against that Prince who appear'd most refractory. Therefore conceiving the Fault to be in the Emperor, he immediately enter'd into a strict League with *Francis*, chusing rather to concur with him in particular, than to embrace the *Clementine* League, as containing many Articles that no ways concern'd him. Therefore he propos'd to the *French* King the Princess *Mary* in Marriage, since the Emperor had deny'd him *Leonora*; and offer'd besides to enter into an offensive League with him for the Recovery of his Children, and forcing the Emperor to reasonable Conditions. *Francis* joyfully accepting this Motion, demanded the Princess *Mary's* Picture, which together with the King's was granted, and the Match treated in *France* by the *English* Agents, the Bishop of *Bath*, and Sir *William Fitz-Williams*. The *French* King, if he marry'd her, requir'd she should be immediately given into his Hands; but King *Henry* dissenting, because she was but eleven Years of Age, the Bishop of *Tarbe*, the Viscount *Turenne*, and the President of *Paris*, came into *England*, where on the last of *April* three Treaties were concluded, as may be seen at large in the *Lord Herbert*. As to the Marriage, it was agreed that the Princess *Mary* should be given either to *Francis* himself, or to his second Son the Duke of *Orleans*; and that Alternative was to be determin'd by the two Kings at an Interview design'd afterwards at *Calais*, with Forfeitures on both Sides if the Marriage were hinder'd. Then in Consideration that King *Henry* and his Successors should never molest the

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Reg. 18.

Other Treaties concluded.

French

French King in any of those Dominions he now possess'd, *Francis* did here bind himself and his Successors, to pay every Year at two several Terms, after the Decease of King *Henry*, to all the Kings of *England* his Successors, forty six thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, and twenty four *Sols Tournois*, without Deduction or Prejudice to the Sums already due to King *Henry* by the Treaty of *Moore* in 1525. Further the *French King* bound himself and his Successors, to give of the Salt of *Brovage* yearly, as well to *Henry* as his Successors, to the value of fifteen thousand Crowns, as is above-mention'd. In these Treaties was the first Scruple rais'd by Foreigners, (particularly the Bishop of *Tarbe*) concerning the Legitimation of the Princess *Mary*, which caus'd such Com-motions afterwards.

Before the Conclusion of this Treaty, Pope *Clement* had sent Letters to King *Henry*, complaining of the Indignities offer'd to his Person by Cardinal *Columna* and the Imperialists, assuring him, *That if he and the French King would effectually assist him, he would break the late Agreement made with the Imperial Party, to which he held himself not oblig'd, because he was under Constraint.* Upon which King *Henry*, who had always been true to the See of *Rome*, sent him about thirty thousand Ducats for present Use; which so encourag'd the Pope, that he cited Cardinal *Columna* to appear at *Rome* upon Pain of Deprivation of his Dignity; while he on the other Side threaten'd to call a Council against him, and depose him for Simony and other Incapacities. Upon which the Pope with an Army enter'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, and took several Places belonging to that Family; but the Confederates coming slowly to his Assistance, and hearing that great Forces were coming from *Spain* against him, for to gain a Cessation of Arms for eight Months, he was compell'd to make a dishonourable Compliance, and to give sixty thousand Ducats. Yet after this, being again encourag'd with some Hopes from his Allies, and having by a Simonaical Creation of fourteen Cardinals rais'd three hundred thousand Ducats, he ventur'd upon a second Breach of Faith, and disown'd the last Treaty; giving the Kingdom of *Naples* to Count *Vaudemont*, whom he sent with Forces to subdue it. But for this he met with a greater Punishment than before; for the Duke of *Bourbon* at the Head of the Imperialists prevented all his Designs, and march'd directly with his hungry Army to the Walls of *Rome*; and giving the Assault, tho' he receiv'd a mortal Wound himself, yet that glorious City was soon taken by Storm, with the Slaughter of several thousands of all Ages. That proud City never saw so sad and dismal a Day, not when it was sack'd by the *Goths* and other barbarous Nations; for the Soldiers kill'd whomsoever they met, and cut them in Pieces; the Streets flow'd with Blood, the Altars were despoil'd, the Churches and Monasteries ransack'd, the Nuns and Virgins ravish'd, and the Palaces of the Pope, Cardinals and Princes rifled and plunder'd; so that it is impossible to express what Wealth and Riches lay in Heaps, and what precious Commodities belonging to Merchants were made a Prey to common Soldiers. But what made the Spoil greater, was the Number of Prisoners, who were all forc'd to pay such Ransoms as were laid upon them; and to augment the Ignominy as well as Desolation of this miserable State, the Prelates were taken by the Soldiers, and in all their Habits and Poticalibus set upon Asses and Mules, and led through the Streets with Contempt and Derision. The Pope amidst these Distractions fled to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, with seventeen Cardinals, the Ambassadors of *England France, Venice, and Florence*, and about five hundred Soldiers; where being straitly belieg'd, he was forc'd not only to surrender that Castle, with *Ostia, Civita Vecchia*, and other Places, but also to give Hostages for four hundred thousand Ducats, and after all to surrender himself Prisoner to the Emperor.

Rome plunder'd by the Imperialists.

The Pope taken Prisoner.

This gave mighty Offence to all the Princes of Christendom, except the *Lutherans* of *Germany*; of which the Emperor was soon sensible, and immediately thought fit to give them Satisfaction. Among all which none seem'd

so considerable as King *Henry*; to whom by a Letter dated *August* the second he made a kind of Apology for these Proceedings, declaring also the Causes why his Army could not be with-held from invading *Rome*; yet so as he disclaim'd any Part, either the counselling or authorising the Fact: He forgot not also, upon the Instance of the *English* and *French* Ambassadors for the Pope's Liberty, to write obligingly to his Holiness, offering his Love and Friendship, in case he desir'd it; but to the chief Officers of his Army he sent Instructions, which for some Space amus'd them: For he commanded them to let the Pope at Liberty, *Yet so to provide, that from a Friend he should not become an Enemy*. This mysterious Message caus'd great Delays in the Pope's Deliverance, and much prolong'd his Misery; which caus'd him to complain to King *Henry* and the Cardinal, protesting, *That all the Help and Succour he could expect in this Extremity, was from England, and therefore he implor'd his Assistance*. At the same Time the *English* Ambassadors in *Spain* potently mediated for the Deliverance of King *Francis's* Sons upon more moderate Terms than was formerly propos'd; and in Conclusion so prevail'd, that the Emperor seem'd willing to relinquish his Demand of *Burgundy*, and to accept of such a Ransom as *Francis* had once voluntarily offer'd, which was two Millions of Crowns. But all this was again interrupted by the repeated Intelligence of the Pope's Imprisonment, which so rous'd the warm Temper of King *Henry*, that he would not so much as vouchsafe an Answer to the Emperor's Letter, but resolv'd to join in a stricter League with *Francis*, concluding that *Charles* would never have so insolently treated the Head of the Church, if he had not aspir'd to universal Monarchy. Accordingly he enter'd into a new Confederacy with *Francis*, by which they mutually agreed to desist from their War in the *Low-Countries*, and to transport it into *Italy*, with several other Particulars. Upon this, *Clarenceaux* King of Arms was sent to King *Henry's* Residenciaries in *Spain*, who were to declare to the Emperor, *That in Regard the King of England was at half the Charge of the War with Francis, the Emperor should send him half the Prize and Booty taken at Pavia, and one of the two Hostages, or else Clarenceaux should denounce War against him*. To which rough Message the Emperor return'd a soft and subtle Answer, which shew'd he had no other Design at present but to gain Time.

He begs King Henry's Assistance.

The two Kings of *England* and *France* being inform'd of the Emperor's dilatory Proceedings, together with the Pope's Distress, would no longer delay to give Orders for their own, as well as the general Affairs of Christendom. Therefore the Cardinal, as the most proper Person, was order'd to *France*, both for concluding the Marriage of the Princess *Mary*, either with *Francis* or the Duke of *Orleans* his Son, as also for other Occasions. A more magnificent Embassie than this of the Cardinals was never known, he was attended with all the Pomp and Splendor of a Sovereign Monarch, and a glorious Equipage of a thousand Horse. At *Boloign* he was met by the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the Chancellor of *Alanzon* with the like Number of Horse, who accompany'd him in his Way to *Monstreuil*, and afterwards to *Abbeville*, where he continu'd in great State for some Days. Shortly after the *French* King, with Madam *Lovise* his Mother, coming to *Amiens*, the Cardinal with all his splendid Train set forwards from *Abbeville*; of which Notice being given, King *Francis* being Royally attended, met him a Mile and a half from the Town; and the Cardinal was so exact in the honourable Circumstances of Address, that he would not yield to the *French* Monarch one Step in his Approaches. Being met with mutual Embraces, *Francis*, after a most obliging Acknowledgment That he would his Liberty chiefly to the King of *England*, conducted him to his Lodgings. During many Ceremonies, Entertainments, and Visits, three Treaties were concluded, and concluded on the eighteenth Day of *August*; by the First of which the Princess *Mary* was to marry to the *French* King's second Son the Duke of *Orleans*, but the Time not exactly appointed. The Second related chiefly to any

Wolsey's splendid Embassie into France.

Three Treaties concluded.

any Treaty that might be made between either of the two Kings and the Emperor. By the Third it was agreed that no Act, Sentence, Bull, Letter or Breve proceeding from the Pope, during his Captivity, and tending to the Damage of the two Kings, or the Legantine Power of the Cardinal, should be obey'd, or have any Force. And the Power these two Princes assum'd began the Taste that King *Henry* took of governing the Clergy in chief; of which, as well as the Dissolution of Monasteries, the first Arguments and Impressions were deriv'd from the Cardinal; who having now in a Conference with some Cardinals at *Compeign*, resolv'd that such a Power for the Government of the Church was in these Times necessary, took on him the Charge of the Ecclesiastical Affairs in *England*, under the Title of *Vicar General*. On the sixteenth of *September* the Cardinal prepar'd to return; whereupon *Francis* not only richly presented him, but conducted him through the Town, and a Mile beyond, accompany'd with the King of *Navarre*, the Pope's Legate, and the chief Nobility. The Cardinal now hastning homewards, came to *Calais*, where having establish'd a Mart, he arriv'd at the *English* Court in the End of *September*, where he was receiv'd by the King with great Demonstrations of Affection. To correspond with this Embassie, the *French* King sent *De Montmorency Grand Maistre*, and several Noblemen and others, to ratifie the League in *England*; who, to the Number of six hundred Horse, were conducted to *London*, and lodg'd in the Bishop's Palace. They were first entertain'd by the Cardinal at *Hampton-Court*, with an unexpected Magnificence, and shortly after by the King at *Greenwich* with a Feast surpassing all Imagination, and then with a Comedy, in which his Daughter the Princess had a particular Part. On this Day also the King of *England* receiv'd at the Hands of *Montmorency*, the Order of St. *Michael*; and the King of *France*, with no less Solemnity, that of the *Garter* in *Paris*. Both Princes likewise gave their Oath and Seal of Gold for the Ratification of the late Treaty.

The Reception
of the French
Ambassadors.

The Emperor's
Designs.

The Emperor not being ignorant of these Treaties, thought fit to prevent the Execution of them, by a timely Compliance with all that could in reason be expected from him. Therefore on the fifteenth of *September* he offer'd to the *French* and *English* Ambassadors residing at his Court, That the Article for the Restitution of *Burgundy* should be ras'd out of the Treaty of *Madrid*; That *Francis* should pay for the Ransom of his Sons, the two Millions of Crowns that were offer'd; and out of them so much should be allow'd, as would pay the King of *England*. When these and some other Particulars were approv'd on both Sides, the *French* Ambassadors alledg'd that they wanted sufficient Authority from their King to sign them, which they promis'd to procure; so that the Conclusion of Peace was at this Time deferr'd on their Parts. The Emperor not much dissatisfy'd, return'd to his former Arts of dividing the two Kings; therefore he sent privately to the Cardinal, offering him large Sums for that Purpose, besides his ordinary Pension, which was twenty four thousand Crowns *per Annum*. Notwithstanding which, because he had prevented him in the Papacy, and deny'd him the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, when both had been promis'd to him, he was found inexorable. Therefore on the twelfth of *December* the *English* Ambassadors made particular Demands to the Emperor at *Bruges*; That he would immediately pay to their Master what Mony had been lent him in the Time of Exigency, and pay a Penalty of five hundred thousand Ducats, for not marrying the Princess *Mary* according to Agreement; as likewise that he would deliver the Pope, and make full Satisfaction for the Damage he had sustain'd. To these the Emperor gave evasive Answers, except to that concerning the Pope, to which he said Orders were given for his Deliverance. This last prov'd true, for the Emperor having brought the Pope to new Terms, order'd him to be set at Liberty; but the Pope prevented them by making his Escape in the Habit of a Merchant, the Night

The Pope re-
covers his Li-
berty.

Night before they promis'd to deliver him. His Hostages yet remain'd 'till the Sum agreed on was paid, towards raising of which, he was forc'd to make several Cardinals for Mony, and granted Licences in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and other Places for alienating of Ecclesiastical Goods and Possessions; giving therein a Beginning, as some observe, to that Liberty, which was afterwards taken in divers Places. The Pope being at Liberty he gave Notice of it to King *Henry* and Cardinal *Wolsey*, acknowledging them great Instruments in the happy Change, and desiring the King to continue his Protection to the See of *Rome*. Upon which the Cardinal repair'd in solemn Triumph to the Cathedral of *St. Paul's*, and caus'd *Te Deum* to be sung, and Bonfires and other Rejoycings to be made.

In the following Year the two Kings proceeded more openly, and sent their several Heralds to the Emperor, *Clarenceaux* from the King of *England* and *Guyenne* from the King of *France*, to expostulate their Grievances, and upon his refusing to redress them, to defie him as their open Enemy. The Emperor heard the Heralds with great Temper, and answer'd *Clarenceaux* very mildly, *That he knew his Master's Grievances were grounded upon Misinformations, in which he would shortly rectifie him by his Letters, as desiring nothing more than to continue his Friend:* But he answer'd *Guyenne* very roughly, bidding him tell his Master, *That he had broken his Faith, in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his Liberty:* And with these Answers he dismiss'd them; only *Guyenne* thinking it not proper to deliver his Answer by Word of Mouth in such Terms, obtain'd to have it sent in Writing. The Heralds return'd home, and delivering their Answers, the *French* King was so incens'd, that soon after he sent another Defiance to the Emperor, declaring in plain Terms *That he ly'd in his Throat;* and thereupon challeng'd him to a single Combate, requiring him to appoint the Field, and he would appoint the Weapons. The Emperor accepted the Challenge, but other Occurrences intervening hinder'd the Performance. In the mean Time the Emperor, being unwilling to make a Breach with *England*, sent a particular Embassie to King *Henry*, declaring, *That he had been so much oblig'd to him, that he could not take the Defiance given by his Herald, as a full Denunciation of War, 'till he had heard further of his Pleasure.* To this King *Henry* reply'd in these Terms, *Tho' we highly respect your Master, yet we cannot suffer him to destroy the Realm of France, which is our true Inheritance, and for which our Brother and Allie the French King, pays us yearly a great Pension and Tribute; wherefore, out of Justice and Equity, we are oblig'd to maintain that Land, that yields us such a considerable Rent and Profit.*

The Kings of France and England send Defiances to the Emperor.

Thus stood the Affairs of *Europe* in this memorable Year 1528: The Emperor at Variance with the *French* King, and formidable to the Pope and the States of *Italy:* The King of *France* joining with the King of *England*, and both favouring the Pope: The King of *England* an Arbiter of *Christendom*, whose Friendship was courted, and his Power dreaded by all of them, and who in a special Manner had oblig'd both the *French* King and present Pope. A five Years Truce was made with *Scotland;* *Ireland* was quieted by the Return of the Earl of *Kildare;* and *England* in Peace, but only uneasy under some Managements of the Cardinal, and a little disturb'd by the Progress of *Lutheranism.* As to the King himself, he had been so great an Enemy to that Doctrine, so faithful a Friend to the *Roman* Church, and so strong a Support to the Papacy, that if he had dy'd before this nineteenth Year of his Reign, he could scarce have miss'd of being Canoniz'd, notwithstanding all his Faults; for he abounded in those Virtues, which had given Saintship to Kings for near a thousand Years together, and had done more than any of them, by writing in Defence of the *Roman* Faith.

The State of Europe.

A. D.

1528.

Reg. 10.

VI. The great King *Henry* had for nineteen Years liv'd in all Splendor and Prosperity, and had enjoy'd all the Pleasure and Glory of a mighty Monarch, who commanded both at home and abroad. His Wars were made with Honour and Reputation, and his Treaties were just and advantageous; and he had no Inquietudes in all his Affairs, but in his Endeavours to raise Money, in which the Cardinal always eas'd and reliev'd him. But at this Time a Domestick Trouble arose, which robb'd him of his former Ease, perplex'd all the rest of his Government, and drew surprizing Consequences after it of the highest Nature. By Virtue of a Bull and Dispensation from Pope *Julius* the Second, in the Year 1503, King *Henry* in his Youth had been contracted to his Brother *Arthur's* Widow; and by Virtue of the same Dispensation, and his Father's Means he marry'd her when he came to the Crown, by the Advice and Consent of his Council, tho' contrary to the last Thoughts of his Father, and the Opinion of some very considerable for Judgment and Learning. For many Years he enjoy'd this virtuous Queen, without any Scruple of the Validity of the Match, or outward Mark of Unkindness between them; she having born him two Sons, who dy'd in their Infancy, and one Daughter, the Princess *Mary*, now about twelve Years of Age. This Daughter having been offer'd to several crown'd Heads, as has been formerly related, many Doubts began to arise concerning her Legitimacy and Right to the Crown, and the Validity of the King's own Marriage with his Brother's Widow. Now as other Princes had mov'd Scruples against a Marriage with this Princess, the Heir of so great a Crown, so especially the King began to make some himself, or rather to publish those he declar'd he had some Years before. The King insist'd upon all the Arguments of Conscience, and seem'd to lay the greatest Weight on the Prohibition in the *Levitical* Law of marrying his Brother's Wife; and he being conversant in the Writings of the School-Men, found that they esteem'd these Laws as Moral and for ever binding, and that by Consequence the Pope's Dispensation was of no Force, since his Authority did not extend so far as to dispence with the Laws of God. This caus'd him to reflect upon the Death of his Sons, which he now look'd on as a Judgment from Heaven for that unlawful Marriage; so that he was very desirous to have the Advice and Opinion of the chief Divines in the Nation. All the Bishops of *England*, except *Fisher* of *Rockester*, declar'd by a Writing under their Hands and Seals, that they judg'd the Marriage unlawful. And as the Point of Conscience wrought on his Mind, so the Interest of the Kingdom requir'd that there ought to be no Scruples concerning the Succession to the Crown; lest as the bloody War between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York* had been bury'd with his Father, so a new one should arise at his Death.

The King's
Marriage ques-
tion'd by Fo-
reigners,

and scrupled
by himself and
his Bishops.

Affairs standing thus, no Probability of the Queen's Fruitfulness appearing, and she having contracted some Diseases that made her unacceptable to the King, he resolv'd to have Recourse to the Court of *Rome*; comforting himself, that there was no other Difficulty in removing all these Inconveniences, than the obtaining a Dispensation to dissolve that Marriage, which only a Dispensation had first made. He knew that the same Key that had lock'd, could unlock again; and he had reason to expect a quick and favourable Dispatch of his Business at *Rome*, where Dispensations or Divorces in Favour of Princes usually pass, more with regard to the Merits of the Prince that desires them, than the Cause it self. His Alliance seem'd then necessary to the Pope, who was at that Time in Captivity; nor could the Emperor with any good Pretence oppose his Suit, since he had broken his Contract with his Daughter upon the Account of the Doubtfulness of the Marriage. The Cardinal had also given him full Assurances of a satisfactory Answer from *Rome*; whether upon the Knowledge he had of that Court, and of the Pope's Temper, or upon any Promise made him, is not certain. But that the Suit might not be shocking and reflect-

ing upon the Authority of the papal Chair, the Reasons to be alledg'd for the annulling the former Bull of Dispensation, upon which the Diverce was to follow in Course, were grounded upon some false Suggestions in the Bull itself, and upon the Protestation the King had made when he came to be of Age. In reality they were so material, that a favourable Pope, left wholly to himself, would have yielded to them without any Scruple. About this Time the King began to shew some Favours to Mrs. *Anne Bolin*, a Lady at Court, which caus'd many to believe that all this Process was mov'd by the unseen Spring of that secret Affection. But it is not probable that the Ingagement of the King's Affections to any other gave the Rise to all this; for so prying a Courtier as *Wolsey* was, would have discover'd it, and not have projected a Marriage with the *French* King's Sister, as he did not long before, if he had seen the King prepossess'd: It is more probable the King conceiving himself in a manner discharged of his former Marriage, gave a free Liberty to his Affections, which soon began to settle upon Mrs. *Bolin*. This memorable Woman was Niece to the then Duke of *Norfolk* by her Mother, and related to several good Families, and was for some Years educated in the *French* Court, where she was much admir'd, and no less in that of *England*, after her Return. She continu'd to live without any Blemish, 'till her unfortunate Fall gave Occasion to some malicious Writers to defame her in all the Parts of her Life: She wanted no Charms relating to Wit or Person; tho' she was more beautiful than graceful, and more pleasant and witty, than nicely discreet. Upon her coming to the *English* Court, the Lord *Piercy*, being then a Domestick of the Cardinal's, bore Love to her, and proceeded so far as to engage himself to marry her; and her Consent shews she had then no Aspirings to the Crown. But the Cardinal, upon some private Reasons, using Threats and other Methods, with great Difficulty put an End to the Design; for which it is said the Lady ever after hated the Cardinal.

He applies to the Pope for a Diverce.

and inclines to Anne Bolin.

But to return to the famous Process, Doctor *Knight*, then Secretary of State, was sent to *Rome* to prepare his Holiness in this important Affair; and the Family of the *Cassali* having much of the Pope's Favour, they were likewise employ'd to promote it. The Cardinal sent a large Dispatch to Sir *Gregory Cassali*, setting forth all the Reasons both in Conscience and Policy, for obtaining a Commission to himself to judge the Affair. Great Promises were made in the King's Name, both for publick and private Services, and nothing was omitted that might probably influence the Pope, or those Cardinals who had greatest Credit and Interest with him. Secretary *Knight* made Application to the Pope, after the most private Manner, and met with a very favourable Answer; for the Pope readily promis'd to dissolve the Marriage: But a contrary Promise being exacted of him in the Emperor's Name, not to proceed in this Affair, he was reduc'd to exceeding Difficulties, not so much in respect of his Promises, which were impossible to keep on both Sides, as to his Interests. He was then in Captivity, and at the Mercy of the Emperor, whom he hated and distrust'd, and at the same Time was infinitely desirous to serve the King of *England*; therefore he projected to gain Time, and begg'd *That if the King would respite the Matter for a little Space, he should not only have the Dispensation, but every Thing that was in his Power to grant.* At the same Time the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* made some Scruples concerning the Bull that was demanded, till he had rais'd his Price, and got a large Present; and then the Pope actually sign'd both a Commission for *Wolsey* to try the Cause, and judge in it, and also a Dispensation, and deliver'd them into Secretary *Knight's* Hands; but with Tears begg'd of him *That there might be no Proceedings upon them, 'till the Emperor was put out of Capacity of executing his Revenge upon him, and then he was ready to own this Act of Justice which he did in the King's Favour.* And being a very subtle Man, he propos'd an Expedient, which if follow'd by the King, it might have put a quicker and easier End to the Process: He found,

The Pope is favourable to him.

that his sending Bulls, or a Legate to *England* would become publick, draw the Emperor upon him, and admit of dangerous Delays; therefore he propos'd, *If the King was satisfy'd in his own Conscience, in which he believ'd no Doctor could resolve him better than himself, then he might without further Noise cause Judgment to be given in England; and upon that marry another Wife, and send over to Rome for a Confirmation; which would be very easily granted, if the Matter was actually done.* But still the Pope desir'd that this might be represented to the King as the Advice of the Cardinals, and not as his own. But the King's Counsellors thought this more hazardous than the Way of a Process; for if upon the King's second Marriage, a Confirmation should be deny'd, then the Right of Succession would be still more dubious; therefore they utterly declin'd it.

The Pope was at this Time disgusted with Cardinal *Wolsey*; for he understood, that during his Captivity, he had been forming a Design to make himself Vicar of the Papacy, and was to have sat at *Avignon*, which might have produc'd a new *Schism*. *Staphileus*, Dean of the *Rota*, being then in *England*, was prevail'd upon by the Promise of a Bishoprick, and the Hopes of a Cardinal's Hat, to promote the King's Affair; and by him the Cardinal wrote to the Pope, after the most pressing Manner, for a Dispatch of this Business; and desir'd, *That an indifferent and tractable Cardinal might be sent over, with a full Commission to join with him and judge the Matter*; proposing Cardinal *Campegio* to the King's Ambassadors, as the fittest Man; and when a Legate should be nam'd, he order Presents to be made to him, and that they should hasten his Dispatch, and see that the Commission be full. But upon the Arrival of the Couriers from *Rome*, *Gardiner* the Cardinal's Secretary, and *Fox* the King's Almoner, the one a Canonist, and the other a Divine, were sent thither with Letters, both from the King and Cardinal to the Pope; and they carry'd Orders, most like to succeed, which was to make large Presents to the Cardinals. They also carry'd with them the Draught of a Bull, containing all the saving Clauses that could be invented, that it might not fail of Acceptance; one Clause was to declare the Issue of the Marriage good, as being begot *bona fide*; which probably was inserted to make the Queen more easie, since by that it appear'd, that however it was determin'd, her Daughter would be no Sufferer. The Cardinal in his Letters to *Cassali* shew'd the Height of his Zeal, and offer'd to take the Blame on his own Soul if his Holiness would but grant this Bull; and with Earnestness as hearty and warm as Words can express, he urg'd the Matter, and added, *That he perceiv'd, that if the Pope continu'd inexorable, the King of England would proceed another Way.*

These Sollicitations had such Effects, That Cardinal *Campegio* was declar'd Legate, and order'd to go for *England*, and join in Commission with *Wolsey*, for judging this nice Cause. This Cardinal was Bishop of *Salisbury*, and a tractable Man, as was desired; yet to raise his Price the higher, he mov'd many Scruples, and seem'd to enter upon this Employment with great Fear and Aversion. *Wolsey*, who knew his Temper, vehemently urg'd him to use Expedition, assuring him of great Rewards from the King; to which he kept so close, that in a Letter he wrote to him, among other Motives to persuade him, that of a good Conscience being put in the first Draught, the Cardinal struck it out as knowing how little it would signifie to Men of his Temper. At length *Campegio* set out from *Rome*, and carry'd with him a positive Decretal Bull for annulling the King's Marriage, which was trusted to him, and he was authoriz'd to shew it to the King and *Wolsey*; but was strictly commanded not to give it out of his Hands to either of them. At this Time *Wolsey* was seiz'd with the Sweating-Sickness, which then rag'd in *England*; and by a Compliment which both the King and Mrs. *Bolen* wrote to him on the same Paper, it appears, he was then privy to the King's Design of marrying her, and design'd to advance himself still higher, by his Merits in procuring her the Crown. This Year also

*He sends over
a Decretal Bull
by Cardinal
Campegio.*

he establish'd his two great Colleges; and finding both the King and People much pleas'd with his converting some Monasteries to such Uses, he design'd to suppress more, and to change them to Bishopricks and Cathedral Churches, which because the Pope was unwilling to grant, by reason of some Oppositions, *Gardiner* told him, *It was necessary, and must be done*; therefore a Power for so doing was added to the Legate's Commission.

While Affairs pass'd thus between *Rome* and *England*, the Queen labour'd with all those Passions which Jealousie of the King's Affection, Sense of her own Honour, and the Legitimation of her Daughter could produce, and vigorously apply'd her self to her two Nephews, the Emperor and his Brother, to espouse her Cause; complaining much of the King, and more of the Cardinal. The Queen applies to the Emperor, The Emperor undertook the Cause more willingly, because the King was then in the Interest of *France*; and to help forwards this Business, a certain Breve was now found out, or more probably forg'd, of the same Date with the Bull that dispens'd with her Marriage in the Year 1503: But with stronger Clauses in it, to answer those Objections that were made against some Defects in the Bull; tho' it could not seem probable, that in the same Day, a Bull and a Breve should be granted for the same Things in such different Terms. The most considerable Variation was, That whereas the Bull did only suppose that the Queen's Marriage with Prince *Arthur* was *Perhaps carnally consummated*; this Breve did suppose it absolutely, without the Word *Perhaps*. This was thought a Prejudice to the Queen's Cause, as much as the Suspicion of Forgery was a Blemish to her Agents.

In *October* Cardinal *Campegio* arriv'd in *England*, where he was receiv'd with great Solemnity; and in his Speech at his first Audience, he declar'd the King, *The Deliverer of the Pope, and the City of Rome*. After the first Compliments were over, he privately advis'd the King to desist from the Prosecution of his Suit; and then counsell'd the Queen in the Pope's Name to make her Vows, and enter into a Religious Life, but both were ineffectual; and he by affecting a nice Impartiality, almost lost both Sides. But he in a great Measure pacify'd the King when he shew'd him the Decretal Bull he had brought over for annulling the Marriage; but he would not part with it out of his Hands, nor leave it for one Minute either with the King or the Cardinal, declaring, *That upon these Terms it was granted, and that he brought it to let the King see how well his Holiness was affected to him*. Upon this great Instances were made at *Rome*, that *Campegio* might be order'd to shew the Bull to some of the King's Counsellors, and proceed to the Determination of the Business, otherwise *Wolsey* would be ruin'd, and *England* lost from the Papacy. Campegio comes into England, Yet all this did not prevail in the crafty Pope, who knew what was intended by getting the Bull out of *Campegio's* Hands, that then the King would leave him to the Mercy of the Emperor; therefore he said, *That he would gladly lose a Finger to recover the Bull*: Yet still he left the Legates in *England* free to judge as they saw Cause, and promis'd that he would confirm their Sentence. Upon this *Sir Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes* were dispatch'd to *Rome* with new Propositions, to offer this Expedient. If both King and Queen took Religious Vows, so that their Marriage was upon that annull'd, whether the Pope would engage to dispense with the King's Vow, or else grant him a Licence for having two Wives: For which there were divers Precedents vouch'd from the Old Testament. *Wolsey* also offer'd in the King's Name, to settle a Pay for two thousand Men, that should be a Guard to the Pope, and to procure a Restitution of some of his Towns, seiz'd by the *Venetians*. But the Pope had no Inclination to have his Guards paid by other Princes, which was in Effect to be their Prisoner; and he dreaded every Thing that might bring new Calamities upon him. who refuses to show the Bull in Publick. Therefore he now resolv'd to unite himself The Pope's Policy and Knavery, firmly with the Emperor, by whose Means only he hop'd to re-establish his Family at *Florence*; and from this Time forwards, all the Use he made of King

King *Henry's* Earnestness in his Divorce, was only to draw in the Emperor on better Terms to his Interest. The Emperor was also at that Time pressing him hard for a general Council; which, besides the general Aversion of the Court of *Rome*, he had great Reason to fear; for being himself a spurious Issue, he was threaten'd with Deprivation, as incapable of holding his Dignity. Thus pass'd the first Year of this memorable Process, in which it was believ'd that if the King had employ'd that Money, unnecessarily spent at *Rome*, on a War in *Flanders*, it had so disturb'd the Emperor, and encourag'd the Pope, that he had sooner granted that, which in a more fruitless Way was sought of him.

A. D. 1529. Reg. 20. The Imperialists at *Rome* all the Time press'd hard to have the Legates in *England* inhibited, and the Cause to be recall'd and heard before the Consistory; but the Pope dislik'd that Motion as dangerous: But his constant Maxim being to promise and swear deepest, when he intended least, to mollify King *Henry*, he sent over *Campana*, one of his Bed-Chamber, into *England*, with Compliments too high to gain much Credit. He assur'd the King, *That his Holiness would serve him in every Respect, not only in Justice and Equity, but in the Pluritude of his Power; and tho' he had reason to be apprehensive of the Emperor's Resentments, yet that should never divert his Zeal for the King's Interest, in which he would not be wanting, tho' it were with the Resignation of the Popedom it self.* He was also order'd to require the Legates to put a speedy Period to the Business; but his secret Instructions to *Campegio* were of a contrary Strain; he charg'd him to burn the Decretal Bull, and to protract the Matter by all the dilatory Methods he could invent. Yet still the Pope continu'd his Compliments to those the King sent over, and gave new Assurances. *That tho' he did not grant a Bull, by which the Divorce should be immediately his own Act, yet still he was ready to confirm the Legate's Sentence.* But at the same Time the Pope propos'd a Journey *incognito* into *Spain*, and desired Cardinal *Wolsey* to go with him, in order to obtain a general Peace for Christendom. Tho' in secret he was then making Offer of Compliance with the Emperor, and gave his Agents Assurances, *That tho' the Legates gave Sentence, he would not confirm it.* Upon which the King's Correspondents at *Rome*, wrote to him to push on the War more vigorously against the Emperor, for nothing was to be expected at that Court, unless the Emperor's Affairs declin'd.

But an unexpected Accident put some Stop to all Proceedings in the Court of *Rome*: For the Pope was taken suddenly ill, and fell into a dangerous Sickneſs; upon which the Imperialists began to prepare for a Conclave; but *Farneſe*, and the Cardinal of *Mantua* oppos'd their Designs, and shew'd a great Inclination for *Wolsey*, whom they reverenc'd as a *Deity*, as his Correspondents wrote to him. Upon this he sent a Courier to *Gardiner*, then in his Journey to *Rome*, with large Directions how to manage the Election; in which it was concluded, That the King of *France*, joining heartily with the King of *England*, of which he was confident, there were only six Cardinals wanting to make the Election sure; and besides Sums of Money and other Rewards, he was to give them Assurance, that the Cardinal's Preferments should be divided among them. These were the secret Methods of attaining that Chair, that was believ'd to be attended with Infalibility. But the Pope's Recovery put an End to these dark Intrigues; which yet were soon after reviv'd by a long and threatening Relapse. Then new Labours were undertaken to gain many Cardinals to favour King *Henry's* Cause; and many Precedents of Divorces were produc'd, that had been granted in Favour of Princes, upon much slighter Grounds. But the Imperialists were so powerful at *Rome*, that they could not hope for Success, without the Emperor was first gain'd; upon which a secret Negotiation was set on Foot with him, but it had no other Effect, than to give great Jealousie both to the Pope and *French* King. Another Dispatch was

sent to *Rome*, to procure a Commission with fuller Power to the Legates, and a Pollicitation under the Pope's Hand to confirm the Sentence: The latter was granted, but the former utterly refus'd; for the Pope was resolv'd to proceed no further in that Matter, tho' *Wolsey* wrote to *Rome*, *That if any Justice were deny'd the King, not only England, but likewise France would withdraw their Obedience from the Apostolick See*; because by that it would be infer'd, that the Emperor had such Influence at *Rome*, as to oblige the Pope to be partial or favourable as he pleas'd. At this Time the Cardinal was bargaining for his Bulls for the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, which were rated at fifteen thousand Ducats; but since it was a Translation from *Durham*, so that a new Composition would arise for that Vacancy, he refus'd to pay above a third of what was demanded.

*He is guided
by the Empe-
ror's Interest.*

As the Pope recover'd his Health, so he inclin'd more to join with the Emperor, who now by his Ambassador at *Rome*, enter'd a Protestation in the Queen of *England's* Name against the Legates, as unreasonably partial in King *Henry's* Favour, which was receiv'd by the Pope, tho' much oppos'd by the *English* Ambassador. Upon this, *Gardiner*, who was a Man of great Subtlety and Penetration, wrote to King *Henry*, assuring him, *That he was to expect nothing more from the Pope, who was resolv'd to offend neither the Emperor nor him; therefore he advis'd him to procure the Legates to give Sentence with all possible Expedition; and when it should come to the Emperor's Turn to sollicite for Bulls against the King, the Pope would be as backward as he was now.* All this he desir'd might not be shewn to the Cardinal; for he was now making his own Fortunes, and had at the same Time a private Correspondence with Mrs. *Bolen*, whom he expected would in Time be Queen. In the Pollicitation which the Pope sign'd to confirm the Legate's Sentence, some Clauses were incerted, by which he could easily break loose from it; therefore *Gardiner* endeavour'd to procure another in fuller Terms, by this Artifice: He told the Pope, *That the Courier had met with an Accident in passing a River, by which the Instrument was so defac'd with the Water, that it could not be of any Use.* But the Pope was such a Master in the Arts of Dissimulation and Policy, that instead of being catch'd with this, and to grant a new one, he was heartily glad it was defac'd, and positively refus'd to renew it. And a long and earnest Letter wrote from the Legates to the Pope, urging him to end the Matter by a Decretal Bull, assuring him, *It was only a Scruple of Conscience that wrought on the King, and no Desire of a new Wife, and that the whole Nation was much offended at the Delays of this Matter, in which all were so nearly concern'd,* prevail'd nothing on him; for he consider'd it was only done by them in Compliance with the King, who thought he had intirely gain'd *Campegio*, since the Scandals of his Life were so publick, that the Motives of Interest must certainly have the Ascendant over him. But by all the Arts that could be invented, they were not able to over-reach the Pope, who whatever he might be in his Decisions, seem'd infallible in his Sagacity and Jealousie. The Queen's Agents still press'd hard for an Avocation; but the Pope was unwilling to grant that, 'till he had finish'd his Treaty in all other Points with the Emperor, and he began to complain much of the cold Proceedings of the Confederates, and That they expos'd him both to the Emperor's Mercy, and the Scorn of the *Florentines*; by which it was visible, he was seeking Pretensions for throwing himself into the Emperor's Arms. Great Objections were made to the Motion for an Avocation, *That it was contrary to the King's Prerogative to be cited at Rome; wherefore he would seek Justice from the Clergy of England, if deny'd by the Pope: It was also contrary to the Pollicitation under the Pope's Hand, to recall the Legate's Commission, and his Faith often deliver'd by Word of Mouth, chiefly of late by Campana.* But verbal Promises did not much bind the Pope, they vanish'd into Air, and *Campana* swore he had made none; and for the written Pollicitation,

*He becomes
more obstinate.*

citation, there was a saving Clause in it, by which he could escape; so that he was at Liberty from all Engagements, but those he had privately given in Discourse, and to these he was no Slave.

King *Henry* being well inform'd of what pass'd at *Rome*, recall'd *Gardiner* and *Bryan*, and sent Doctor *Bennet* to *Rome* to hinder the Avocation of the Cause, of which he was so apprehensive, that he not only intercepted those Dispatches sent to *Rome* from *Campegio*, or any else, but also those Intelligences which the Queen should give to her Aunt *Margaret* of the *Low-Countries*. So that now the King finding his Conscience unsatisfy'd, his Nobility in Suspence, and the People murmuring at these Delays in an Affair of the greatest Importance, he charg'd the two Cardinals to proceed with all Expedition. The Place appointed for hearing and determining the Cause, was the great Hall in *Black-Fryars*, the Time the thirty first of *May*; when both the Cardinals appear'd in great Pomp; so that *Wolsey* might be said to be now in the Height of his Grandeur, when he sat Judge of his own Sovereign's Cause, upon which no less than the Succession of the Kingdom depended. The Court being sat, a peremptory Citation was issu'd out for the King and Queen, to appear on the eighteenth of *June*; upon which Day the Queen appear'd in Person, and protested against the Cardinals as incompetent Judges. Endeavours were therefore us'd to terrifie her into some Compliance, and a formal Complaint was made against her, 'That she favour'd some who design'd to destroy the King and Cardinal; That she carry'd her self very disobligingly to the King, and us'd many indecent Arts to render her self popular; That the King was in Danger of his Life by her Means, and therefore he could no longer keep her Company, either as to Bed or Table: But she was a Woman of such Resolution and Constancy, that no Threatnings could intimidate her. At the next Court Day, both the King and Queen appear'd; but the latter instead of answering to the Legates, kneel'd down before the King, and made a Speech that had all the Intinuations to raise Commiseration in the Audience. She declar'd *She had been his dutiful Wife for twenty Years, had born him several Children, and had always study'd to oblige him; therefore she beg'd to know where was her Offence.* She insisted upon her Virginity when she came to his Bed, alledging, *That the Marriage was made by both their Parents, who were wise Princes, and had good Counsellors when it was made; but at present she being a Stranger and a Subject, had neither indifferent Judges to hear, nor indifferent Lawyers to plead her Cause; therefore she could expect no Justice in that Court.* Upon which she went out of the Court, and would never after appear in that Place. At her Departure, the King gave her a great Character for her extraordinary Qualities, and protested, *He was acted by no other Principle, than that of Conscience,* and clear'd Cardinal *Wolsey* from being the first Mover in this Suit; declaring, That he first mention'd the Matter in Confession to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and had desir'd the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to procure him the Resolution of the Bishops of *England* in this Case; and that they had under their Hands declar'd, *That his Marriage was unlawful.* The Bishop of *Rochester* deny'd he had sign'd such a Paper; but the Arch-Bishop alleg'd, That he gave him leave to make another write his Name to it, which the other still deny'd. The Legates however, proceeded according to the Forms of Law; but the Queen instead of appearing, appeal'd from them to the Pope, and excepted both against the Place, the Judges, and her Lawyers. Yet still they pronounc'd her contumacious, and proceeded to the Examination of Witnesses for several Days, the Substance of which Allegations were, That there were many violent Presumptions appear'd, That Prince *Arthur* had Carnal Knowledge of the Queen; and it could not be expected that greater Proofs could be made twenty seven Years after their Marriage.

And now since the Process was thus carry'd on, the Emperor's Agents vehemently press'd the Pope for an Avocation, to remove it to *Rome*; and all possible Endeavours were us'd by King *Henry's* Agents to present it; they omitted

The Queen
appeals to the
Pope,

omitted nothing that could operate upon the Pope's Temper, either by Way of Persuasion or Threatning. It was represented to him, *That there was a Treaty on foot between the King of England and the Lutheran Princes of Germany; and that upon his Holiness declaring himself so partial, as to grant the Avocation, he would certainly embark in the same Interests with them, and so England would be lost from the Apostolick See.* But as the Pope concluded the King was so far engag'd in Honour, that he could not be induc'd to unite with *Luther's* Followers in Points of Religion; so he did not imagine, that the Effects of his Avocation would be so dismal and fatal as the Cardinal's Creature had represented them, or as he himself afterwards found them. He thought it would probably ruin the King's Affairs, which might occasion his Agents to use such Threatnings; but he did not much regard that, because he hated him in his Heart. In Conclusion, after the Emperor had engag'd to restore his Family to the Government of *Florence*, he resolv'd to publish his Treaty with him: But that the granting the Avocation might not look like a secret Article, as it was in reality, he resolv'd to begin with that; and with the profoundest Marks of Sorrow, he declar'd to the *English* Ambassadors, *That he could not avoid it, both because all the Lawyers had assur'd him, It could not in common Justice be deny'd, and because he could not resist the Emperor's Forces, which surrounded him on all Sides.* Their Endeavours to gain some Time by Delays, were also as fruitless as their other Arts had been; for on the fifteenth of *July* the Pope sign'd it, publish'd the Treaty on the eighteenth, and sent the Instrument of Avocation on the nineteenth by an express Messenger to *England*.

Who grants an Avocation, and joins with the Emperor.

During this Management at *Rome*, the Legates, especially *Campegio* who was the Senior, protracted the Matter by all the Delays that could be invented, and gain'd much Time under the Pretence of not precipitating the King's Affairs. At last, being reduc'd to a sort of Necessity of pronouncing Sentence, instead of proceeding to that, *Campegio* unexpectedly adjourn'd the Court till *October*, declaring, *That they being a Part of the Consistory of Rome, were oblig'd to observe their Times of Vacation.* The King who was in the next Chamber, was unexpressibly surpriz'd, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, then in Court in a Rage swore by the Mass, *That no Cardinal ever did good in England.* To whom *Wolsey* severely reply'd, *If I poor Cardinal had not been here, you would not have kept your Head upon your Shoulders.* This was one of the last Flights of the mighty States-Man, whose Grandeur being at the Height, was now ready to sink: *Campegio* had nothing to lose in *England*, but the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, for which the Pope or Emperor could easily recompence him; but *Wolsey* began to be under all the Terrors that are incident to an exorbitant Favourite, upon the Change of his Fortune; none being more abject in Misfortune than those who are most elevated with Prosperity. When the Avocation was brought into *England*, the King submitted so far as to allow the Legates to declare the Commission void; but would by no means suffer the Letters citatory to be serv'd, for he look'd upon it as below the Dignity of his Crown, to be cited to appear at any other Court in Christendom. This was the first Step he made towards the Diminution of the Pope's Authority. Yet upon this Occasion he govern'd himself with more Mildness than was expected from the warmth of his Temper; he civilly dismiss'd *Campegio*, only his Officers strictly search'd his Coffers, when he took Shipping, with a Design as it was thought, to see if the decretal Bull could be found. *Wolsey* was now upon the Point of being disgrac'd, tho' the King seem'd to treat him with the same Confidence he had usually shewn to him; it being common for many Princes to hide their Designs of discarding their Favourites, with higher Expressions of Kindness than ordinary, 'till their Ruin, being unforeseen, breaks out with great Violence. Mrs. *Bolen*, who in the Time of the Process had been dismiss'd the Court, was now return'd; and the King's Thoughts for a while were divided by many Doubts and Perplexities. He had the more Reason to be circumspect

cumspet in his Affairs, because the Pope and Emperor were now united in the former Alliance: The Pope's Nephew, who had been lately marry'd to the Emperor's Daughter, was now Duke of *Florence*. And the Emperor went afterwards in Person, and was crown'd with great Magnificence by the Pope; who when the Emperor was kneeling down to kiss his Foot, humbled himself so far as to draw it back, and kiss his Cheek. In this Year also another Peace was concluded at *Cambray* between the Emperor, the *French* King, and the Lady *Margaret* of *Flanders*, call'd the *Womens Peace*; where King *Henry* first found the Deceitfulness of the *French* Alliance; for he was not so consider'd in the Treaty as he expected, and he found that *Francis* would not embroil his own Affairs in favour of his Divorce.

The Treaty of
Cambray.

The King wisely judg'd it necessary, to secure himself of the Affections and Confidence of his People, before he venter'd on any Thing that should displease two such Potentates as the Pope and Emperor; therefore he thought fit to call a Parliament, which had been diffus'd in *England* for seven Years, and probably by the Advice of the Cardinal, who before the calling of it fell into a sinking Condition. His too much Obsequiousness to the See of *Rome* in the last Process, and some inferior Accidents, render'd him obnoxious to the King and his nearest Friends. So that he first commanded him to deliver up the great Seal, which was with great Reluctancy obey'd, and given to Sir *Thomas More*, who was not only eminent in his own Profession, the Law, but in all Sorts of Learning; being much esteem'd for the Strictness of his Life, and his Contempt of Mony. Shortly after, *Hales* the Attorney-General put in an Information against the Cardinal in the King's Bench, importing, *That notwithstanding the Statute of Richard the Second, against procuring Bulls from Rome upon Pain of Premunire, yet he had procur'd Bulls for his Legantine Power, which he had for many Years executed.* To this he pleaded his Ignorance of the Statute, and submitted to the King's Mercy; upon which it was declar'd, That he had forfeited all his Goods and Chattels to the King, and that his Person was liable to be seiz'd. Immediately his rich Palace of *York-House*, since call'd *White-Hall*, was seiz'd to the King's Use; together with all that vast Wealth, and Royal Furniture that he had heap'd up together, which was prodigious, and beyond any Thing that had ever been seen in the Kingdom of *England*. But still the King had no Desire to ruin him intirely, but only to reduce him lower, to see if the Terror of that have any Influence on the Pope; therefore he first granted him his Protection, and then his Pardon, restor'd him to the See of *York* and *Winchester*, and gave him back in Mony, Goods and Plate to the Value of above six thousand Pounds. But as he had carry'd his Greatness with most exorbitant Pride, so he was no less meanly abjected with his Misfortunes, and a deep Melancholy overcame his Spirits. The King as he more and more relented, sent him frequent Assurances of his Favour; all which he receiv'd with extravagant Transports of Joy, and he that us'd to join or prefer himself to the King, now fell down on his Knees in the Dirt to a Messenger who brought him a Ring from his Majesty. Yet his Enemies had gone too far, ever to suffer a Man of his Temper and Abilities, to return to Favour. Therefore they found Means to bring in a high Charge of forty four Articles against him in open Parliament. They related chiefly to his Legantine Power, contrary to Law, to his Insolence and Ambition, his lewd Life, and other Things brought to defame his Reputation as well as destroy his Person. These easily pass'd in the House of Lords, where he had but few Friends and many Enemies; but when the Charge was sent down to the House of Commons, it was so manag'd by the Industry of *Thomas Cromwell*, who had been his Servant, that no Treason could be laid to his Charge, so that the Accusation dropp'd.

A Parliament
call'd.

Wolsey is dis-
grac'd.

He is im-
peach'd in Par-
liament.

The Parlia-
ments Proceed-
ings.

In this same Parliament, the Commons prepar'd several Bills against some of the Corruptions of the Clergy; one against the Exactions for the Probates of Wills, another for Regulating Mortuaries, and a third against Pluralities of Benefices and Non-residence. The Clergy abhor'd the Precedent of the Com-

mons,

mons, intermeddling in Ecclesiastical Affairs; and Bishop *Fisher* spoke violently against such Proceedings, declaring, *That all flow'd from want of Faith*. Upon which the Commons complain'd to the King, for his reproaching their honourable House, while the House of Peers either thought it no Breach of Privilege, or were willing to connive at such a Reflection. But *Fisher* being hated at Court for his firm Adherence to the Queen's Interest, was put upon his Purgation to explain himself, and the Matter pass'd over, and the Commons proceeded to their Bills; which, tho' strenuously oppos'd by the Clergy, were at length pass'd with the Royal Assent. Besides these, a very peculiar Bill was brought in for the Relief of the King, who in this long Interval of Parliaments had borrow'd several large Sums of his Subjects: Now this Parliament, both to discourage that Way of supplying Kings for the future, and to ruin the Cardinal's Creatures, who had been most ready to lend, as having the greatest Advantages from the Government, did by one Act discharge the King of all those Debts. This occasion'd great Murmurings among the Sufferers; but to qualifie the general Discontent, the King granted a free Pardon to all Offenders; only to terrifie the Pope, and to keep the Clergy in Submission, he excepted such as had incurr'd a *Premunire*, by acknowledging a Foreign Jurisdiction.

The King had still a particular View to the now submissive Cardinal, and soon found that his Case was not much regarded at *Rome*: The Emperor hated him for his late Actions, and the Pope was jealous of his vast Aspirings; so that tho' they were not well pleas'd to see a Cardinal so us'd, yet they could behold *Wolsey's* Downfall without much Concern. This Prelate was fondly desirous to have stay'd at *Richmond*, which the King had given him in Exchange for *Hampton-Court*, that he had also built; but that was too near the Court, and his Enemies were resolv'd to remove him further from it. Accordingly he was order'd to repair to his Diocese of *York*; in which Journey the very Ruins of his State were considerable, for he travell'd with a hundred and sixty Horse in his Train, and seventy two Waggons follow'd him with his Household-Stuff. Having continu'd there a few Months, and perform'd many charitable and popular Acts, he was attach'd for High-Treason by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and committed to the Custody of the Lieutenant of the Tower, who was order'd to bring him to *London*. And even then he had gracious Messages from the King, but they gave him no great Relief; for whether he knew himself guilty of some secret Practices with the Pope or Emperor, or whether he could stand no longer under the King's Displeasure and this abject Condition, he was so dispirited, that on his Way to *London*, he sickn'd at *Sheffield* in the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* House, from whence by slow Journies he went as far as *Leicester*, where he is said to have taken Poison to end his miserable Life. Being near his Departure, among other Things, he spoke this Sentence, worthy to be remember'd by all Favourites, *Had I serv'd my God as diligently as I have serv'd my King, he would not have given me over in my grey Hairs; but this is my just Reward*. He said further to Sir *William Kingston*, Lieutenant of the Tower, *If ever you be one of the King's Council, beware of what you put into his Head, for you will be never able to put it out again*. Thus dy'd this prodigious Man, on the twenty eighth Day of *November*, who had been the mightiest of all *English* Subjects, and was the greatest Instance that several Ages had shewn of the Variety and Inconstancy of Human Things, both in his Rise and Fall. By his Temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his Greatness, which renders his Character more surprising, that he should be able of himself to perform so many Wonders; and it cannot but be accounted a singular Felicity, that during his Administration, all Things succeeded better than afterwards; tho' the Impressions he gave did probably occasion several succeeding Irregularities. Notwithstanding the general Hatred he had rais'd, few ever fell from such a lofty Station, with lesser Crimes objected against him. But as his

A. D.

1530.

Reg. 21.

Wolsey is accus'd for High-Treason.

He dies.

being so subservient to his Sovereign's criminal Pleasures, was a greater Crime than his own lewd Life, or what was objected against him; so his sacrificing the Duke of *Buckingham* to his Resentments, was such a Villany as call'd down the Vengeance of Heaven upon him, which rarely suspends its Power, in Case of publick Blood.

The News of the Cardinal's Death being brought to the King, he could not with-hold from expressing a tender Concern, and declaring, *That he had rather suffer'd the Loss of twenty thousand Pounds.* But now his Thoughts were more possess'd with another rising Favourite, of a finer Spirit, and more real Merit, Doctor *Thomas Cranmer*, a Fellow of *Jesus College* in *Cambridge*, who in the preceding Year, meeting accidentally with *Gardiner* and *Fox* at *Weltham*, and being ask'd to declare his Thoughts concerning the King's Marriage, he propos'd a new and more rational Method: This was, 'That the King should ingage the chief Universities and Divines of *Europe*, to examine into the Lawfulness of his Marriage; and if they declar'd their Opinions against it, then the Marriage in Course must be pronounc'd void, because the Pope's Dispensation could not derogate from the Laws of God. As this was new, and reasonable in it self, so they propos'd it to the King, who was extreamly affected with it, as a Method that might have sav'd him a vast Expence of Mony and Trouble; and said in a coarse way of speaking, *He had been swine by the right Ear.* He perceiv'd that this way was more like to be effectual, and would extreamly mortifie the Pope, who had so much deluded him; therefore Doctor *Cranmer* was sent for to Court, where he so admirably behav'd himself, that the King conceiv'd an high Opinion both of his Learning and Prudence, and of his Probity and Sincerity, which took such a deep Root in his Heart, that no Artifices nor Calumnies were ever able to remove it.

The chief Universities and Divines in Europe declare the King's Marriage null.

This new Method being resolv'd on by the King, he first order'd Doctor *Cranmer* to write upon the Subject of the Divorce; and then sent to procure the Conclusions of the two Universities of *England*. Here the King met with greater Obstructions than from the Foreign Universities, by reason that Doctor *Cranmer*, and Mrs. *Bolen*, who was now like to be Queen, were thought Favourers of *Lutheranism*: Yet after a little Space, by a Majority, the Seals of both Universities were obtain'd; and they gave their Opinions, *That the Marriage of the Brother's Wife, was contrary both to the Laws of God and Nature.* Doctor *Crook*, a learned Man in the *Greek Tongue*, was employ'd in *Italy*, to procure the Resolutions of Divines and Universities there; in which he was so successful, that besides the great Discoveries he made in searching the Manuscripts of the *Greek Fathers*, concerning their Opinions in this Point, he engag'd several Persons to write for the King's Cause; and also got the *Jews* to give their Opinions of the Laws in *Leviticus*, that they were Moral and Obligatory. The State of *Venice* would not declare themselves, but said they would be Neuters; and it was not easie to persuade the Divines of the Republick to give their Opinions, till a Brief was obtain'd from the Pope, permitting all Divines and Canonists to deliver their Opinions, according to their Consciences; which was not granted but with great Difficulty. For the Pope abhor'd this Way of Proceeding, tho' he could not decently oppose it; yet he said in great Scorn, *That no Friar should set Limits to his Authority.* Besides many Divines and Canonists, not only whole Houses of Religious Orders, but even the University of *Bononia*, tho' the Pope's Town, declar'd the *Levitical Laws* concerning the Degrees of Marriage, were Parts of the Law of Nature, and that the Pope could not dispense with them. The University of *Padua* determin'd the same, as also that of *Ferrara*; so that *Crook* sent over to *England* an hundred several Books, and Papers, with many Subscriptions, all condemning the King's Marriage as unlawful in it self. At *Paris*, the famous *Sorbon* made their Determination with great Solemnity of Masses and Oaths; and after three Weeks impartial Study, they agreed, *That*

the King's Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope could not dispence with it. At Orleans, Angiers, and Tholouse, and at other Universities in France, they determin'd to the same Purpose.

The King's Cause being favour'd and fortify'd by these, and many other Authorities, he procur'd many Members of Parliament, in a Time of Prorogation, to sign a Letter to the Pope, complaining, 'That notwithstanding the great Merits of their King, the Justice of his Cause, and the Importance of it to the Safety of the Kingdom, yet his Holiness still made new Delays; they therefore earnestly press'd him to dispatch it speedily, otherwise they should be compell'd to seek for other Remedies, tho' they were unwilling to drive Matters to Extremities, 'till it became unavoidable. This Letter was sign'd by the two Arch-Bishops, four Bishops, forty two Peers, twenty two Abbots, and eleven Commoners: To this the Pope wrote an Answer: 'He took notice of the Vehemence of their Stile: He freed himself from the Imputations of Ingratitude and Injustice: He acknowledg'd the King's great Merits, declaring he had done all he could in his Favour. He had granted a Commission, but could not refuse to receive the Queen's Appeal; all the Cardinals had with one Consent judg'd, That an Avocation was necessary. Since then the Delays did not proceed from him, but the King; that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an Issue, as the Importance of it would admit; and for their Threatnings, they were neither agreeable to their Wisdom, nor their Religion. But the King finding the Pope resolv'd to grant nothing, and apprehending that some Bull might be brought into *England* in favour of the Queen, he set out a Proclamation against any who should purchase or publish any Thing from *Rome* contrary to his Royal Prerogative, threatening Imprisonment, and other Punishments, which were founded upon the Statute of *Provisors* and *Premunires*. After this he caus'd an Abstract of all the Reasons and Authorities of the Fathers, or Modern Writers, against his Marriage, to be publish'd both in *Latin* and *English*; by which it appear'd, That according to the Authority given to Tradition in the Church of *Rome*, the King had clearly the Right on his Side. Yet still the Queen continu'd firm to her Resolution of leaving the Matter in the Pope's Hands; and therefore would hearken to no Propositions that were made to her, for the referring the Cause to the Arbitration of some select Persons on both Sides. In the Judgments that People pass'd, the Sexes were divided; the Men generally approv'd the King's Cause, and the Women as much favour'd the Queen.

The chief Nobility of England write to the Pope.

His Answer,

A Session of Parliament follow'd in the Month of *January*; in which the King caus'd all the Decisions of the Universities, and the Books written for the Divorce, to be first read in the House of Lords, and then they were carry'd down to the Commons, by the Chancellor *More*, and twelve Lords, both of the Spirituality and Temporality. There were twelve Seals of the Universities shew'd, and their Decisions were read, first in *Latin*, and then translated into *English*. There were also a hundred Books produc'd, written on the same Argument; upon the shewing of which, the Chancellor desir'd them to report to their several Countries, *That they now clearly saw, That the King had not attempted this Matter out of his meer Will and Pleasure, but for the Discharge of his Conscience, and the Security of the Succession to the Crown.* This Affair was also brought into the Convocation, where the Clergy declar'd themselves satisfy'd concerning the Unlawfulness of the Marriage; but their unfortunate Circumstances at that Juncture, render'd their Declaration less considerable. For Cardinal *Wolsey* by exercising his Legantine Authority having, as before related, fallen into a *Premunire*, they by joining in his Courts, were also involv'd in the same Guilt; and this Matter being excepted out of the late Act of Pardon, an Indictment was brought into the King's Bench, against all the Clergy of *England*, for breaking the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Premunires*; by which they were declar'd out of the King's Protection,

A. D.

1531.

Reg. 22.

The Clergy sh'd in a Premunire

tection, their Goods forfeited, and their Persons liable to Imprisonment. Now these old Statutes were reviv'd, that the Terror of them might not only mortify the Court of *Rome*, but also oblige the Clergy to an intire Submission, and to redeem themselves by a considerable Subsidy. They alleg'd that they had err'd ignorantly; for the King by his Favour to the Cardinal, seem'd to encourage that Authority he then exercis'd: It was a publick Error, therefore they ought not to be punish'd for it. To all which it was reply'd, that the Laws which they had transgress'd were still in Force, therefore no Ignorance could excuse the Violation of them. Upon which the Convocation of *Canterbury* made their Submission, and in their Address to the King, he was still'd *The Protector, and supream Head of the Church of England*; but some disliking that, they added *as far as it is agreeable to the Law of Christ*. This was sign'd by nine Bishops, fifty Abbots and Priors, and the greatest Part of the Lower House; and with it they offer'd the King a Composition of a hundred thousand Pounds, and promis'd for the future, not to make or execute any Constitutions, without a Royal Licence. The Convocation of *York* did with some Reluctancy acknowledge the King the *Supream Head*, and submitted with an Offer of above eighteen thousand Pounds; all which being well receiv'd, the Clergy were all restor'd and pardon'd. But when the King's Pardon was brought into the Parliament House, the Laity complain'd, That they were not included in it; for many of them were also obnoxious on the same Account, and liable to the same Punishment; therefore they address'd to the King for Ease and Security. The King return'd Answer, *That his Mercy was neither to be restrain'd, nor extorted*; which put the House of Commons under great Apprehensions. But soon after they had pass'd the Act, the King freely sent a Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, which was receiv'd with Universal Joy; and they acknowledg'd, *That in this Action, his Majesty had happily temper'd his Greatness, with his Clemency*.

They submit, and compound with the King.

The Pope joins with France.

These Proceedings were highly mortifying to the Court of *Rome*, and the Pope, who being about this Time much disoblig'd by the Emperor, resolv'd to unite himself to the Crown of *France*; and *Francis*, to gain him more entirely, propos'd a Match between his Second Son *Henry* and the Pope's Niece, the famous *Catharine de Medici*; which as it wrought much on the Pope's Ambition, so it was like to prove a great Support to his Family. The Pope joining with the *French*, and out of Danger from the Emperor, by reason of the present Progress of the *Turks*, King *Henry's* Affairs might have easily been adjusted, if he had not proceeded so far already; for the Pope's Conscience being directed by his Interest, it was more than probable that at this Time he would give the King Satisfaction. He saw the Danger of losing *England*, the Interest of the Clergy sinking, *Lutheranism* encreasing, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany* taking Advantage from the present Employment of the Emperor; all which were melancholy Views. At the same Time King *Francis* enter'd into a League with the Protestant Princes, for the Conservation of their Privileges; and so prevail'd upon King *Henry*, that he sent over fifty thousand Crowns for the same Design. And now, as it were, declining all Assistance from the Court of *Rome*, he us'd all Methods to prevail with the Queen to submit; but nothing could remove her Resolutions. And when some Lords represented to her the great Burden of Conscience that lay upon the King's Mind, she pray'd God *to send the King a quiet Conscience, for she was his lawful Wife, and would so continue, till the Court of Rome declar'd the contrary*. Upon which the King forbore to see her, and order'd her to chuse to which of her Manors she would please to retire; she answer'd *That wherever she retir'd, nothing could remove her from being his Wife*. Upon which Answer the King took his final Leave of her at *Windsor*, upon the fourteenth of *July*, and never saw her more. Here ended all the Temporal Grandeur of Queen *Catharine of Spain*, after she had been twenty two Years Wife and Queen to one of the greatest Monarchs of the

The King finally parts with the Queen.

the Age; who tho' she was a Lady of unquestionable Piety and Devotion, she had both her Marriages attended with uncommon Misfortunes. This latter was examin'd by the Chief of all Christendom, censur'd and pronounc'd Incestuous: But the former, which was seven Years in finishing by the two wisest Kings in *Europe*, had the Way made to it by the Destruction of the Innocent Earl of *Warwick*; which made the religious Queen acknowledge, *That her Misfortunes were the Hand of Heaven, since her first Marriage was founded in Blood.*

VII. King *Henry*, after four Years' mighty Struggle, had now freed himself from the Person of his Queen; but not being yet regularly divorc'd, the Affair did not end here; and the former Proceedings had still further Effects upon the King, the Clergy, and the whole Body of the Nation. In the Beginning of this Year, a new Session of Parliament was held, in which the Laity complain'd of the Spiritual Courts, of their Way of Proceeding *ex Officio*, and not admitting Persons accus'd to their Purgation. But these Complaints were at this Time stifled, by Reason of an ill Understanding between the King and the House of Commons, about a Bill concerning Wards; and tho' the King thought himself disoblig'd, yet the Parliament being compos'd of Men very ill affected to the Clergy, he kept it still in Being, to terrifie the Court of *Rome*. And in this Parliament the Foundation of the Breach that afterwards follow'd with *Rome*, was laid, by an Act for restraining the Payment of *Annates* or *First-Fruits* to that Court. The Act sets forth 'That they were founded on 'no Law, but being first given to defend Christendom against Infidels, they 'were since kept up as a Revenue to the Papacy, and Bulls were not granted 'till they were paid; for eight hundred thousand Ducats had been carry'd out 'of *England* to *Rome* upon that Account, since the Beginning of the last Reign. 'The King was bound by the Royal Care of his Subjects to hinder such Oppressions; therefore all benefic'd Persons were requir'd not to pay *First-Fruits* 'for the future, under Pain of forfeiting their Goods and Livings: And those 'who were presented to Bishopricks were appointed to be consecrated, tho' their 'Bulls were deny'd at *Rome*; and were requir'd to pay no more than five *per Cent.* of the clear Profits of their Sees. If the Pope should upon this proceed to Censures, the Clergy were notwithstanding commanded to perform 'all Divine Offices. But by an extraordinary Proviso, it was deferr'd to the 'King to declare at any Time between then and *Easter* in the following Year, 'whether this Act should take Place or not. The King, being afterwards provok'd by the Pope, by his Letters Patents declar'd the Act to be in force.

A. D.

1532.

Reg. $\frac{23}{24}$.

A new Session of Parliament.

An Act against Annates paid to Rome.

Before the Parliament broke up, the Pope, upon the Motion of the Imperialists wrote to the King, complaining, *That notwithstanding a Suit was depending concerning his Marriage, yet he had put away his Queen, and kept one Anne Bolen as his Wife, contrary to a Prohibition serv'd on him; therefore he exhorted him to live with his Queen, and put away the other.* Upon which the King sent Doctor *Bennet* to *Rome*, with a large Dispatch, in which he complain'd, *That the Pope having proceeded upon the Suggestion of others, who were ignorant and rash Men, he had carry'd himself inconstantly and decausally, and not like Christ's Vicar: He had granted a Commission, with a Promise never to recall it, and had sent over a Decretal Bull determining the Cause. Either these were unjustly granted, or unjustly recall'd; If he had Authority to grant them, where was the Faith of a Friend, or a Pope, who had broke his Promise? If he had not Authority to grant them, he had just Cause to distrust all that came from him. It was therefore plain that he was govern'd more by Interest than Conscience; and that as he had often confess'd his own Ignorance in these Matters, so he wanted learned Men to advise him, otherwise he would not maintain a Marriage which almost all the learned Men and Universities in England, France and Italy, had condemn'd as unlawful.* After this

The Pope writes to the King.

His Answer.

The Pope cites
him to Rome.

this he declar'd, *That he would not question his Authority, unless he was compell'd to it, and design'd only to reduce it to its first and ancient Limits, which was much better than to let it run on with Precipitation and Error.* This high Letter put the Pope upon a Resolution to proceed and end this great Affair, either by a Sentence or a Treaty. Accordingly King Henry was cited to answer to the Queen's Appeal at *Rome* in Person, or by Proxy: Upon which Sir *Edward Karne* was sent thither in the new Character of the King's Excusator, to excuse the King's Appearance, upon such Grounds as could be founded on the Canon Law, and upon the Privileges of the Crown of *England*; and Doctor *Bonner*, a forward and ambitious Man, who would scruple at nothing that brought him Preferment, was sent over with him.

Some Cardinals
gain'd to the
King's Side.

They arriv'd at *Rome* in the Month of *March*, where they found great Heats in the Consistory about the King's Business: The Imperialists vehemently press'd the Pope to give Sentence; but all the wise Cardinals, who observ'd by the Proceedings of the Parliament, that the Nation would adhere to the King, if he should be provok'd to shake off the Pope's Yoke, were very apprehensive of a Breach, and suggested milder Counsels to the Pope; and the King's Agents assur'd him, that if he would give the King Satisfaction, the late Acts against *Annates* or *First-Fruits*, should not be put in Execution. At that Time the Cardinal of *Ravenna* was consider'd as an Oracle in the Consistory, therefore the King's Agents resolv'd to gain him with great Promises; but he subtilly reply'd, *That Princes were liberal of their Promises, 'till their Turns were serv'd, and then usually forgot them.* Therefore before he would proceed he caus'd Doctor *Bennet* to give him a Promise in Writing of the Bishoprick of *Ely*, or the first that became vacant, and he also engag'd that the King should procure him Benefices in *France* to the Value of six thousand Ducats a Year, for the Service he should do him by his Divorce. This was an Argument of such powerful Efficacy with the Cardinal, that it absolutely turn'd him from being a great Enemy, to be as great a Promoter of the King's Cause, tho' with no small Artifice. Several other Cardinals were likewise mollify'd and prevail'd upon by the same Topicks. The King's Agents put in his Excusatory Plea in twenty eight Articles; and it was order'd that three at a Hearing should be discuss'd before the Consistory, 'till all should be examin'd: But that Court sitting no more than once a Week, the Imperialists, after some of them had been heard, procur'd an Order, that the rest for greater Dispatch should be heard in a Congregation or Committee of Cardinals, before the Pope: Which being refus'd by *Karne*, it was referr'd back to the Consistory. Against this the Imperialists protested, and refus'd to appear any more; upon which *Karne* complain'd of their Contumacy, declaring, they were distrustful of their Cause.

A Bull for e-
recting six new
Bishopricks.

During the Examination of this Plea, News were brought to *Rome* from *England*, That a Priest for preaching up the Pope's Power was cast into Prison; and that a Person committed by the Arch-Bishop for Heresie, appeal'd to the King as *Supream Head*, which was receiv'd and judg'd in the King's Courts. The Pope made great Complaints upon this; but the King's Agents only said, *The best Method to prevent the like for the future, was to do the King Justice.* At this Time a Bull being desir'd, was granted to the King for suppressing some Monasteries, and erecting six new Bishopricks out of them. *Chester* was nam'd for one; and the Cardinal of *Ravenna* was so pleas'd with the Revenue design'd for it, that he secur'd it to himself, 'till *Ely* should fall vacant. In conclusion, the Pope seem'd to favour the King's Excusatory Plea, which rais'd the Clamours of the Imperialists; but this amounting to no more than to excuse the King's personal Appearance, the new-gain'd Cardinals advis'd the King to send over a Proxy for answering to the Merits of the Cause, and not to waste more Time in that Dilatory Plea; *and they having before declar'd themselves against the King in that Plea, could now with the better Credit serve him in the Other.* The Vacation coming on, it was resolv'd by the Cardi-
nals

nals then neither to admit nor reject the Plea; but both the Pope and College wrote to the King to send over a Proxy for determining the Matter next Winter. Doctor *Bonner* was also sent to *England* to assure the King, That the Pope was now so much in the *French* Interest, that he might confidently refer his Matter to him; and likewise to declare to him, 'That since the grand Question was, Whether the Pope could grant the Dispensation or not, it could not regularly be committed to Legates, but must be judg'd by the Pope and the Consistory.

During these dilatory and fruitless Proceedings at *Rome*, a new Session of Parliament was call'd in *England*; in which the Clergy gave in their Answer to the Complaints made of them by the Commons in the former Sessions. But when the King gave it to the Speaker, he express'd his Displeasure against one *Tempe*, a Member of their House, who had mov'd for an Address, That the Queen might be brought back to the Court, and declar'd, *That the Subject touch'd his Conscience, which was not to be determin'd by their House: He wish'd the Marriage was good, but many Divines had declar'd it unlawful: He did not make this Suit out of Lust or foolish Appetite, being then past the Heats of Youth; but as his Conscience was troubled, he desir'd the same might be reported to the House.* Shortly after, the King sent again for the Speaker, and told him, *That he had found the chief Clergy of the Realm were but half Subjects, or something less.* For it appear'd that every Bishop or Abbot, at the entering upon his Dignity, took an Oath to the Pope, inconsistent with that of their Fidelity to the King, which Contradiction he desir'd might be remov'd by the Parliament. Whereupon these two Oaths being by the King's Order read and consider'd, the Parliament so treated the Matter, as it occasion'd the final Renunciation of the Pope's Authority about two Years after. A Plague put a sudden End to this Session; about which Time, Sir *Thomas More* laid down his Office of Lord Chancellor, which was conferr'd on Sir *Thomas Audley*. He now saw how far the King's Designs tended; and tho' he was for opposing the Papal Incroachments, and cheerfully concurr'd with the Suit of the *Pre-munire*; yet when he saw a total Rupture like to ensue, he could not keep Pace with others, but retir'd to a private Life with a Greatness of Mind equal to what the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* had express'd on such Occasions. He disliked Mrs. *Bolen*, and her Father, who endeavour'd to fasten some criminal Imputations on him, in the Distribution of Justice; but his Integrity was such, as nothing could be brought against him to blemish his Reputation.

A new Session of Parliament.

Sir Thomas More quits his Office.

In *September* following the King created Mrs. *Anne Bolen* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, that she might have a gradual Rise to that Height for which he had design'd her. And in *October* he pass'd the Seas with her, and had a solemn Interview with the *French* King, according to former Articles; where on both Sides all pass'd all possible Compliments and Endearments, with the utmost State and Magnificence, and a firm Union was concerted of all their Affairs. Extraordinary Entertainments and Diversions were made for them both at *Bologna* and *Calais*; and their Rule of Proceeding was, That while *Francis* was on *French* Ground, he gave Place, but when he came to the *English* Pale he receiv'd it. As to the Matter of King *Henry's* Divorce, *Francis* encourag'd him to proceed to a second Marriage, promising to assist him in it, if Occasion so requir'd; and assur'd him, That he intended to restrain the Payment of *First-fruits* to *Rome*, and would demand of the Pope a Redress of that and other Grievances, which if deny'd, Remedies should be sought in a Provincial Council. An Interview was also propos'd between the Pope and him, at which he desir'd King *Henry* to be present, to which he was not unwilling, if he could have Assurance that his Business would finally be determin'd. The Pope about this Time offer'd to King *Henry* to send a Legate to any indifferent Place out of *England*, to form the Process, reserving only the final Sentence to himself; and propos'd to him, and all Princes, a general Truce, that so he might call a

A second Interview between the Kings of England and France.

general Council. The King of *England* in his Reply declar'd, ' That it was ' contrary to his Prerogative to send a Proxy to appear at *Rome*; That by the ' Decrees of General Councils, all Causes ought to be judg'd on the Place, and ' by a Provincial Council; and that it was more proper to judge it in *England*, ' than any other Place, That by his Coronation Oath, he was bound to main- ' tain the Dignities of his Crown, and the Rights of his Subjects, and not to ' appear before any other Foreign Court. So Sir *Thomas Elliot* was sent over with Instructions, to move that the Cause might be judg'd in *England*: Yet if the Pope had real Intentions to give the King Satisfaction, he was not to insist on that Particular. And to make the Cardinal of *Ravenna* sure, he sent him the Offer of the Bishoprick of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, then vacant.

*The King's se-
cond Marriage,
with Anne Bo-
len.*

But before any Answers could be return'd, the King marry'd the late advanc'd Mrs. *Bolen*, on the fourteenth Day of *November*, at *Calais*; the Office being perform'd by *Rowland Lee*, afterwards Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, with great Privacy, tho' in the Presence of the Duke of *Norfolk*, her Father, her Mother, her Brother, and Doctor *Cranmer*. It was now concluded among them, That the former Marriage being declar'd void by the profoundest Heads in *Europe*, the King might lawfully proceed to another: And probably it was hop'd, that as the Pope himself had formerly propos'd the very Method, so he would now readily join with him. But tho' the Pope had join'd himself to *France*, yet he still so much dreaded the Emperor, that he resolv'd not to provoke him; and therefore would not be prevail'd upon by any of the Expedients which Doctor *Bennet* propos'd, which was either to determine the Cause in *England*, according to the Council of *Nice*, or to refer it to the Arbitration of particular Persons nam'd by the Pope and the two Kings of *England* and *France*; for all these he said tended to the Diminution of the Papal Authority. Wherefore a new Citation was issu'd out for the King to answer to the Queen's Complaints; but the King's Agents protested, *That as their Master could expect no Justice from Rome, where the Emperor's Power was so great; so he was a Sovereign Prince, and the Church of England a free Church, over which the Pope had no just Authority.*

A. D. In the mean Time the threaten'd Breach with the See of *Rome* was much promoted by a new Session of Parliament, begun on the fourteenth of *February*, 1533. which pass'd an Act, condemning all Appeals to the Pope; declaring, ' That Reg. $\frac{24}{25}$. ' the Crown was Imperial, and the Nation a compleat Body, with full Power ' to do Justice in all Cases, both Spiritual and Temporal: And that as former ' Kings had maintain'd the Liberties of the Kingdom against the Usurpations of ' *Rome*, so they found the great Inconveniences of allowing Appeals in Ma- ' trimonial Causes, by occasioning unreasonable Charges and Delays: Therefore ' it was enacted, That those hereafter should be judg'd in the Kingdom, and no ' Regard had to any Appeals to *Rome*, or Censures from it; but Sentences ' given in *England*, were to have their full Effect; and all that executed any ' Censure from *Rome*, were to incur a *Premunire*. Appeals were to be from ' the Arch-Deacon to the Bishop, and from him to the Arch-Bishop: Only in ' Causes that concern'd the King the Appeal was to be to the Convocation. This Matter was likewise discuss'd in the Convocation, which at present wanted a Head; for in the preceding Year dy'd *Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who had been a great Patron of Learning, a good Canonist, and a wise Statesman, but a cruel Persecutor of Hereticks, and too much inclin'd to believe Fanatical Stories. Doctor *Cranmer* was then in *Germany*, disputing in the King's Cause with some of the Emperor's Divines. The King resolv'd to advance him to that Dignity, and sent a Message to hasten his Return; but a Promotion so far above his Thoughts had different Effects on him: He had a true and primitive Sense of so mighty a Charge; and instead of aspiring to it, he was really afraid of it, and he both return'd very slowly to *England*, and us'd all his Endeavours to be excus'd from that Advancement. At length, by the King's Or-
der.

*The Parlia-
ment condemns
all Appeals to
Rome.*

der, Bulls for his Consecration were desir'd at *Rome*, notwithstanding the late Act against *Annates*; which the Pope granted, tho' it could not be grateful to him to send them to one who had so publicly disputed and question'd his dispensing Power: Only a small Composition was paid, and these were the last Bulls that were receiv'd in *England* during this King's Reign. On the thirtieth of *March*, Doctor *Cranmer* was consecrated by the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and *St. Asaph*; in which the Oath to the Pope rais'd some Scruples: Therefore he made a formal Protestation before he took it, *That he conceiv'd himself not bound by it in any Thing contrary to his Duty to God, to his King, or Country*, all which he openly repeated when he took the Oath: So if this seem'd too artificial for a Man of his Sincerity, yet still he acted fairly, and without actual Deceit.

Cranmer made Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

Upon his Consecration and Investiture, he took his Place in the Convocation, where two Questions were then warmly debating: The first was, concerning the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage. and the Validity of the Pope's Dispensation; the other was of Matter of Fact, Whether Prince *Arthur* had consummated the Marriage or not. To determine both, the Opinions of the Universities and foreign Divines were consider'd, with all the presumptive Evidences of Prince *Arthur's* Consummation. After a solemn Debate, the King's Marriage was declar'd unlawful and null, and by so great a Majority in the upper House, that it pass'd under the Title of *Nemine Contradicente*. And the Church of *England* having made such a full Decision, nothing remain'd but a judicial Sentence of Divorce. The new Queen *Anne* began to appear big with Child, which was look'd upon as a great Proof of her Chastity with the King before Marriage; and on *Easter Eve* she was first declar'd Queen of *England*. Shortly after Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, with *Gardiner*, now Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, with many Divines and Canonists, went and held a Court at *Dunstable*, near Queen *Catharine*, who resid'd at *Amptbil*. The King and Queen were both cited; he appear'd by Proxy, but the Queen, refusing to show any Regard to the Court, after three Citations, was declar'd contumacious; and all the Merits of the Cause, formerly mention'd, were examin'd. At length, on the twenty third of *May*, Sentence was given, declaring the Marriage to have been null from the Beginning; and some Days after, the Arch-Bishop gave another Judgment, confirming the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*. Upon this, on the first Day of *June*, she was crown'd Queen of *England*, with such Pomp and Solemnity, as was answerable to the Magnificence of the present Monarch, as may be seen at large in *Holingshed* and other Writers. Various Censures pass'd upon this; but all admir'd at the new Queen's Conduct, who in a Course of so many Years manag'd the Spirit of a King so violent, as neither to surfeit him with too many Favours, nor to provoke him with too much Niceness. Her being so soon with Child, gave Hopes of a numerous Issue; and they who lov'd the Reformation, expected better Days under her Protection; but many Priests and Friars, both in Sermons and Discourses, condemn'd the King's Proceedings, as preposterous, as well as unlawful. On the seventh of *September* the Queen brought forth a Daughter, christen'd *Elizabeth*, afterwards the renown'd Queen of *England*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was her God-Father. Great Rejoycings were made at her Birth, and she was soon after declar'd Princess of *Wales*; tho' Lawyers thought it against Law, for she could only be *Heir presumptive*, but not *apparent* to the Crown, because a Son coming after must have been preferr'd.

The Convocation condemn'd the King's first Marriage.

Cranmer gives the final Sentence.

The Birth of Queen Elizabeth.

In the mean Time the King sent Ambassadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, to give Notice of his new Marriage, and to justify his Proceedings: At the same Time he sent Persons to Queen *Catharine*, to command her to assume no other Title than *Princess Dowager*; and to give her Hopes of her Daughter being put next the Queen's Issue in the Succession, if she would submit her self

The Pope annuls Cranmer's Sentence.

to his Will. But the afflicted Queen would not yield, declaring *She would not damn her Soul, nor submit to such Infamy*; and resolv'd that none should serve her, who did not treat her as a Queen. All her Servants so adher'd to her Interest, that no Threatnings or Promises could prevail upon them; and what the King did in this was thought below that Height of Mind which appear'd in his other Actions; for since he had stripp'd her of the real Greatness of a Queen, it was too much to refuse her the Pageantry of the Title. The News of these Proceedings made great Impressions in foreign Parts: The Emperor seem'd swell'd with Resentments. The *French King* was colder than King *Henry* expected; yet he promis'd to intercede with the Pope, and the Cardinals, on his Account: But he was now so intirely gain'd by the Pope, That he resolv'd not to involve himself as a Party in King *Henry's* Quarrel; and he also receded from the Designs he once had of erecting a Patriarchate in *France*, for the Pope had lately granted him a Satisfactory Power over his own Clergy. The Emperor was not a little pleas'd with the *French King's* Coldness and Backwardness; for this might probably separate those two Kings whose Conjunction had been so dangerous to him. At *Rome* the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction loudly exclaim'd against the Attempt made on the Pope's Power, since a Sentence was given in *England* in a Process depending at *Rome*; therefore they urg'd the Pope to proceed to Censures. But instead of putting the Matter past Reconciliation, there was only a Sentence given, annulling all that the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had done; and the King was requir'd under Pain of Excommunication to reduce all Things to their former State, before *September* next; which Sentence was soon after affix'd in *Dunkirk*.

Yet promises to give Satisfaction to King Henry.

At the same Time King *Henry* sent a great Embassie to the *French King*, who was then removing towards *Marseilles*, where the Pope was to meet him: The Design was to dissuade him from the Journey, unless the Pope might be procur'd to give King *Henry* Satisfaction. The King of *France* declar'd he was engag'd in Honour to make that Journey, but assur'd the Ambassadors, *That he would remember their Master's Concerns, with as much Zeal, as if they were his own.* At *Marseilles*, the Marriage was concluded between the young Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards King *Henry* the Second, and the Pope's Niece; to whom the Pope gave a hundred thousand Crowns, and many Principalities, which he pretended were either Fiefs of the Papacy, or belonging to him in the Rights of the House of *Medici*. There was a private Agreement made between the Pope and *Francis*, 'That if King *Henry* would refer his Cause to the *Roman* Consistory, with an Exception to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, and would in all other Things return to his Obedience to the Apostolick See, then Sentence should be given in his Favour; but this was to be kept secret. So that *Bonner*, not being trusted with it, and sent thither with an Appeal from the Pope to the next general Council, made it with such Heat and Insolence to the Pope's Person, that he was threaten'd to be thrown into a Cauldron of melted Lead, or to be burnt alive; upon the Apprehension of which he fled away privately. But when *Francis* return'd to *Paris*, he sent the Bishop of that City to King *Henry*, to let him know what he had obtain'd of the Pope in his Favour, and the Terms on which it was promis'd; which so prevail'd upon the King, that thinking them secure, he immediately consented to them. Upon which, the Bishop of *Paris*, tho' in the middle of Winter, took a Journey to *Rome*; assuring himself of the Scarlet, if he were instrumental in regaining *England*, which was then upon the Point of being lost. What the Assurances were that the Pope gave may be gather'd from a Letter wrote by the Arch-Bishop of *York* and Bishop of *Durham*, which declares, That the Pope said at *Marseilles*, *That if the King would send a Proxy to Rome, he would give Sentence for him against the Queen, for he knew his Cause was good and just.*

Upon

Upon the Bishop of *Paris*'s Arrival at *Rome*, the Matter seem'd determin'd; for it was promis'd, ' That upon King *Henry*'s sending a Writing under his Hand to put Things in their former State, and his ordering a Poxey to appear for him, Judges should be sent to *Cambray* for making the Procefs, and Sentence should be immediately given. Upon Notice given of this, and of a Day that was prefix'd for the Return of the Courier, King *Henry* with utmost Expedition dispatch'd a Person, with a formal Promise under his Hand; so now the Contest seem'd at an End, and the Wound that was thought fatal, was almost healed. But God thought fit to ruin the Attempt; and the Messenger, who had a Sea and the *Alps* to pass, besides ill Ways and Weather to encounter, could not observe the prefix'd Day: Which caus'd the Imperialists to shew their Resentments, and violently to urge the Pope to proceed to Sentence, against one who had abus'd his Easiness. The Bishop of *Paris* mov'd only for a Delay of six Days, which he thought a reasonable Request for one who had Patience so many Years; but the Design of the Imperialists was to hinder all Terms of Reconciliation; therefore with the utmost Aggravations they urg'd, *That King Henry was seeking Delays and Concessions meerly to delude the Pope; and that he had gone so far in his Designs against the Apostolick See, both by Books and Libels, that it was necessary to proceed to Censures.* The intrag'd Pope was so fir'd with these Representations, and the News he hear'd from *England*, that without consulting his ordinary Prudence, he brought the Matter to the Consistory; where the Imperialists being most numerous, it was hurry'd on with such Precipitation, that they transacted that in one Session, which according to Form, should have been done in three. They gave the final Sentence, declaring King *Henry*'s Marriage with Queen *Catharine* good; and requir'd him to live with her as his Wife, otherwise they would proceed to Censures. Two Days after that the Courier came with King *Henry*'s Submission in due Form, and with earnest Letters from King *Francis* in his Favour. This so sensibly affected all the indifferent and wise Cardinals, that they begg'd of the Pope to consider the Matter again, before all was lost. A new Consistory was call'd; but the Imperialists press'd with greater Violence than ever, *That they would not give such a Scandal as to revoke a definitive Sentence of a Marriage, and give the Hereticks such Advantages by their Unsteadiness in Matters of that Nature.* Upon which it was carry'd, That the former Sentence should take Place; and the Execution of it was committed to the Emperor himself. This was amazing to all *Europe*, to see the Court of *Rome* throw off *England* with so much Contempt, as if they had been forfeited with the Obedience and Profits of so famous a Kingdom; and their Proceedings look'd as if they had been secretly directed by a Divine Providence that design'd to draw mighty Consequences from this Breach, and did so infatuate those who were most concern'd to prevent it, that they needlessly drew it upon themselves.

But afterwards proceeds hastily to sentence.

Which causes a final Breach with King Henry.

When King *Henry* had heard this, and understood that he was us'd with so much Scorn and indignity at *Rome*, he was extremely intrag'd, and the more because he had made so great a Submission; therefore he resolv'd to make a total Breach with that See, that had put him to such vast and useless Expences, and had treated him for several Years with all the Artifices that could arise from Subtily and Perfidioufness. And in this Matter he had partly anticipated the Designs of that Court; for judging it the best Way to procure a Peace, was to manage the War vigorously, he had held a Session of Parliament from the fifth of *January* to the thirtieth of *March*, in which he procur'd a great Change in the whole Constitution of the Government of the Church. The Pope's Power had then for four Years together been nicely examin'd and disputed in *England*; in which the Representatives proceeded by these Steps. They first controverted his Power of dispensing with the Law of God: From that they pass'd on to examine what Jurisdiction he had in *England*, upon which followed the convicting the Clergy in a *Premunire* with their Submission:

A. D. 1534. Reg. 25.

The Steps towards destroying the Pope's Supremacy in England.

And

And that led them to dispute the Pope's Right to *Annates*, and other Exactions, which they condemn'd: And the condemning all Appeals to *Rome*, naturally follow'd that. And now so many Branches of that Power being cut off, the very Root was next struck at, and the Foundations of the Papal Authority were examin'd. For near a Year together there had been many publick Debates about it; and both in the Parliament and Convocation the Subject was long canvass'd, and all that could be alledg'd on both Sides maturely consider'd. The several Arguments being fully open'd in many Disputes, and publish'd in several Books, all the Bishops, Abbots and Priors in *England*, excepting *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, were so far satisfy'd with them, or so unwilling to leave their Preferments, that they resolv'd to comply with the Changes which the King was resolv'd to make: *Fisher* was in great Esteem for Piety and Strictness of Life, therefore great Pains were us'd by the Arch-Bishop and others to bring him to a Compliance, but with no Effect.

*It is destroy'd
by Act of Par-
liament.*

Every *Sunday* during this famous Session of Parliament, a Bishop preach'd at St. *Paul's*, and declar'd, That the Pope had no Authority in *England*: Before this, they had only said That a general Council was above him, and the Exactions of the *Roman* Court, and Appeals to it were unlawful; but now they rais'd a Strain higher, to prepare the People for receiving the Acts then in Agitation. On the ninth Day of *March* the House of Commons began the noted Bill for taking away the Pope's Power, and sent it to the Lords in five Days Time; who after six Days longer pass'd it without Opposition. In this Bill 'They set forth the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, grounded on the Pope's 'Power of Dispensing; and that as none could dispence with the Laws of God, 'so the King and Parliament only could dispense with the Laws of the Land: 'Therefore such Licences or Dispensations as were formerly in use, should for 'the future be granted by the two Arch-Bishops, some of which were to be 'confirm'd under the great Seal; and they appointed that hereafter all Commerce with *Rome* should cease. They also declar'd, That they did not design 'to alter any Article of the Catholick Faith of Christendom, or of that which was 'declar'd necessary to Salvation. They confirm'd all the Exemptions granted 'to Monasteries by former Popes, but subjected them to the King's Visitation; 'and gave the King and his Council Power to examine and reform all Indulgences and Privileges granted by the Pope: The Offenders against this Law 'were to be punish'd according to the Statutes of *Premunire*. This Act reducing the Monasteries entirely to the King's Authority, put them in no small Confusion; and those who lov'd the Reformation, rejoyc'd both to see the Pope's Power extirpated, and to find the Scriptures made the Standard of Religion.

*The Act of
the Succession.*

After this, another remarkable Act pass'd both Houses in six Days Time, and without any Opposition, 'Settling the Succession of the Crown; confirming the Sentence of Divorce, and the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*, 'and declaring all Marriages within the Decrees prohibited by *Moses* to be 'unlawful: All that marry'd within them were appointed to be divorc'd, 'and their Issue illegitimated; and the Succession to the Crown was settled 'upon the King's Issue by the present Queen *Anne*, or in Default of that, to 'the King's right Heirs, for ever. All were to take a particular Oath, to maintain the Contents of this Act, against all manner of Persons whatsoever; and 'if any refus'd the Oath when requir'd, or should say any Thing to the Slander 'of the King's Marriage, he was to be judg'd guilty of Misprision of Treason, 'and to be punish'd accordingly. And thus was the King's Marriage confirm'd 'by Parliament; and when the Commons return'd this Bill to the Lords, they sent them another with it, which was receiv'd and pass'd, regulating the Proceedings against Hereticks, 'That whereas by a Statute of *Henry* the Fourth, 'Bishops might commit Persons upon Suspicion of Heresie; and Heresie being 'generally defin'd, *To be whatever was contrary to the Scriptures, or Canonical Sanctions*, which was liable to great Ambiguity; therefore that Statute

Another to regulate the Proceedings against Hereticks.

' was

‘ was repeal’d, and none were to be committed for Heresie, but upon a Presentment made by two Witnesses; and none to be accus’d for declaring against Things only grounded upon the Pope’s Canons. Bail was to be taken for Hereticks, and they were to be brought to their Trials in open Court; and if upon Conviction they did not abjure, or were Relapsers, upon the King’s Writ obtain’d, they were to suffer the former Punishment of Burning. This was a mighty Check to the Tyranny of the Popish Bishops, and gave no small Satisfaction to all that favour’d the Reformation.

As the Parliament was proceeding in these useful Laws, there came a Submission from the Clergy, then sitting in Convocation, to be pass’d into an Act. In it ‘ They acknowledg’d that all Convocations ought to be assembled by the King’s Right, and promised upon the *Word of Priests*, never to make or execute any Canons, without the King’s Assent: And since many of the received Canons were found to be contrary to the King’s Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land, there was to be a Committee of thirty two, the one half out of both Houses of Parliament, and the other of the Clergy, to be nam’d by the King, and empower’d to abrogate or regulate them, as they should see Cause. Appeals to *Rome* were again condemn’d, and an Appeal was allow’d from the Arch-Bishop to the King, upon which the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commission for a *Court of Delegates*. A Proviso was added, that till the Committee of thirty two should settle a Regulation of these Canons, those then in Force should still take Place, except where they were contrary to the King’s Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land. In this Parliament another Act pass’d, for the better regulating the Elections and Consecrations of Bishops; Condemning all Bulls from *Rome*; and appointing, That upon a Vacancy, the King should grant a Licence for an Election, with a missive Letter signifying the Person nam’d to be elected: Within twelve Days after, the Dean and Chapter, &c. were requir’d to return an Election of the Person nam’d by the King, under their Seals. The Bishop Elect was to swear Fealty, and a Writ to be issu’d out for his Consecration after the usual Manner: After which, he was to do Homage to the King, and be restor’d to the Spiritualties and Temporalties of the See; and Bishops were to exercise their Jurisdiction as they had done before. All Transgressors of this Act were made guilty of a *Premunire*. A private Act also pass’d, depriving Cardinal *Campegio*, and *Jerome di Ghinuccii* of the Bishopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*; the Reasons given for it were, ‘ Because they did not reside in their Dioceses, for preaching the Word of God, and keeping Hospitality, but liv’d at the Court of *Rome*, and carry’d no less than three thousand Pounds a Year out of the Kingdom.

The Submission of the Clergy.

An Act for Election of Bishops.

The last Act of a publick Nature, tho’ relating only to private Persons, was concerning one *Elizabeth Barton* call’d *The Holy Maid of Kent*; who was the first Occasion of shedding any Blood in the Quarrel, which was much cherished by all the Superstitious Clergy, that adher’d to the Interests of Queen *Catharine*, and the Pope. This *Barton*, a Nun of *Kent*, being suborn’d by Monks, to use some strange Gesticulations, and to produce some feign’d Miracles, accompany’d with Prophetical Sayings, she drew much Credit and Concourse to her; insomuch that some Persons of the highest Note, as the late Arch-Bishop, the late Chancellor Sir *Thomas More*, and Bishop *Fisher*, gave no little Countenance to her; and notwithstanding the Danger of encouraging a particular Prediction of hers, *That the King should not live one Month after his Marriage with Mrs. Bolen*, she was still applauded for her extraordinary Gifts. But the Plot being at last discover’d, she was attainted of Treason in this Parliament, and shortly after executed with her chief Accomplices; at which Time also she confess’d the Names of such as had been Promoters of the Design, among whom were *More* and *Fisher*. Upon the first Discovery of this Cheat, *Cromwell*, now Secretary of State, sent *Fisher’s* Brother to him to reprove him for his Carriage in that Business, and to advise him to ask the King’s Pardon

The Attainder of the Nun of Kent.

She is executed.

Pardon for the Incouragement he had given to the Nun. But that Bishop excus'd himself, declaring, *He had only try'd whether her Relations were true or not; and that he thought it necessary to discover what she said concerning the King's Death, because he knew that she had told the same to the King; therefore he desir'd to be no more troubled with that Matter.* But upon this Answer, Cromwell wrote him a sharp Letter, shewing him, *That he had proceeded rashly; being so partial to the Matter of the King's Divorce, that he believ'd every Thing that seem'd against it; that the highest Caution was to be us'd before new Revelations were receiv'd; otherwise the Peace of the World would be in the Power of every bold and crafty Impostor.* Yet in Conclusion, he advis'd him *to ask the King's Pardon for his Rashness, for he was confident, that he was ready to forgive that, and every Thing else, by which he had offended him.* But Fisher was still obstinate, and would make no Submission, and so was included in the Act for Misprision of Treason; yet it was not put in Execution, till he drew a heavier Storm of Indignation upon himself.

The Oath of Succession sworn.

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament, both the Regular and Secular Clergy did in all Places take the Oath of Succession; and none more zealously promoted it than Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. And the religious Orders, being apprehensive of the King's Jealousies, sent in Declarations under the Seals of their Houses, 'That in their Opinion the King's present Marriage was lawful, and that they would ever acknowledge him, *Head of the Church of England*; That the Bishop of Rome had no Authority out of his own Diocese, and that they would continue obedient to the King, notwithstanding his Censures; That they would preach the Gospel sincerely according to the Scriptures, and pray for the King as *Supream Head of the Church of England*. A Meeting of the Council fate at Lambeth, to which many were cited in order to take the new Oath; among whom was Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher. More declar'd *He neither condemn'd such as made the Act, nor such as took the Oath, and was willing to swear to the Succession of the Crown, but he could not take the Oath as it was now made*; and Fisher made the same Answer, but all the rest took the Oath. The Arch-Bishop told More, *If he did not condemn those who took the Oath, he was not persuaded it was a Sin, and so was only doubtful of it; but he was sure he ought to obey the Law, if it was not sinful; so there was a Certainty on one Side, and only a Doubt on the other, therefore the former ought to determine him.* More said, *If the Parliament of England was against him, he believ'd the rest of Christendom was on his Side*. In Conclusion both he and Fisher declar'd, *That they believ'd it in the Power of the Parliament to settle the Succession to the Crown, therefore they were ready to that Particular, but not to the rest of the Oath, that pronounc'd the King's Marriage unlawful.* The Arch-Bishop wisely urg'd that this might be accepted; for if they swore to maintain the Succession, it would conduce much to the Quiet of the Nation. But sharper Counsels were then more acceptable; so they were both committed to the Tower, and Pen, Ink and Paper deny'd them; and the old Bishop was treated with such Hardship, as to Diet and Cloaths, as can never be excus'd.

For which they are imprison'd.

The King by Act of Parliament made Supream Head of the Church of England.

In Winter another Session of Parliament was held, in the Beginning of which that memorable Act was made, declaring The King to be the *Supream Head on Earth of the Church of England*, and appointing that to be added to his other Titles; empowering also him and his Successors to reform all Heresies and Abuses in the Spiritual Jurisdiction. By another Act they gave the King the *First-Fruits* and *Tenths* of Ecclesiastical Benefices, as being the Supream Head of the Church; for the King being put in the Pope's Room, it was thought reasonable to give him the *Annates*, which the Popes had formerly exacted. Another Act pass'd, declaring some Things Treason; one of which was the denying the King any of his Titles, or calling him *Heretick, Schismatick,*

tick, or Usurper of the Crown: And by another Act Provision was made for erecting twenty six Suffragan Bishops over *England*, for the more speedy Administration of the Sacraments, and the better Service of God. In this Parliament Subsidies were also granted, which had been diffus'd for about twelve Years; and now introduc'd with the highest Preamble of the Nation's Felicity under the King's Government these twenty four Years, that Eloquence and Flattery could dictate. *Fisher* and *More* by two special Acts were attainted of Misprision of Treason; and five other Clerks were in like manner condemn'd, for refusing to take the Oath of Succession. Thus all Things conspir'd to pull down the Power of *Rome*, and to make a greater Change than ever had been known in the Kingdom of *England*.

But before these Things were accomplish'd, the present Pope *Clement* dy'd, The Pope dies. who was one of the greatest Dissemblers and State-Jugglers that ever mounted the Chair: He was succeeded by *Alessandro* of the House of *Farnesi*, under the Title of *Paul* the Third.

VIII. The mighty King having pass'd through the Traverses and Tossings of his famous Suit, and having with the Concurrence of his Clergy and Parliament compass'd what he had projected, seem'd now at ease in his own Dominions. But tho' these Matters were smoothly and successfully carry'd in publick Assemblies, yet the Change was so shocking, that it caus'd many secret Discontents, which being fomented both by the Pope, and the Emperor's Agents, wrought him infinite Trouble, so that the rest of his Life was fill'd with Vexations and Disquiets. The Nobility and Gentry were in general well satisfy'd with the Change; but the Body of the People were more subject to the Power of the Priests, who endeavour'd to infuse great Fears of a Change in Religion: It was continually insinuated, That the King was joining himself to Hereticks, and that they were favour'd by the new Queen, Arch-Bishop and Secretary. The Monks and Friars saw themselves left to the Mercy of the King, and that their Bulls could be no longer useful to them; and they had some Intimations that *Cromwell* was forming a Project for suppressing them. So they thought it necessary for their own Preservation to embroil the King's Affairs as much as was possible; therefore both in Confessions and Discourses, they were instilling into the People a Dislike of the King's Proceedings, which had such Effect upon them, that if the Emperor's Affairs would have permitted him to make War upon the King, he might have done it with great Advantage, and found a strong Party in *England* on his Side. But the Practices of the Clergy at home, and of Cardinal *Pool*, an *Englishman*, abroad, the Libels that were publish'd, and the Rebellions that were afterwards rais'd in *England*, wrought so unhappily upon the King's busie Thoughts, that he lost much of his former Temper and Patience, and became too ready upon slight Grounds to bring his Subjects to the Bar; and his new Title of *Head of the Church*, seem'd to have increas'd his imperious Temper, and made him fancy that all his Subjects were oblig'd to regulate their Belief by the Measures he set them. Yet it does not appear that Cruelty was natural to him, or that he thirsted after Blood; for in twenty six Years Reign, none had suffer'd for any Crime against the State, but *La Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, and both under reasonable Pretensions. But in the ten last Years of his Life, tho' he always proceeded upon Law, yet there occur'd many Instances of Severity, for which this King is rather to be pity'd, than either imitated, or severely censur'd. If there had been the least Hope of Impunity, the last part of his Reign would have been one continu'd Rebellion; therefore to prevent a more profuse Effusion of Blood, it seem'd necessary to execute Laws severely in some particular Instances.

When the Supremacy was invested in the King, by Law, it was made a *Premunire* not to swear to it; but it was made Treason to deny it, or speak any

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Great Discon-
tents among
many.which began
to lower the
King's Temper.

any Thing against it. As there were several of the Pope's Agents that ventur'd to break this Law, and sometimes with no small Insolence and Obstinacy, so it was thought necessary by the King and Council, to make a speedy Redress of these Mischiefs. Therefore some Priors, and other Ecclesiasticks, that were criminal in this Matter, being found guilty by the new Statute, were this Year executed as Traitors, being the first that suffer'd in this Kind. This Piece of Justice was not yet become so familiar to the King, which caus'd him not only to mourn inwardly, but also to have his Head bald, and his Beard, formerly shaven, to be cut round; for which his Enemies maliciously said, *It was only putting a new Countenance upon a new Dignity.* But if he proceeded thus rigorously against the Opposers of his Supremacy, he did no less punish the many pretended Reformers or Contradictors of the *Roman* Catholic Religion. Therefore, as in the last Year he had condemn'd *John Frith*, a Sacramentary, to the Fire, so he now caus'd divers *Hollanders* in *London*, who invented some different Religious Opinions, to be burnt in *Smithfield*. Shortly after, some others again were executed for denying the Supremacy; so that on both Sides it prov'd a severe Season. Only, as King *Henry* found the Terrors already given, not sufficient to keep the rest in awe, he resolv'd to make some great Examples, and proceed against Bishop *Fisher* and Sir *Thomas More*. As to the former, the Pope's officious Kindness to him in declaring him a Cardinal, when in Prison, did hasten his Ruin; tho' he valu'd the Honour so little, that he said, *That if the Hat were lying at his Feet, he would not take it up.* He was try'd by a Jury of Commoners, and found guilty of Treason, for having declar'd against the King's Supremacy; and was condemn'd to be beheaded, which was executed on the twenty second Day of *June*. On that Day he dress'd himself with more than ordinary Care, declaring, *He was now to be a Bridegroom;* and being led out he open'd the new Testament at a venture, and pray'd that such a Place might turn up as might comfort him in his last Moments. The Words on which he cast his Eyes were, *This is Life Eternal to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* On the Scaffold he repeated the *Te Deum*, and then laid his Head upon the Block, which was sever'd from his Body in the eightieth Year of his Age. He was a learned and devout Man, but much addicted to Superstition and Severity. He had been long Confessor to the King's Grandmother, the Countess of *Richmond*, and it was believ'd that he perswaded her to those Noble Designs of Founding two Col'eges in *Cambridge*, *Christ's* and *St. John's*, and Divinity Professors in both Universities; in Acknowledgment of which, he was chosen Chancellor of *Cambridge*. King *Henry* the Seventh made him Bishop of *Rocheſter*, which he would never exchange for any other, saying, *His Church was his Wife, and he would not part with her because she was poor;* and he was much esteem'd by the present King, 'till his strict Adherence to his Marriage, the Pope's Supremacy, and the Nun of *Kent*, brought this Misfortune upon him.

Some few are executed.

The Sufferings of Bishop Fisher.

His Character.

The Sufferings of Sir Thomas More.

It was more difficult to find Matter against Sir *Thomas More*; for he was very cautious, and satisfy'd his Conscience by not swearing to the Supremacy, but would not declare against it. Yet he said, *The Act was like a Sword with two Edges, for if a Man answer'd one Way, it would confound his Soul, and if another, it would condemn his Body.* This was all the Message he sent to *Fisher*, when he desir'd to know his Opinion about it; he had also said the same to the Duke of *Norfolk* and some Counsellors that came to examine him. When *Rich*, the King's Solicitor, came as a private Friend to perswade him to take the Oath, urg'd him with the Act of Parliament, and ask'd him, *If he should be made King by Act of Parliament, whether he would acknowledge him?* He answer'd, *He would; because a King might be made or depos'd by a Parliament; but the Matter of the Supremacy was a Point of Religion, to which the Power of Parliaments did not extend.* All this being witness'd against

against him, these Particulars were laid together, as amounting to a Denial of the King's Supremacy, and upon this he was judg'd guilty of Treason. He receiv'd his Sentence with that equal Temper of Mind which he had shew'd in both Conditions of Life; expressing great Contempt of the World, and much Weariness in living in it. His usual Facetiousness remain'd with him to the last Moment on the Scaffold; and that Way of Railery had been so customary to him, that Death did not discompose him, nor put him out of his ordinary Humour: Which some too justly censur'd as little and indecent, and as having more of the Stoick, than the Christian in it. He was beheaded on the sixth of July, in the fifty third Year of his Age; being a Man of great Capacities and eminent Virtues, who in his Youth had freer Thoughts, but was afterwards much corrupted by Superstition, became fierce for all the Interests of the Superstitious Clergy, and wrote much in Defence of the old Abuses. The Execution of these two great Men, chiefly upon a Point of Conscience, may justly be reckon'd among the Blemishes of that Reign: Yet we cannot but observe the Justice of Heaven, in thus retaliating their own Severities to others; for as *Fisher* grievously prosecuted the Preachers of *Luther's* Doctrine, so *More's* Hand was heavy upon them, as long as he had Power, and he shew'd them no Mercy, but the Extremity of the Law, which himself felt now to be very heavy indeed.

His Character.

These Instances and Examples, unquestionably struck a Terror into the Nation, and much hasten'd that great Work of the Reformation, so much desir'd by many pious Persons in the Kingdom. Queen *Anne* gave particular Encouragement to it, and took *Latimer* and *Shaxton* to be her Chaplains, and promoted them to the Bishopricks of *Worcester* and *Salisbury*. Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* was fully convinc'd of the Necessity of it, and that he might carry it on with true Judgment, and justify it by good Authorities, he made a famous Collection of the Opinions of the ancient Fathers, and later Doctors, in all the Points of Religion. He was a Man of rare Candor, Patience and Industry; and so on all Accounts admirably prepar'd for that Work, to which Providence did now call him; and tho' he seem'd in some Things too much subject to the King's Imperious Temper, yet he always shew'd he wanted not the Courage that became a Bishop in such critical Times. Next to him was Secretary *Cromwell*, his great and constant Friend; a Man of mean Birth, being the Son of a Blacksmith, but of noble and shining Qualities, as appear'd in two signal Instances; the one was his hearty Pleading in Parliament for his fallen and disgrac'd Master the Cardinal, when others more oblig'd had abandon'd him; a rare Demonstration of Gratitude in a Court, to a sinking Favourite. The other was, That when he was in the height of his Greatness, hapning to see a decay'd Merchant of *Lucca*, who had pity'd and reliev'd him, when he was a poor Stranger in *Italy*, but did not as much as know him, or pretend to any Returns for the small Favours formerly shew'd him, he treated him with such extraordinary Acknowledgments, that it became the Subject of several Pens, which shrove who should most celebrate his Generosity. Having by his great Qualifications rais'd himself to the King's Favour, he was this Year made *Vicar General*, and Visitor of all the Monasteries and Churches of *England*, with a Delegation of the King's Supremacy to him; he was also empower'd to give Commissions subaltern to himself; and all Wills, where the Estate exceeded two hundred Pounds, were to be prov'd in his Court. This Power was afterwards enlarg'd, and he was made not only a Baron and Privy-Seal, but likewise the King's *Vice-gerent* in Ecclesiastical Matters, and had the Precedence of all Persons next the Royal Family; and his Authority was in all Points the same, that the Legates had in the Time of Popery: For as the King's Authority succeeded that of the Pope, so the King's *Vice-gerent* was the same in Power that the Legate's had formerly been.

The Progress of the Reformation, by Queen Anne,

Cranmer.

and Cromwell.

Cromwell's Greatness.

The Regular
Clergy hate the
present Estab-
lishment.

The King and his Ministers being resolv'd to proceed, the Bishops and Abbots us'd all reasonable Methods to free the King of any Jealousies that might be rais'd concerning them. At *Oxford* a publick Determination was made, to which every Member assented, *That the Pope had no more Authority in England, than any other Foreign Bishop.* But the Regular Clergy, the Monks and Friars, whose Houses and Government was generally exempted from their Bishop's Jurisdiction, and more immediately dependent on the Pope, 'till this late Change, were secretly averse, tho' openly complying. And having by a thousand Artifices gain'd the Opinion of the People, it was therefore resolv'd that some effectual Means should be taken for lessening their Credit and Authority among the Vulgar. Upon which Doctor *Leighton*, who had been in the Cardinal's Service with *Cromwell*, propos'd a general Visitation of all the Monasteries and Religious Houses in *England*; and judg'd that nothing could reconcile the Nation so much to the King's Supremacy, as to see some good Effects flow from it. Others thought this too bold a Step, and that it might prove too dangerous a Provocation to the Religious; yet it was known that they were guilty of such prodigious Disorders, that nothing could so effectually keep them in awe, as a strict Enquiry into them. To this the Arch-Bishop led the Way by a Metropolitan Visitation, for which he obtain'd the King's Licence; he took care to see the Pope's Name struck out of all the Churches, and to have the King's Supremacy acknowledg'd.

A general Vi-
sitation of the
Monasteries.

In *October* the grand Visitation of the Monasteries began, to the Terror of great Numbers of impious and scandalous Persons of both Sexes. They were then about six hundred in Number, and very lowly valu'd at near two hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*, besides vast Riches in many of them; and several of them had the Privilege of Sanctuaries to all that fled to them. The numerous Abuses, arising from the Nature of their Institutions, as well as the Practices of the Monks, caus'd many to desire a Dissolution; and the King himself urg'd it forwards upon several Accounts. He design'd to erect new Bishopricks, in order to which it was necessary to convert some of their Revenues: He also apprehended a War from the Emperor, and for that end, he intended to fortifie his Harbours, and to encourage Shipping and Trade, upon which the Ballance of the World began then to turn: And in order to that he resolv'd to make use of the Wealth of those Houses, and judg'd the best Way to effect it would be first to expose their Abominations, that they might lose their Esteem, and make way for their Suppression. The Arch-Bishop promoted the same, both because these Houses were founded upon gross Errors and Abuses, and subsisted by them, and that these were necessary to be remov'd, if a Reformation was pursu'd. The Extent of several Dioceses were too great to be manag'd by one Bishop; therefore he design'd to have more Bishopricks founded, and to have Houses at every Cathedral for the Education of those who should be employ'd in the Pastoral Charge. For this famous Visitation many Commissioners were employ'd, and nice Instructions were given to them, desiring them to inquire into all manner of Abuses and Neglects. These went all over *England*, according to their Precincts, and found in many Places most monstrous Impieties and Disorders. All the Sins of *Sodom* were found in many Houses, great Factions and barbarous Cruelties were in others, and in some they found Instruments for Coining Mony. The Report which was made at their Return contain'd many abominable Particulars, not fit to be mention'd by a Christian, or a modest Pen; some of which were Printed, but the greatest Part are lost. Upon these Discoveries, some of the Houses immediately surrender'd to the King, the first of which was *Langden* in *Kent*; which Example was follow'd by two others in the same Year, and four more in that which follow'd.

Some of them
surrender to
the King.

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The same Year the Parliament met in *February*, after a Prorogation of fourteen Months; and one main Business of this Session was the suppressing all the Monasteries under two hundred Pounds a Year. Accordingly an Act was made,
Setting

Setting forth the infinite Disorders of those smaller Houses, and the many unsuccessful Attempts that had been made to reform them; therefore the Religious that were in them, were order'd to be remov'd into the larger Houses, where Religion was better observ'd, and the Revenues of them were given to the King. Those Houses, which were three hundred and seventy in Number, were much richer than they seem'd to be: For an Abuse that had run over *Europe*, of keeping the Rents of the Church at their first Rates, and exacting great Fines upon all Occasions, was so gross in those Houses, that some rated but at two hundred Pounds were in real Value worth many thousands. In this Parliament an Act was made of another Nature, which had been long projected, which was for the intire uniting and incorporating of the Principality of *Wales* with the Kingdom of *England*; which was now completely effected, two hundred and fifty two Years after that Country had been conquer'd or reduc'd by King *Edward* the First. In the Convocation, which sat at the same Time, a Motion was made for translating the Bible into *English*, which had been formerly promis'd when *Tindal's* Translation was condemn'd. The Matter was fully debated on both Sides, and at length by the Means of the Arch-Bishop and some others, it was carry'd in the Affirmative; and by Queen *Anne's* Interest it was so far promoted at Court, that Orders were given for the performing of it with all Expedition. After all Business was finish'd, this famous Parliament, which had done the King such eminent Service, and had now sat six Years, was dissolv'd on the fourteenth of *April*.

The lesser of them suppress'd by the Parliament.

Wales united to England.

The Parliament dissolv'd.

But before this happen'd, the afflicted and unfortunate Queen *Catharine*, who had often been the Subject of their Debates, dy'd at *Kimbolton*, in *Huntingtonshire*. Her Sufferings begot great Compassion in the People, and all the superstitious Clergy zealously supported her Interests; but now her Troubles ended with her Life. She desir'd to be bury'd among the *Observant* Friars, who had suffer'd most for her; and order'd five hundred Masses for her Soul, and that one of her Women should go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Walsingham*, and give two hundred Nobles on her Way to the Poor. When the found Death approaching, she wrote to the Emperor, earnestly recommending her Daughter *Mary* to his Care; and likewise to the King, with this Inscription, *My dear Lord, King and Husband*: In which, 'She forgave him all the Injuries he had done her, desiring him to have regard to his Soul: She recommended her Daughter to his tender Care, and begg'd of him to provide Matches for her three Maids, and to pay her Servants a Year's Wages; and concluded thus, *Mine Eyes desire you above all Things*. She dy'd in the fiftieth Yeath of her Age, and thirty three after she came into *England*; and was a sufficient Instance that Greatness and Happiness are of two distinct Natures. She was a devout and exemplary Lady, who us'd to work much with her own Hands among her Women; and the Severities and Devotions that were known to her Priests, and her Alms-Deeds join'd to her Misfortunes, rais'd a high Esteem of her in all sorts of People. The King indeed often complain'd of her uneasie Temper; but that perhaps was to be imputed as much to the Provocations he gave her, as to any Sowness in her own. The King receiv'd the News of her Death not without Tears; and order'd her to be bury'd in the Abby Church at *Peterborough*. But Queen *Anne* did not carry her Death so decently as became a happy Rival; expressing too much Joy, both in her Behaviour and her Habit.

The Death of Queen Catharine.

Her Character.

It was but a few Months after, that this flourishing Queen met with a Fall more unfortunate and fatal than the other; which in all Probability was occasion'd by those who now began to be distinguish'd by the Name of the *Romish* Party. For the King now proceeding both at home and abroad in the Point of Reformation, they found that the Interest the Queen had in him, was the great Obstacle of their Designs: She increas'd not only in the King's Esteem, but in the Love of the Nation; and in the last nine Months of her Life, she

The Fall of Queen Anne.

gave

gave above fourteen thousand Pounds in Alms to the Poor, and was much employ'd in doing of Good. But many Circumstances contributed to her Ruin. Soon after Queen *Catharine's* Death, she brought forth a dead Son, which was believ'd to have made some unfortunate Impression on the King's Mind. It was also consider'd by some Courtiers, That now Queen *Catharine* was dead, the King might marry another Wife, and be fully reconcil'd with the Pope and Emperor: And the Issue by any other Marriage would never be question'd; whereas, while Queen *Anne* liv'd, the Ground of the Controversie still remain'd, and her Marriage being accounted null from the Beginning, would never be allow'd by the Court of *Rome*, or any of that Party. With these Reasons of State, the King's Affections too much concurr'd; for he now entertain'd a secret Love for the Lady *Jane Seymour*, who had all the Charms of Youth and Beauty, and her Humour temper'd between the Gravity of Queen *Catharine*, and the Gaiety of Queen *Anne*. The poor unfortunate Queen us'd all possible Arts to blow up an expiring Flame in his Breast; but the King was chang'd, and instead of being warm'd by her Cares, he began to consider them as Artifices to varnish over some other criminal Affection. Her chearful Humour was not always govern'd by the most nice Decency, and exact Rules of Discretion; and her Brother's Wife, a Woman of Infamy, being jealous of her Husband and her, possess'd the King with her own Apprehensions, and fill'd his furious Head with many Stories. *Norris*, *Weston* and *Brereton* the King's Servants, and *Smeton* a Musician, were by her Enemies thought to be too officious about her; and something was pretended to have been sworn by the Lady *Wyngfield* at her Death, that determin'd the King, but we find nothing particular. It is reported besides, that when the King held a Tournament at *Greenwich*, he was displeas'd at the Queen for letting her Handkerchief fall to one for wiping his Face; but this seems a Fiction, because the Parliament was summon'd the Day before that, and then was her Ruin determin'd.

The King jealous of her.

She is imprisoned.

However it was, upon that Day the King confin'd her to her Chamber, and order'd her Brother, and the four foremention'd Persons to be committed to the Tower, and her self to be sent after them the Day following. On the River some Privy-Counsellors came to examine her, but she made deep Protestations of her Innocence; and as she landed at the Tower, she fell down on her Knees, and pray'd Heav'n *so to assist her, as she was free from the Crimes laid to her Charge*. The Confusion she was in soon rais'd a Storm of Vapours within her; sometimes she laugh'd, and at other Times wept excessively: She was also devout and light by Turns; and sometimes she stood upon her Vindication, and at other Times she confess'd some Indiscretions, which she afterwards deny'd. All about her took Advantage from every Word that fell from her, and sent it immediately to Court. The Duke of *Norfolk* and others that came to examine her, the better to make Discoveries told her, That both *Norris* and *Smeton* had accus'd her; which tho' false had this Effect on her, that it caus'd her to confess some slight Acts of Indiscretion, tho' no ways essential, which totally alienated the King from her. Yet whether these small Acknowledgements were real Truths, or the Effects of Imagination and Hysterical Emotions, is very uncertain. All the Court now turn'd against the miserable Queen, and began to adore a rising Sun; but *Cranmer* was a Stranger to those Arts, and had a more noble Soul; therefore her Enemies procur'd an Order for him not to come to Court. Yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the King a long and nice Letter in that critical Juncture, in which 'he acknowledg'd if the Crimes reported of the Queen were true, it was the greatest Affliction that ever befel the King, and therefore exhorted him to bear it with Patience and Submission to the Will of God: He confess'd he never had a better Opinion of any Woman than of her; and that next the King, he was more oblig'd to her, than to all Persons living; and therefore he begg'd the King's leave to

Cranmer writes for her to the King.

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‘pray that she might be found Innocent: He lov’d her not a little, because of the Love which she seem’d to bear to God, and his Gospel; but if she were guilty, all that lov’d the Gospel must hate her, as having given the greatest Slander to the Gospel: But he pray’d the King not to entertain any Prejudice to the Gospel on her Account, nor give the World reason to say, *That his Love to that was founded on the Power she had with him.* But jealousy, and the King’s new Affection; had now defac’d all the Remainders of Esteem for his once belov’d Queen: Therefore *Norris, Weston, Brereton* and *Smeton* were all brought to their Trial at *Westminster-Hall*. They all pleaded not guilty; only *Smeton*, probably in hopes of saving his Life, confess’d Lewdness with the Queen; and he with the other three were pronounc’d guilty, and condemn’d to die as Traitors.

Three Days after the Queen of *England* by an unheard of President was brought to the Bar, and indicted of High-Treason, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, as High-Steward, and a Court of twenty seven Peers. Her Brother, then a Peer, was also try’d with her, and the Crime charg’d upon her was, That she had procur’d her Brother and four others to lye with her, and had often said, *That the King never had her Heart*; all which was to the Slander of the Issue begotten between the King and her, and was Treason by the Act that confirm’d her Marriage: So that the same Act that was made for her Marriage, was now turn’d to her Ruin; which had too near Resemblance to a Punishment from Heaven. It does not appear that any living Evidence was brought against her; for *Smeton*, already condemn’d, could be of no use; and he never being brought to confront her, gave great Suspicion, that his Confession was extorted by bare Practices. All the Evidence we find, was the Declaration of a dead Woman; yet this, or rather the Terror of offending the King, so wrought on the Lords, that they found her, and her Brother guilty; and Judgment was given, that she should be burnt, or beheaded at the King’s Pleasure. Yet all this did not satisfy the enraged King; he resolv’d likewise to illegitimate his Daughter *Elizabeth*, and in order to that to annul his Marriage with the Queen. It was now remember’d that the Earl of *Northumberland* had said to Cardinal *Wolsey*, *That he had engag’d himself so far with her, that he could not recede*; which perhaps was done by some Promise conceiv’d in Words of the *Future Tense*, tho’ no Promise, unless in Words of the *Present Tense*, could annul the subsequent Marriage. Perhaps the Queen did not understand that Difference; or probably the Terrors of her Execution wrought so upon her, that she confess’d a Contract with the Earl; tho’ that Lord positively deny’d it, and took the Sacrament upon it, with a Wish that it might turn to his Damnation, if ever there were either Contract or Promise of Marriage between them. However she was secretly carry’d to *Lambeth*, where upon her Examination, and her own Acknowledging a Precontract, her Marriage was regularly declar’d null from the Beginning. These two Sentences pass’d upon her were inconsistent and contradictory; for if she never was the King’s Wife, she could not be guilty of Adultery; because, if she was not truly marry’d, there could be no Breach of the Faith of Wedlock. But the impatient King was now resolv’d to be freed from her, and the Succession of her Issue; and in that Transport did not consider, That the Method he took, discover’d the Injustice of his Proceedings.

Her Trial.

Her Condemnation.

Her Divorcement.

The abandon’d Queen having Intimations given her to prepare for Death; among other Things she reflected on her Carriage to the Princess *Mary*, to whom she had been too severe a Step-Mother: Therefore causing one of her Women to sit in the Chair of State, she fell down on her Knees before her, and with a Flood of Tears charg’d her to go to the Princess *Mary*, and in that Posture, and in her Name, to ask her Forgiveness for all she had done against her. This generous Tenderness of Conscience gave much Credit to the continual Protestations of her Innocence, which she made to the last. The Day before her Death,

Her humble Carriage.

Death, she sent her last moving Message to the King, asserting her Innocence, and recommending her Daughter to his Care; and particularly she thank'd him *for advancing her from a Gentlewoman to be a Marchioness, and then to be a Queen, and now when he could raise her no higher on Earth, for sending her to be a Saint in Heaven.* On the Day she dy'd, the Lieutenant of the Tower wrote to Secretary *Cromwell*, 'That it was not fit to publish the Time of her Execution, for the fewer that were present it would be the better; since he believ'd she would declare her Innocence at the Hour of her Death; for that she had made great Protestations of it, when she receiv'd the Sacrament, and seem'd to long for Death, and had great Joy and Pleasure in it: She was glad to hear the Executioner was good, for she said *she had a little Neck*, at which she laugh'd heartily. A little before Noon, on the nineteenth of *May*, she was brought a pitious Sight to the Scaffold, where were present some of the chief Officers and great Men of the Court, to behold the last Scene of this fatal Tragedy. It seems she was prevail'd out of Regard to her Daughter, to make no Reflexions on the Hardships she sustain'd, nor to say any Thing touching the Grounds on which Sentence pass'd against her, only she desir'd, *That all would judge the best*: She highly commended the King, and so took her leave of the World. She was for some time in her private Devotions, and concluded *To Christ I commend my Soul*; upon which the Executioner, who was brought from *Calais* on this Occasion, dextrously sever'd her Head from her Body; and both were put into an ordinary Chest, and bury'd in the Chappel in the Tower. *Norris* was much urg'd to accuse her, and had his Life promis'd him upon that Condition; but he generously rejected the base Offer, declaring, *That he knew her Innocent, and he would die a thousand Deaths rather than defame her*: So he and the other three were beheaded, and all continu'd to vindicate her to the last Moment. *Smeton* only was hang'd, and it was said, that he retracted all before he dy'd, but of that, there is no Certainty. Thus fell the unfortunate Queen in the twenty ninth Year of her Age, after she had been marry'd about four Years and a half; and this uncommon Transaction met with various Censures. Some observ'd that she who had supplanted Queen *Catharine*, did now meet with harder Measure; and they judg'd her faint Way of speaking concerning her Innocence at last, was too great a Compliment to the King: Yet she wrote a Letter to the King in so high a Strain both of natural Wit and Eloquence, in her Justification, that it may be reckon'd one of the best compos'd Pieces of that Time. The violent and jealous Behaviour of the King in this Matter can never be vindicated; and nothing more clearly discover'd the secret Cause of the Queen's Ruin, than his marrying *Jane Seymour*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, the very next Day after her Execution. This Lady gain'd more upon him than any of his Wives; for she was so happy as not to out-live his Love to her.

The King's
third Marriage
with Jane Sey-
mour.

A. D. IX. The active and disturb'd King *Henry*, from the Blood of his Subjects, had now ventur'd upon that of his Wife; and upon this Turn of Affairs there succeeded a great Change of Counsels. There was nothing now that kept up the Breach between him and the Emperor, but the Illegitimation of the Princess *Mary*, now about twenty Years of Age; and if that Matter could be adjusted, the King would meet with no further Disturbance from him: Therefore it was propos'd, that she might be restor'd to Favour, upon making her Submission to her Father. She offer'd to confess the Fault of her former Obstinacy, and in general, to yield up her Understanding entirely to the King: But that would not satisfy, unless she would be more particular; so that at length she was contented to do it in the fullest Terms that could be desir'd: 'She acknowledg'd the King to be the *Supream Head of the Church of England under Christ*, and utterly renounc'd the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, and promis'd in all Things to be obedient to the Laws then made; all which

The Princess
Mary's Submis-
sion.

flow'd

flow'd from her inward Belief and Judgment, in which she would for ever continue: And she also did acknowledge that the King's Marriage with her Mother, was *unlawful* and *incestuous*, both by the Laws of God and Man. All this she wrote with her own Hand, and subscrib'd it; upon which she was receiv'd into Favour, and an Establishment was made for a Family about her, in which forty Pound a Quarter was all the Allowance for her Privy-Purse, so great was the Frugality of that Time. The hopeful Princess *Elizabeth* continu'd to be educated with great Care, and was so forward, that before she was four Years old, she both wrote a good Hand, and understood *Italian*; and there are Letters extant written by her in that Language to the new Queen *Jane*, when she was with Child, in which she subscrib'd her self *Daughter*.

About this Time a new Parliament was summon'd, which met on the eighth Day of *June*: When the Chancellor told them, That the King had call'd them to settle the Succession of the Crown, in case he should die without Children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the Act made concerning his Marriage with Queen *Anne*. After some Debates and Consideration, upon the thirtieth of *June* a Bill was brought in accordingly, which was soon dispatch'd without Opposition: 'By it the Attainder of Queen *Anne* and her Accomplices was confirm'd, as likewise were both the Sentences of Divorce upon the King's two former Marriages; and the Issue by both was Illegitimated, and for ever excluded from claiming the Crown by Lineal Descent: And the Succession was establish'd on the King's Issue by the present Queen, or any to whom he might afterwards marry. But because it was not proper to declare who should succeed in Default of that, lest the Person so nam'd should raise Com-motions, in Confidence of the King's Wisdom, and Affection to his People, he was allow'd to nominate his Successor, either by Letters Patents, or by his last Will sign'd by his Hand. It was declar'd Treason to maintain the Lawfulness of his former Marriages, or of his Issue by them; and it was made not only Treason, but a Forfeiture of the Right of Succession, if any of those whom the King should name in Default of others, should endeavour to usurp before them. The *Scots* complain'd of this Act, by which the King was now made Sovereign indeed, and had the Crown put intirely into his Hands, to be dispos'd of at his Pleasure; and his Daughters were now wholly to depend upon his Will: By this also he had it in his Power in a great Measure to pacifie the Emperor, by providing that his Kinswoman *Mary* might succeed to the Crown.

A new Parliam-ent.

The Act of Succession.

About the same Time the new Pope *Paul*, who upon the Execution of Bishop *Fisher*, had thunder'd out a formidable Sentence of Deposition against the King, the Queens *Catharine* and *Anne*, who were the Occasions of the Breach, being now dead, he thought it a proper Season to endeavour for a Reconciliation; and therefore order'd *Cassali* to acquaint the King, *That he had always favour'd his Cause when he was a Cardinal, that he was forc'd contrary to his Inclinations to pass Sentence against him; and that now it would be easie for him to recover the Favour of the Apostolick Sec.* But the King instead of harkning to the Proposition, procur'd two Acts to be pass'd, 'The one was for the utter extinguishing the Pope's Authority; and it was made a *Premu-nire*, for any to acknowledge it, or persuade others to it: And a strict Charge was given to all Magistrates under severe Penalties to enquire after all Offenders. By another Act, All Bulls, and Privileges flowing from them, were declar'd null and void, excepting Marriages, or Consecrations of Bishops; all which were also requir'd to be brought into *Chancery*, upon which the Archbishop was to make a new Grant of them, which being confirm'd by the great Seal, was to be of full Force in Law. In this Parliament another Act pass'd, explaining an Exception that was in the Act for the Residence of all Incumbents, by which those who were in the Universities were dispens'd with Non-Residence. Another Act pass'd in Favour of the King's Heire, if they should

The new Pope offers a Reconciliation.

Acts against the Pope's Power.

reign before they were of full Age; 'That whatever Acts were made before they 'were twenty four Years of Age, they might repeal and annul by their Letters 'Patents. From all these Acts it appears, that the King was absolute Master both of the Affections and Fears of his Subjects, when in a new Parliament suddenly call'd, and sitting but six Weeks before it was dissolv'd, Acts of such high Importance were pass'd, without any publick Protestation or Opposition.

The Acts of the Convocation.

During this Session of Parliament the Convocation was no less busily employ'd; and one of the first Things they did was to confirm the Sentence of the Divorce of the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*. They acknowledg'd the King *Supream Head of the Church*, and proceeded to many Points of Religion, and to many Complaints of Corruptions and Abuses. Most Mens Eyes began now to be open'd, yet many being blinded by Interest and Design, several Contests were rais'd, and some Attempts made to the Detriment of *Cranmer*, *Shaxton* and *Latimer*, and other Promoters of the Reformation. But all Projects fail'd that were levell'd at *Cranmer*, who was fully establish'd in the King's Favour; and *Cromwell* was sent to them with a Message from the King, 'That 'they should reform the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the 'Rules of Scripture, which ought to be prefer'd to all Glosses or Decrees of 'Popes. This being debated it occasion'd new Discussions and Disputations, which might have been prosecuted with too much Warmth, had not the King to end Differences sent a Scheme of about ten Articles to be consider'd by that learned Body. These establish'd the Authority of Scriptures, the three Creeds, and the four general Councils; as likewise three of the seven *Romish* Sacraments, *Baptism*, the *Eucharist* and *Penance*, with a truer Notion of *Justification*, and the Use of some Ceremonies. After some Consideration these Articles were sign'd by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-Bishops, sixteen Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty of the lower House; to which the King join'd a Preface, declaring the Pains he and his Clergy had undergone for removing of all Differences in Religion, approving of the Articles, and requiring all his Subjects to accept them with the like Unanimity with which they were subscrib'd. These Articles did not satisfy either the strict Reformers, or the *Romish* Party: Yet the former were well pleas'd to see Things brought under Examination; and since some Things were at this Time chang'd, they did not doubt but more Changes would follow: They were glad to find the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds made the Standards of Faith, without *Tradition*, and that the Nature of *Justification* was rightly stated, and that some gross Abuses were remov'd, tho' there remain'd still some hard of Digestion. Some of the stricter Sort thought that these Articles had too much of a Political Compliance; and that it was agreeable with the Sincerity of the Gospel, still to allow of so many Errors. To which it was answer'd, 'That our Saviour did not deliver all Things to his Disciples, 'till they were able to bear them; and the Apostles did not at once abolish all the Rights of *Judaism*, but by a gentle Progress wean'd their Christian Converts from them. The Clergy were to be drawn by slow and easie Steps out of their Ignorance and Superstition; whereas driving forwards with Precipitation, might ruin the Design, and alienate those who by slower Methods might be gain'd; and it also might much endanger the Peace of the Nation.

Articles concluded.

When these things were known in Foreign Parts, the Court of *Rome* made great Advantage of them, to let all Princes see the Necessity of adhering to the Holy See; for as soon as *England* departed from that, it began also to change the Doctrine. The Pope had issu'd out Summons for a general Council at *Mantua*, and had cited the King to it; from which the King appeal'd to a general Council rightly constituted. And a Motion being made that the Convocation should deliver their Opinion in this Particular, they drew up a Paper, 'In which they set forth the great Good that might follow from a general 'Council rightly call'd; but that nothing could be more mischievous, than one call'd

‘call’d on private Malice and Design: And they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince, had sufficient Authority to call one, unless all Princes, who had intire and supream Government over all their Subjects, did agree and concur. This was sign’d by the whole Body on the twentieth of *July*, and so the Convocation dismiss’d. Shortly after the King publish’d a long and severe Protestation against the Council summon’d by the Pope; first denying that he had any Authority to summon his Subjects, and next shewing that no Advantage could be expected from any Council where the Pope presided, *Since the restraining his exorbitant Power was one of the chief Occasions that the World had for a Council.* Many Books were written on both Sides, upon this and other Subjects, in these busie Times: But none appear’d more industrious than Cardinal *Pool*, who by his Mother was descended from the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth; and was likewise by his Father the King’s near Kinsman. To this high Quality was join’d a great Sweetness of Temper, and Disposition for Letters, which the King cherish’d much, and gave him the Deanery of *Exeter*, and some other Preferments, designing him the highest Dignities in the Church. He liv’d many Years in foreign Parts; and at *Paris* he first incurr’d the King’s Displeasure, in obstructing the Determinations of the *French* Universities for his Divorce; yet after that he came to *England*, and was present when the Convocation declar’d the King to be their *Supream Head*. But the King suffering him to go out of the Nation, he could never draw him back again: Instead of which he wrote severely against all the King’s Proceedings, comparing him to *Nebuchadnezzar*; and addressing himself to the Emperor, he pray’d him rather to turn his Arms against King *Henry* than the *Turk*. This Indignity, which was High-Treason in a Subject, so far provok’d the King, that it afterwards drew a heavy Storm upon all his Kindred.

Cardinal Pool’s
Actions.

But nothing could stop the Progress of the vigorous King and his Ministers, who pursuant to the Act of Parliament, now proceeded to the Dissolution of the lesser Monasteries. Commissioners were appointed, and requir’d to carry along with them the Concurrence of the Gentry near them, and to examine the exact Value of their Revenues and Goods: They were to try how many of the Religious would take Capacities, and return to a secular Course of Life; but those who design’d to continue in that State, were to be sent to the larger adjacent Monasteries; and a Pension was to be assign’d to the Abbot, or Prior, during Life. There were loud Complaints made against the Proceedings of these Commissioners, both of their Violences and Briberies, and probably not without Reason, in the midst of so many Temptations and Opportunities. About ten thousand of the Religious were sent to seek their Livings, with forty Shillings and a Gown to each Man. The Goods and Plate were estimated at a hundred thousand Pounds, and the valu’d Rents of their Houses at thirty two thousand Pounds, which were really worth above ten Times as much. The Churches and Cloisters were in most Places pull’d down, and the Materials sold; all which gave a general Discontent, and the Monks were now as much pity’d, as they were formerly detested. It was thought prodigious to see the King devour what his Ancestors had dedicated to God and his Saints. The Nobility and Gentry, who often provided for their younger Children and Friends in those Sanctuaries, were sensible of their Loss: The People, who had been fed at the Abbot’s Tables, and in Travelling found those to be Places of Reception for Strangers, immediately saw the Inconvenience: But the more superstitious, who thought their Friends must now lye still in Purgatory, without that Relief procur’d by their Masses, were out of measure offended at these Proceedings. The mighty Disorders of these Houses had now but small Effects upon the People, who alledg’d That there was no Reason to destroy whole Foundations for the sake of some vicious Persons, who ought to have been expell’d and made Examples.

The Dissolution
of the lesser
Monasteries.

Great Discon-
tents.

Cromwell's
Policy.

To remove this general Discontent, the politick *Cromwell* advis'd the King to sell these Lands at very easie Rates to the Nobility and Gentry, and to oblige them to retain the wonted Hospitality; which would be both grateful to them, and engage them to assist the Crown in all the late Alterations; and would be pleasing to the People, when they found the the old Hospitality preserv'd. And upon a Clause in the Act empowering the King to found a-new such Houses as he should think fit, there were fifteen Monasteries, and sixteen Nunneries, which were more regular than the rest, refounded, or rather re-priev'd, 'till the general Dissolution came afterwards. But all this did not so pacifie the People, but still there was a great Outcry fomented by many of the Clergy, who laid great Weight upon this Notion, That King *Henry*, being an Heretical Prince, and actually depos'd by the Pope in the preceding Year, was no longer to be acknowledg'd; and this for five hundred Years had been receiv'd as an Article of Faith, and was decreed in the same Council that establish'd Transubstantiation. To allay or divert these Disturbances, some Injunctions were publish'd in the King's Name by *Cromwell*, relating chiefly to the regular Behaviours, and faithful Duties of the Clergy of the Nation, which was the first Act of pure Supremacy done by the King. This increas'd the ill Disposition; for the *Romish* Clergy detested this President of the King's giving Injunctions without the Concurrence of a Convocation, and by which, they asledg'd, they should be made Slaves to his *Vice-gerent*: They also complain'd of those heavy Taxes that were laid upon them; and that Images, Relicks, and Pilgrimages would by these Injunctions be brought under great Contempt. Both the Regular and Secular Clergy were so sensibly concern'd in these Things, that they us'd all Methods to inflame the People. The great Abbots were not wanting in the same Design; they were now burden'd with the Crouds of those who were sent to them from the suppress'd Houses, and they expected to meet with the same Fate: Nor were the Fears remov'd by a Letter that was sent about in the King's Name for silencing all Reports that were given out of his Intentions to suppress them; for this rather increas'd than lessen'd their Jealousie.

New Com-
plaints.

A Rebellion
in Lincoln-
shire.

The People continu'd quiet 'till they had reap'd their Harvest; but in the Beginning of *October* twenty thousand rose in *Lincolnshire*, led by one Doctor *Mackrel*, Prior of *Barlings* in that County, and disguis'd like a Cobler. They took an Oath to be true to God, the King, and the Common-wealth, and sent a Paper of their Grievances to the King; 'In which they complain'd of some 'Acts of Parliament, of the Suppression of many Religious Houses, of mean 'and ill Counsellors, and bad Bishops; praying the King to redress their Grievances by the Advice of the Nobility: But still they acknowledg'd him to be 'their *Supream Head*, and that the *Tenths* and *First-Fruits* of Livings belong'd 'of Right to him. The King sent the Duke of *Suffolk* to levy Forces against them, and to give an Answer to their Petition; declaring, 'It was not the 'Business of the Multitude to direct Princes what Counsellors to chuse: The 'Religious Houses were suppress'd by Law, and the Heads of them had under 'their Hands confess'd such scandalous Enormities as were a Reproach to the 'Nation; and since in many of them there were not above four Persons, who 'wasted the whole Rents in riotous Living, it was much better to apply them 'to the common Good of the Nation, than leave them in such Hands: He requir'd them to submit to his Mercy, and to put two hundred of their Leaders 'into the Hands of his Lieutenants. The discontented Clergy having brought such Numbers together, us'd all Methods to inspire Heat and Spirit into them, and perswaded them, *That if they did not now maintain their Faith and Liberties, both would be lost*. Some of the Gentry were compell'd to join with them for their own Preservation; and they sent Advices to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to procure the Offer of a general Pardon from the King, which would effectually dissipate them. At the same Time there was a more formidable Insurrection

in

in *Yorkshire*, which being in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, was like to draw Assistance from that Kingdom; tho' their King was then gone into *France*, to marry *Francis's* Daughter. This mov'd King *Henry* to use more Expedition in settling the Affairs of *Lincolnshire*: He sent them secret Assurances of Mercy, which so prevail'd on the greatest Part, that they dispers'd themselves, and the most obstinate repair'd to them in *Yorkshire*. *Mackrel* the pretended Cobler, and some few others, were taken and executed.

As to the Northern Rebellion, the Distance of the People from the Court, gave them Time to form themselves into a better Method: One *Ask*, a Gentle- ^{Another in} man, commanded in Chief, and perform'd his Part with great Dexterity. ^{Yorkshire} Their March and Progress was call'd *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, having on their Banners and their Sleeves the five Wounds of our Saviour; and they took an Oath to restore the Church, suppress Hereticks, preserve the King and his Issue, and drive from him all mean born Men and ill Counsellors. In a few Days their Number increas'd to forty thousand; and meeting with no Opposition, they forc'd the Arch-Bishop of *York* and the Lord *Darcy* to swear to their Covenant, and to go along with them. They invested *Skipton*, but the ^{more formidable.} Earl of *Cumberland* secur'd it against them; and Sir *Ralph Evers* bravely held out *Scarborough* Castle, tho' for twenty Days he and his Men had no Provisions but Bread and Water. There was also an Insurrection in all the other Northern Counties, against whom the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury* made Head; and the King sent several of the Nobility to his Assistance, particularly the Duke of *Norfolk*, who join'd him with some regular Troops. These Noble Men possess'd themselves of *Doncaster*, and resolv'd to secure that Pass 'till the rest of the Forces order'd by the King should come up to them; for they were not in a Condition to engage with such Numbers of desperate Men; and it was probable, upon any Misfortune, the People would have risen on all Sides. Therefore the Duke of *Norfolk* resolv'd to keep intirely to *Doncaster*, and suffer the Rage as well as Provisions of the Rebels to spend, and then by gaining a little Time, they might pobably fall into Factions, and so dissolve their Power. They were now decreas'd to thirty thousand; but the King's Forces were not above the sixth of that Number. The Duke of *Norfolk* politically propos'd a Treaty, and caus'd some to go amongst them as Deferters, and spread Reports that their Commanders were making private Terms for themselves. They were perswaded to send their Petitions to the Court; and the King to satisfy them of their Security, discharg'd a Rendezvous that he had appointed at *Northampton*, and sent them a general Pardon, excepting six by Name, and reserving four to be afterwards nam'd: But this threw them all into such Apprehensions, that it made them more resolv'd and desperate; yet the King, to give his People some Content, put out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to continue the Use of all the Ceremonies of the Church.

At length three hundred were imploy'd to carry the Rebels Demands to the King, which were, 'A general Pardon to be granted; a Parliament to be held ^{The Rebels} at *York*, and Courts of Justice erected there: That some Acts of Parliament ^{Demand.} might be repeal'd; That the Princess *Mary* might be restor'd to her Right of Succession, and the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction; That the Monasteries be again restor'd; That *Audley* Lord Chancellor, and *Cromwell* Privy-Seal, be remov'd from the King, and that some of the Visitors of Monasteries be imprison'd for Bribery and Extortion. But these being rejected, the Rebels reassum'd their Courage; upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* advis'd the King to gentle Methods: He in his Heart wish'd that all their Demands might be granted; and the Lord *Darcy* afterwards accus'd him, as if he had encourag'd them to make them. The King sent him a general Pardon without any Exception, to be us'd according to his Discretion. In the mean Time the Rebels, finding that with the Loss of Time they lost Strength, resolv'd to attack him and force him from *Doncaster*: But at two several Trials, when they had

agreed

*The King's
Answer.*

agreed to pass the River, there fell such Rains, as made it impracticable; which being magnify'd as a Miracle, caus'd very discouraging Impressions. The King sent a long Answer to their Demands, in which ' He assur'd them he would live ' and die in the Defence of the Christian Faith; but the Multitude ought not to ' prescribe to him, and the Convocation in that Matter. As to the Monasteries, he gave the same Answer as he had done to the Men of *Lincolnshire*. For the Laws, ' They were not to presume to alter what was establish'd; and ' he had govern'd them twenty eight Years with Security to their Estates, and ' Clemency to their Persons. And whereas it was reported that when he began to Reign, he had many of the Nobility in his Council, and now none ' but those of mean Extract; this was false, for at first he found but two Noblemen of his Council, and at present there were seven Temporal Lords and ' four Bishops in it. He found it necessary to have some that were conversant in the Laws of *England*, and Treaties with Foreign Princes; therefore ' he had call'd *Audely* and *Cromwell* to the Board. If they had any Complaints ' to make of any about him, he was ready to hear them; but would not suffer ' them to direct him what Counsellors to employ; nor could they judge of ' the Bishops that were promoted, who were unknown to them: He charg'd ' them not to believe Lies, nor to be govern'd by Incendiaries, but to submit ' to his Mercy. Accordingly on the ninth Day of *December*, he sign'd a Proclamation of Pardon without any Restrictions.

A. D.
1537.
Reg. 28.
*They are all
quieted.*

When this was fully known, and the Rage of the People abated, they were willing to take the Advantage of it; and all the Artifices that some of the Clergy and their Commanders could use, had no other Effect but to draw such Numbers together as brought them under new Guilt, and caus'd them to forfeit the Benefit of the King's Pardon. Many came in and renew'd their Oaths of Allegiance, promising all future Obedience; and *Ask* was invited to the Court and well treated by the King, that he might learn from him all the secret Correspondences they had in other Parts of the Kingdom; for the Disposition to rebel was general, only all had not the like Opportunities. It was particularly believ'd that the great Abbots cherish'd the Rebellion; for which some of them were afterwards try'd and attainted. The Lord *Darcy* earnestly pleaded his great Age, being then fourscore, and the eminent Services he had done the Crown for fifty Years together, and that he was compell'd for his own Preservation to go along with the Rebels; but yet he was put into Prison. This gave the Clergy an Occasion to infuse into the People, that the King's Pardon was precarious; so that eight thousand flock'd together again, and endeavour'd to surprize *Carlisle*; but the Duke of *Norfolk* set upon them and routed them, and by Martial Law hang'd their Captains and seventy other Persons. Others design'd to have surpriz'd *Hull*, but were likewise defeated, and many of them executed. Many other small Insurrections were soon dispers'd; and the Duke of *Norfolk's* Vigour and Vigilance was so remarkable, that he was ready for them in all Places, before they could make their Numbers considerable; so that in a few Months from the Beginning, the Country was absolutely at rest. *Ask* left the Court without leave, but was soon retaken and hang'd at *York*. The Lords *Hussy* and *Darcy* were arraign'd at *Westminster*, and condemn'd by their Peers; the one for the *Lincolnshire*, and the other for the *Yorkshire* Rebellion. *Hussy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*, and *Darcy* on the Tower-Hill; the last being much lamented upon the Account of his old Age and former Services. In his Trial he accus'd the Duke of *Norfolk* of favouring the Rebels; but his late Services were such, as the King would not seem to have any Jealousie of him. After these and other Executions, the King proclaim'd a general Amnesty in *July*, by which the Nation was again put in a quiet Condition; and the threatening Storm dissipated without the Effusion of much Blood but what was drawn by the Sword of Justice. At the same Time *James* King of *Scotland*, returning from *France* with his new Queen, Daughter to

*The Lords
Hussy and Darcy
are executed.*

to the *French King*, and touching on the Court of *England*, many of the People fell down at his Feet, begging him to assist them, and he should have all; but he was then bound up by his Father-in-law, and therefore return'd home without giving them any Incouragement. And thus ended this Rebellion, which was chiefly promoted by the *Romish* Clergy, under the Pretence of Religion.

To crown the King's Happiness, not long after, upon the twelfth Day of *October*, he had a Son born at *Hampton-Court*; who three Days after, with great Splendor and Solemnity was baptiz'd by the Name of *Edward*; the Arch-Bishop, and the Duke of *Norfolk* being his God-Fathers. After he was Christen'd by one of the Bishops, his Name was aloud proclaim'd by *Garret* King at Arms, and call'd Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Chester*; and so attended by the two Princes, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, he was carry'd to the Queen's Apartment with great State and Magnificence. But the Joy of his Birth was much allay'd by the Departure of the admirable Queen, who, contrary to the common Opinion of many Writers, dy'd twelve Days after the Birth of this Prince, as appears from unquestionable Manuscripts; having been well deliver'd, and without any Incision, as others have maliciously reported. On the twelfth of *November*, her Body was with great Solemnity convey'd to *Windsor*, and there magnificently interr'd in the midst of the Choir. This was a great Affliction to the King; for of all his Wives, she was the dearest and most charming to him; and his Grief for that Loss is given as the Reason, why he continu'd two Years a Widower.

*The Birth of
King Edward
the Sixth.*

*The Death of
Queen Jane.*

X. The prevailing King was now deliver'd from all his Apprehensions of Disturbances at home; he was Master of his own Subjects, and no longer to be disobey'd. For he had not only broken the Rebellion of his People, and by Alliance secur'd himself from the Dangers threaten'd by the Pope; but all the *Romish* Expectations from the Princess *Mary* were now clouded by the Birth of Prince *Edward*. Being thus encourag'd, he resolv'd to proceed in his Designs of suppressing the rest of the Monasteries, and reforming some other Points of Religion. Accordingly a new Visitation was appointed to enquire into the Conversation of the Monks, how they stood affected to the Pope, and how they promoted the King's Supremacy; and likewise to examine what Impostors were among them, either in Images or Relicks, which might work upon the Superstition of the credulous Vulgar. Some few Houses of greater Value, were prevail'd with the former Year to surrender to the King. Many of the Houses that had not been dissolv'd, tho' they were in the former Act, were now suppress'd; and many of the greater Abbots were wrought on to surrender to the King by several Motives: Some had been culpable during the late Rebellion, and so offer'd a Resignation to prevent a future Storm: Others approv'd of the Reformation, and were willing to comply: Some were found guilty of such horrid Disorders, that to prevent a shameful Discovery, they offer'd their Houses to the King, and others had made such Wastes and Dilapidations, that having provided for themselves, they had no Concern for others. Many Abbots and Monks were willing to accept of Pensions for Life, which was generally proportion'd to the Value of their Houses, and Innocence of their Lives. Some who favour'd the Reformation, desir'd to convert their Houses to better Uses, for Preaching, Study and Prayer; and Bishop *Latimer* earnestly press'd the Vice-gerent *Cromwell*, that two or three Houses might be reserv'd for such Purposes in every County. But the Resolution was at once taken to extirpate all; and the Visitors proceeded with that Vigour and Expedition, that a hundred and twenty one Houses were this Year resign'd to the King, and thirty three more before the Parliament met. And what further promoted the Downfall of the Monasteries, besides the shameful Disorders of the House, was that many of the Abbots and Priors were found guilty of Rebellion and Treason, for which several were executed.

A. D.

1538.

Reg. 29.
30.

*Many of the
larger Monasteries
surrender.*

Yet

Several Impo-
stures disco-
ver'd.

Yet all these personal Blemishes did not work much on the Peoples Mind, to whom it seem'd unreasonable to extirpate noble Foundations, for the Crimes of some Individuals. Therefore another Method was pursu'd, which had better Effect: They discover'd many Impostures about Relicks, and wonderful Images, to which Pilgrimages were usually made. Among many other, *The Rood of Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent*, had been highly esteem'd, and drawn many Pilgrims to it. It was observ'd to bow, and roll its Eyes, and at particular Times look well pleas'd or angry, to the great Admiration of the credulous Multitude: But all this was discover'd to be a Cheat, and it was brought to *St. Paul's Cross*, where all the Springs were openly shown, that govern'd its several Motions. Many other notorious Impostures were also discover'd, both as to Relicks and Images, which contributed much to the undeceiving the People. The richest Shrine in *England* was *Thomas Becket's* at *Canterbury*, whose Actions and Behaviour may be read in the Reign of King *Henry* the Second. By the Incouragement of the Court of *Rome*, his Shrine grew to be of inestimable Value: He had two Holy Days appointed for him, and a Jubilee every fifty Years, with Indulgences granted to all who visited his Tomb; which in the Year 1420 brought no less than a hundred thousand Pilgrims to the Place. It is hard to tell whether the Hatred to his seditious Practices, or the Love of his rich Shrine, did most incite King *Henry* to Unsaint that Prelate. His Shrine was broken, and the Gold of it was so heavy, that it fill'd two Chests, which were as much as sixteen Men could carry out of the Church; and his Skull, which had been so much worshipp'd, was prov'd to be an Imposture; for the true Skull was with the rest of his Bones in his Coffin. His Bones were burnt, according to some; but others say they were so mingled with other Bones, that nothing but a Miracle could have distinguish'd them afterwards.

Becket's Shrine
broken.

The Pope's Bull
against the
King.

When these Transactions were known at *Rome*, all the eloquent Pens were there employ'd to represent King *Henry* as the most sacrilegious Tyrant that ever reign'd; who made War with Christ's Vicar on Earth, and his Saints in Heav'n; and he was compar'd to the worst Princes that the World ever saw. In many of these Cardinal *Pool's* Stile was sufficiently known, and they were all at least much encourag'd by him; which provok'd the King to show implacable Resentments against him and his Family. The Pope proceeded further; for now he publish'd all those Fulminations with which he had threaten'd him three Years before: In which 'He profess'd himself to be God's Vicar on Earth, 'who had Power to eradicate and destroy, and had Authority over all the Kings 'in the World: And therefore after he had enumerated all King *Henry's* Crimes, 'he requir'd him to appear within ninety Days at *Rome*, and his Accomplices 'within sixty Days; which if refus'd, he declar'd him to have fallen from his 'Crown, and them from their Estates. He put the whole Kingdom under an 'Interdict; and absolv'd all his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance: He 'declar'd him and his Accomplices Infamous; and put their Children under 'Incapacities. He requir'd all the Clergy to go out of *England* within five 'Days after the prefix'd Time should expire; leaving only so many as might 'serve for baptizing Children, or giving the Sacrament to such as dy'd in Peni- 'tence. He charg'd all his Subjects to rise in Arms against him, and that none 'should assist him. He absolv'd all other Princes from their Confederacies with 'him, and obtested them to have no Commerce with him. He requir'd all 'Christians to make War on him; and to seize on the Persons and Goods of 'all his Subjects, and make Slaves of them. He charg'd all Bishops to publish 'the Sentence with due Solemnities: and ordain'd it to be affix'd at *Rome*, *Tour- 'nay* and *Dunkirk*. This was first given out in the Year 1535; but it had been all this Time suspended, till the Suppression of Monasteries, and the Rumour of burning of *Becket's* Bones, did so inflame the Pope, that he resolv'd upon the utmost Extremities. Therefore this Year he publish'd the Bull

which

which he declar'd *He had long suspended at the Intercession of some Princes, who hop'd that King Henry might have been reclaim'd by gentler Methods; and therefore since his Impieties daily increas'd, he was compell'd to proceed to his highest Censures.* The Pope also wrote to the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, to excite them against King *Henry*; and if this had been an Age of *Croisades*, no doubt one had been undertaken against him. And thus the Breach between King *Henry* and the Pope was now past Reconciliation; and at *Rome* it was declar'd equally meritorious to fight against him, as against *Turks* and *Infidels*; and Cardinal *Pool* made it more meritorious, in a Book of his writing.

The Thunders of the Vatican had now lost their Force; yet to prevent any Inconveniences that might arise, the King procur'd all the Bishops and eminent Divines of *England*, to sign a Declaration against all Churchmen who pretended to the Power of the Sword, or to Authority over Kings; and all who assum'd such Powers, were Subverters of the Kingdom of Christ. Many of the Bishops did also sign another Paper, declaring the Limits of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Power, that both had their Authority from God, for several Ends, and different Natures; and that Princes were subject to the Word of God, as well as Bishops ought to be obedient to their Laws. There was also another Declaration sign'd by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-Bishops, eleven Bishops, and twenty Divines, asserting the Distinction between the Power of the Keys, and the Power of the Sword. And to give the clearest Lights, this Year the *English Bible* was finish'd and publish'd; and *Cromwell* procur'd a general War-rant from the King, allowing all his Subjects to read it, for which *Cranmer* wrote his Thanks to *Cromwell*, *Rejoicing to see the Day of Reformation now risen in England, since the Word of God did shine over it all, without a Cloud.* Not long after *Cromwell* issu'd out Injunctions to the Clergy, requiring them all to set up Bibles in their Churches, and to encourage all to read them; with some other Particulars which struck at some of the main Points of the former Superstition, both concerning Images, Pilgrimages, and the Invocation of Saints: But the free Use of the Scriptures gave the most deadly Blow; yet all the Clergy submitted to the Injunctions without Murmuring.

Thus the Reformation increas'd and succeeded daily; yet still the Doctrines of the Real Presence, and of Transubstantiation were retain'd with great Strictness by the King and most Divines. Bishop *Gardiner*, a subtle Man and secret Enemy to the Reformation, us'd one Topick which prevail'd much with the King, That his Zeal against Heresie was the greatest Advantage that his Cause could have over all *Europe*; and therefore he press'd him to begin with the *Sacramentaries*, the Deniers of the Corporal Presence; and those being condemn'd by the *German Princes*, he had the less Reason to fear the imbroiling his Affairs by his Severities against them. Accordingly a considerable Divine, call'd *Lambert*, was brought before the King, and with great Solemnity try'd in his Presence, and condemn'd to be burnt for denying the Corporal Presence in the Eucharist. His Execution in *Smithfield* was very barbarous: For there was not Fire enough under him to consume him suddenly; so that his Legs and Thighs were burnt away while he remain'd alive; yet he bore it with admirable Patience, and continu'd to cry out, *None but Christ, none but Christ!* This gave some Satisfaction and Life to the *Romish Party*, and added Vanity to the King, who now made some new Promotions in the Church. Doctor *Bonner* was advanc'd to the Bishoprick of *Hereford*, by the Death of *Fox*; and *Stokesby* dying not long after, he was translated to *London*. *Cromwell* thought he had rais'd a Man that would be a faithful Friend to *Cranmer* in his Designs of Reformation, who indeed needed Assistants; not only to ballance the Opposition made him by other Bishops, but to diminish the Prejudices he suffer'd by the Weakness and Indiscretion of many of his own Party. For such great Complaints were brought to Court of the Rashness of the new Reforming

*The Bishop's
and Clergy as-
sert the Power
of the King.*

*The Bible pub-
lish'd in En-
glish.*

*Lambert's
Sufferings.*

Preachers, that *Cranmer's* Interest was sunk so low, that he had scarcely any to depend on but *Cromwell*. There now wanted a Queen in the King's Bosom to support them; therefore *Cromwell* continually endeavour'd to ingage the King in such an Alliance with the Princes of *Germany*, as might prevail with him both in Affection and Interest, to carry on what he had thus began. And the Beauty of *Anne of Cleve*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*, was so represented to him, that he resolv'd to effect that Match.

A. D. 1539. Reg. 30.
A new Parliament.
The Act of the Six Articles.

But before this could be accomplish'd, a new Parliament was summon'd to meet on the twenty eighth Day of *April*; to which all the Miter'd Abbots had their Writs. After many Struggles by *Cranmer*, and some of the Reformers to oppose the present Proceedings, the famous Bill pass'd against Diversity of Opinions in Religion. The Substance of it was, 'That the King being sensible of the Benefit of Union, and the Mischief of Discord, in Matters of Religion, had come to the Parliament in Person, and there laid open many Points of high Learning; and that with the Assent of both Houses, he set forth these six Articles. 1. That in the Eucharist, there was no Substance of Bread and Wine, but only the Natural Body and Blood of Christ. 2. That Christ being entirely in each Kind, the Communion in both was not necessary. 3. That Priests by the Law of God ought not to marry. 4. That Vows of Chastity, taken after the Age of twenty one Years, ought to be kept. 5. That private Masses were lawful and useful. 6. That Auricular Confession was necessary, and ought to be retain'd. Such as did speak or write against the First of these, were to be burnt, without the Benefit of Abjuration; and it was made Felony to dispute against the other Five: And such as did speak against them, the first Offence was *Premunire*, and the second Felony. Marry'd Priests, who did not put away their Wives, were made guilty of Felony; in those that liv'd incontinently, the first Offence was a *Premunire*, and the next Felony; and the Female Criminals to be punish'd after the same manner. Those that contemn'd Confession and the Eucharist, and abstain'd from it at the accusom'd Times, for the first Offence incurr'd a *Premunire*, and the second was Felony. All Proceedings were to be made in the Forms of Common Law, by Presentments and a Jury; and all Churchmen were commanded to read the Act in their Churches once a Quarter. These were call'd the six bloody Articles, which were bravely oppos'd by Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* in the Parliament, who declar'd himself bound in Conscience to vote against the Act, tho' he was sure it would pass. This Act was receiv'd with great Joy by all the *Romish* Party, who concluded they had gain'd their Cause: The unhappy Reformers were now expos'd to the Rage of their Enemies, and had no Comfort from any Part of it, but that they were not deliver'd up to the Cruelty of the Ecclesiastical Courts, but were to be try'd by Juries: Yet the Denying the Benefit of Abjuration, was a Severity without Precedent, and was forcing a Martyrdom upon them, since they could have no Advantage from their Apostacy. However they might have some Comfort from what the King declar'd to the *German* Ambassadors, who were disgusted at the Act, *That he did not design to put it in Execution, but upon great Provocation.*

An Act for Suppressing the Monasteries.

This Act being pass'd, to the Satisfaction of the *Romish* Party, another for Suppressing all Monasteries found a more easie Admittance. The Words of the Act seem to run otherwise. 'For by it no Monastery was directly suppress'd, but only the Resignations made, or to be made, were confirm'd; and the King's Right founded either on their Surrenders, Forfeitures, or Attainders of Treason, was declar'd good in Law: All Churches belonging to them, and formerly exempted, were put under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop, or of such as should be appointed by the King. Which last Proviso produc'd a great Mischief to the Church; for many that purchas'd Abby-Lands, had this Clause put in their Grants, That they should be Visitors of the Churches; and by this they still do, or pretend to continue exempted from the Episcopal Jurisdiction.

jurisdiction. As the Monasteries were to be suppress'd, so to counter-balance their Loss, another Bill was brought in to 'empower the King to erect what Bishopricks he thought fit, and to assign what Limits and Divisions, and appoint them what Statutes he pleas'd. The first Draught of the Preamble of this Act was written by the King himself; and indeed he us'd extraordinary Care in correcting both Acts of Parliament and Proclamations with his own Hand. All Papers in Matters of Religion, publish'd by Authority, were revis'd by him, and in many Places large Corrections were made by his own Hand; which manifested both his great Judgment, and his extraordinary Application to Business: And as he was fond of his two acquir'd Titles of *Defender of the Faith*, and *Supream Head of the Church*, so he affected nothing more, than to discover his Learning and Understanding in Matters of Religion. He also writ a List of all the new Bishopricks he design'd to erect, which were for the Benefit of nineteen several Counties; and he had form'd a glorious Design of endowing many Sees, and making many other noble Foundations; yet the great Change made in the Councils and Ministry before this took Effect, caus'd but too small a Part of his Designs to be accomplish'd.

In this Parliament several other Statutes were made; particularly an Act to enforce due Obedience to the King's Proclamations, which in some Cases was made Treason. An Act was also made, establishing the Precedence of the Bishops; by which the two Arch-Bishops first, then the Bishops of *London* and *Durham*, and then *Winchester*, as Prelate of the Garter; and all other Bishops were to take Place according to the Date of their Consecrations. Lastly, a Bill of Attainder pass'd, not only confirming the Sentences that had been given against the Marquess of *Exeter*, the Lord *Montacute*, and others, that had been condemn'd at Common Law; but of some that were newly attainted without a Trial: Of these some were absent, and others in Prison; but it was not thought convenient to bring them to make their Answers. The principal of these were the Marchioness of *Exeter*, and the Countess of *Salisbury*, Mother to Cardinal *Pool*. It was question'd whether this could be done in Law or not: The Judges deliver'd their Opinion, that it was against natural Justice to condemn any without hearing them, and then when the Parliament proceeded as a Court, they were oblig'd to follow the common Rules of Equity; but if they acted otherwise, yet since they were the Supream Court of the Nation, it could not be revers'd. In conclusion, the latter Part of this was insist'd on, and the former neglected; so the Act pass'd: And this Counsel was ascrib'd to *Cromwell*; and he being the first that was executed upon such a Sentence, gave occasion to many to observe the Justice of Heaven, in making ill Counsels turn upon those that give them.

When the Parliament was prorogu'd, the King remember'd his truest Friend *Craumer*, and the Apprehensions he might have from the six Articles; therefore he sent both *Cromwell* and the Duke of *Norfolk* to dine with him, and assure him of the Constancy of his Kindness to him. At the Table they express'd great Esteem for him, and acknowledg'd he had oppos'd the Articles with so much Learning and Gravity, that those who most differ'd from him, could not but highly value him; and that he needed not fear any thing from the King. *Cromwell* said, the King made that Difference between him and the rest of his Council, that he would not so much as harken to any Complaints made against him; and comparing him to Cardinal *Wolfey*, he said, *The one lost his Friends by his Pride and Ostentation, and the other gain'd his Enemies by his Humility and Mildness*. The Arch-Bishop was not only encourag'd by the King, but was also allow'd by him to write his Reasons against the six Articles, for the King's Use; all which he perform'd, to the great Hazard of his Person and Fortunes. But the Act fell much heavier upon many other Persons; *Shaxton* and *Latimer* not only resign'd their Bishopricks, but being presented for Words spoken against the Articles, they were put in Prison,

*The Bishops
hold their Sees
by a new Te-
nure.*

son, where they continu'd 'till a Recantation discharg'd one, and the King's Death freed the other. There were about five hundred others presented on the same Account; but upon the Intercessions of *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, and others, they were set at Liberty, and a Stop was put to the Execution of this Act 'till *Cromwell's* Fall. The Bishops of the *Popish* Party took unjustifiable Methods to insinuate themselves into the King's Confidence; for they took out Commissions by which they acknowledg'd, 'That all Jurisdiction, Civil and Ecclesiastical, flow'd from the King, and that they only exercis'd it at the King's Courtesie; and as they had this of his Bounty, so they were ready to deliver it up, when he should think fit to call for it: And therefore the King did empower them in his Steed, to Ordain, give Institution, and exercise all the other Parts of the Episcopal Function, which was to last during his Pleasure. By this they were in Reality made *the King's Bishops*; in which *Bonner* set an Example to the rest; but it does not appear that *Cranmer* took out any such Commission all this Reign.

*All the Mona-
stries sup-
press'd.*

*The Mitred
Abbies.*

And now follow'd the final Dissolution of the Monasteries of *England*, of which fifty seven had surrender'd this Year, and twelve of them Parliamentary Abbies. When all had thus resign'd, Commissioners were appointed by the Court of Augmentations to seize on the Revenues and Goods belonging to those Houses, and to establish the Pensions that were to be given to the Abbots and Monks, and to pull down the Churches, or such other Parts of the Fabrick, as they judg'd superfluous, and to sell all the Materials. The number of the Monasteries first and last suppress'd were six hundred and forty five; of which twenty eight were in this Reign Mitred or Parliamentary Abbies, whose Abbots sat in the House of Lords, which were as following. *St. Albans*, in *Hertfordshire*; *St. Peter's*, in *Westminster*; *St. Austin's*, in *Canterbury*; *Glassenbury*, in *Somersetshire*; *St. Edmund's Bury*, in *Suffolk*; *St. Benet's* in the *Holm*, in *Norfolk*; *Bardney and Croyland*, in *Lincolnshire*; *St. Mary's* in *York*, and *Selby* in *Yorkshire*; *Shrewsbury*, in *Shropshire*; *Evesham*, in *Worcestershire*; *Glocester*, *Tewksbury*, *Winchelcomb*, and *Cirencester*, in *Glocestershire*; *Abington and Reading*, in *Barkshire*; *Malmesbury*, in *Wiltshire*; *Peterborough*, in *Northamptonshire*; *Thorney*, in *Cambridgeshire*; *Ramsay*, in *Huntingtonshire*; *Battel*, in *Sussex*; *Hide by Winchester*, in *Hampshire*; *St. John's*, in *Colchester*, and *Waltham*, in *Essex*; *Coventry*, in *Warwickshire*; and *Tavestock*, in *Devonshire*. The valu'd Rents of all the Abby Lands in *England* were exceeding low; but the real Worth and Value of them was judg'd at that Time to amount to above fifteen hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*. So that never any King in *England* had such mighty Advantages of enriching the Crown, and making noble Foundations. But whether out of Policy to satisfy the Gentry, by selling them at low Rates, or out of easiness to his Courtiers, or out of his unmeasur'd Expences, all this melted away in a few Years, and his great Designs were never accomplish'd. He design'd to have founded eighteen new Bishopricks, but he founded only six; and other noble Projects also became abortive. In particular one that was design'd by the famous Sir *Nicolas Bacon*, which was a Royal Seminary for Ambassadors, Statesmen and Historians; which would supply one Loss proceeding from the Fall of Abbies, in most of which was kept a Chronicle of the Times. However the King laid out great Sums in building and fortifying many Ports, in the Channel, and other Ports of *England*; and in the demolishing these Houses, he had so tender a Regard to Learning, that he not only prefer'd many able Persons he found there, but took special Care to preserve the choicest Books of their well furnish'd Libraries. All the Ground that *Cranmer* gain'd this Year, in which there was so much lost, was a Liberty that all private Persons might have Bibles in their Houses; and tho' it was violently oppos'd by *Gardiner*, yet a particular Patent for that Purpose was issu'd out, and put to the Management of the Vicegerent *Cromwell*.

This

This great Minister was now projecting a Match for the King, that might support him and his Friends; and tho' Persons were propos'd both by the Emperor and the King of *France*, yet *Cromwell's* Management prevail'd, and the King fix'd upon *Anne*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*, whose eldest Sister had been marry'd to the Duke of *Saxony*. *Homs Holbin*, the famous Painter of that Age, took her Picture very much to her Advantage; for the nice King never lik'd the Original, as he admir'd the Picture. The Duke of *Saxony* discourag'd the Match, because the King was making backward Steps in the Matter of the Reformation; but *Cromwell* pursu'd it with a fatal Assiduity. It was said, the Lady had great Charms in her Person; but she could speak no Language but *Dutch*, which the King understood not; nor was she bred to Musick, which he admir'd: And she had a Stiffness in her Breeding, not at all accommodated to the King's Inclinations. The Match was at length concluded; and in the end of *December*, the Lady was brought over into *England*. The King was impatient to see her, and went *incognito* to *Rockester*; but the Sight of her damp'd all his Ardour. There appear'd such Unpoliteness in her Person and Behaviour, that the King swore, *They had brought over a Flanders Mare to him*, and immediately conceiv'd an incurable Aversion to her. He resolv'd to break the Match, if it were possible; but his Affairs then requir'd the Friendship of the *German* Princes; so that he did not think it advisable to put any Affront upon the Dukes of *Cleve* and *Saxony*. The Emperor had at this Time made a hasty Journey through *France*; and *Francis* and he had a magnificent Interview, where as the King was inform'd, by the Pope's Instigation a Project was forming against him. *Francis* was also contriving how to take *Calais* from him; it was easie for him to have engag'd the King of *Scotland* against him; and the People in the North were thought to retain their former Disposition to rebel; so that a War made on the King in such Circumstances, would probably find him at a great Disadvantage. This caus'd the King to be more tender of offending the *Germans*; but hearing there had been a Contract between the Duke of *Lorrain* and his intended Bride, he resolv'd to try if that would furnish him with a fair Excuse to break off the Match. The King express'd his great Trouble and Uneasiness, both to *Cromwell*, and many of his other Acquaintance; upon which one of them said, *That mean Persons had this Advantage over Princes and great Men; that the former chose their own Wives, while the latter were oblig'd to take such as were brought them*. But nothing could be founded on that Pre-contract, which was only an Agreement between the Fathers, when their Children were under Age, and which was afterwards broken and annul'd by their Parents. So *Cranmer* and *Tonstall* being requir'd to give their Opinions as Divines, declar'd, There was nothing in it to hinder the King's marrying with the Lady.

A new Treaty of Marriage with the King.

At length the King finding himself press'd on all Sides, on the sixth Day of *January*, marry'd her; but express'd his Dislike of her so manifestly, that all about him were apprehensive of it; and the Day after he told *Cromwell*, as an intimate Friend, *That he had not consummated the Marriage, and believ'd he never should: He suspected she was no Virgin, and had such ungrateful Smells about her, as had increas'd his Aversion to an insuperable Degree*. This was a mortal Stab to *Cromwell*, who well knew how delicate the King was in these Matters, and that so great a Misfortune must needs fall heavy upon him, who was the chief Promoter of it. He us'd all Methods to overcome these Inclinations, but to no Effect; and tho' the King liv'd five Months in her Company, and lay often in Bed with her, yet his Aversion rather increas'd, than abated. She seem'd not much concern'd at it, and express'd a great Readiness to concur in every Thing that might disengage him from a Marriage so highly unacceptable to him. Instruments were brought over, to shew that the Contract between her and the Prince of *Lorrain* was void; but the King's Advocates took some Advantage, because it was not declar'd whether the Contract

A. D.

1540.

Reg. 31.

The King's fourth Marriage, with Anne of Cleve.

He Dislikes her.

tract was in the Words of the Present, or of the Future Tense, and resolv'd to make use of that upon a proper Occasion.

*Cromwell sent
to the Tower.*

Notwithstanding the King's insuperable Dislike of this Match, he was so far from discarding the chief Promoter of it, that two Days after a Sessions of Parliament was call'd, he created *Cromwell* Earl of *Essex*, upon the fourteenth of *April*; the Male Line of the *Bourchiers*, who had born that Title, being extinguish'd. So that being now Earl of *Essex*, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Rolls, and above all, the King's Vicegerent, he was arriv'd at the Height of his Grandeur, and equal to that of any Subject in *England*. This last Title of Earl, was too much like Lightning before a dreadful Storm of Thunder; for suddenly after, the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had secret Resentments against him, arrested him of High-Treason, and sent him Prisoner to the Tower, to the great Surprize of all his Friends. He had many Enemies: The Meanness of his Birth caus'd the prouder Sort of the Nobility to be disgusted, when they saw the Son of a Blacksmith advanc'd above them all. The *Romish* Clergy had conceiv'd insuperable Prejudices against his Actions and Authority: They imputed the Suppression of Monasteries, and the Injunctions laid on them, to proceed chiefly from his Counsels; and it was believ'd, that principally by his Means the King and the Emperor continu'd in such Misunderstandings. The King by his late Informations was now sensible, that no Accommodation was like to be made between the Emperor and the *French* King; and he was sure that either of them would court his Friendship, in case of a War, which made him less concern'd for the Favour of the *German* Princes. This caus'd *Cromwell's* Counsels to be of less Moment; with which concurr'd a more near and secret Reason: The King did not only hate his new Queen, but had now settled his Affections upon the Lady *Catharine Howard*, Neice to the Duke of *Norfolk*; which both rais'd the Interest of that Relation, and depress'd *Cromwell*, who had made this late Match. The King was also too willing to throw upon him all the Errors that had been committed of late, and by making him a Sacrifice, he hop'd to regain the Affections of his People. The King had also Informations brought him, That he secretly encourag'd those who oppos'd the six Articles, which highly provok'd his Majesty; so that his Fall was as inevitable, as it was unexpected.

*All forsake him
but Cranmer.*

In his Fall he had the common Fate of all disgrac'd Ministers, to be forsaken by his Friends, and insulted by his Enemies: Only the generous *Cranmer* so retain'd his former Simplicity, that he could never learn these Court Arts. Therefore the next Day he wrote earnestly to the King in his Favour, 'Declaring he had found that he had ever lov'd the King above all Things, and 'had serv'd him with such Fidelity and Success, that he believ'd no King of ' *England* had ever a more faithful Servant: And he wish'd the King might 'find such a Counsellor, who was both willing and able to serve him as he 'had done. So great a Soul had *Cranmer*, that he could not be turn'd by the Changes of his Friend's Fortunes, nor the Dread of an imperious Prince; for had not the King's Kindness been deeply rooted, this Letter had ruin'd him. But the King was now resolv'd to ruin *Cromwell*; and that unjust Practice of Attainting, without hearing the Parties answer for themselves, which he had too much promoted, was now turn'd upon himself. He had such Enemies in the House of Lords, that the Bill of Attainder was dispatch'd in two Days, during the Absence of *Cranmer*, when no one durst venture to plead for him. He met with more Justice in the House of Commons, where it remain'd ten Days; but in Conclusion, a new Bill was drawn against him, and sent up to the Lords, where it pass'd theirs and the Royal Assent. It consisted of an Accumulation of several Crimes, Misdemeanors and Suggestions, and of several Heretical Principles and Practices, and indeed of some great Improbabilities; for which he was attainted both of High-Treason and Heretic. In all this

*A Bill of At-
tainder against
him.*

Matter,

Matter, he is thought to have met with great Hardships; not only because he was not permitted to answer, but because the principal Matters objected against him might easily have been clear'd, he being able to have produc'd the King's Orders for most of them.

Cromwell's Fall was the first Step to the King's Divorce; for immediately after, an Address was mov'd to be made to him by the Lords, that he would permit his Marriage to be examin'd. *Cranmer* and others were sent down to desire the Concurrence of the Commons; and they order'd twenty of their Number to go along with the Lords in one Body to the King. The Matter being concerted before, he granted their Desire, and Commission was sent to the Convocation to discuss it. *Gardiner* open'd the Cause to them, and they appointed a Committee for Examination of Witnesses. The Substance of the whole Evidence amounted to these Particulars; That the Matter of the Pre-contract between the Queen and the Prince of *Lorrain*, was not fully clear'd; That the King had marry'd her against his Will, without an inward Consent; and that he had never consummated the Marriage, so that they saw he could have no Issue by the Queen. Upon these Grounds the whole Convocation with one Consent annull'd the Marriage, and declar'd both Parties free; which was the grossest Compliance that the King had from his Clergy in his whole Reign. For as they knew that there was nothing material in the Pre-contract; so by vacating the Marriage, because the Consent was not internal and free, they made a most pernicious Precedent for breaking all publick Treaties. But in reality, the King was resolv'd to be freed from the Queen, and the Clergy resolv'd not to disoblige him; and they rather sought out Reasons to give Colour to their Sentence, than pass'd it on the Force of those Reasons. *Cromwell* in the Tower was requir'd to send a Declaration of all he knew concerning the Marriage, which he did; but being overwhelm'd with the Greatness of his Fall, he ended with these abject Words, *Written with the heavy Heart, and trembling Hand, of your Highness's most heavy, and most miserable Prisoner, and poor Slave, Thomas Cromwell: And under his Subscription he wrote, Most sacred Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.* The Judgment of the Convocation, and their Reasons, were reported to the Parliament; and both Houses rested satisfy'd. The following Day some Lords were sent to the Queen, who had retir'd to *Richmond*, and told her, The King was resolv'd to declare her his adopted Sister, and settle four thousand Pounds a Year upon her, if she would consent to it; which she chearfully embrac'd: And it being left to her Choice, either to live in *England*, or return to her Brother, she prefer'd the former; and was likewise prevail'd on to write to her Brother, that all this was done with her free Will; that the King had us'd her like a Father, and that he and the other Allies should not take the Matter amiss. When Affairs were thus prepar'd, the Parliament pass'd an Act conforming the Judgment of the Convocation, without Opposition.

The King's last Marriage annull'd.

The King and Queen separate.

In this Parliament there pass'd several other Acts; particularly one for Suppressing the Knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, since call'd the Knights of *Rhodes* and *Malta*, who succeeded the Knights *Templars*. Another Act pass'd to mitigate one Clause in the Act of the six Articles; 'by which the Pains of Death for the Marriage or Incontinency of the Clergy, were chang'd into a Forfeiture of their Goods and Benefices. Another Act pass'd, 'Authorising those Committees of Bishops and Divines, nominated by the King, both for the Doctrine and Ceremonies, to proceed in it; and appointing, That what should be concluded by them, and publish'd with the King's Approbation, should bind the Subjects. But a Proviso was added, 'That nothing might be done by them contrary to the Laws then in force; which Contradiction in the Proviso's seems to have been made to keep all Ecclesiastical Proceedings under the Inspection of the Secular Courts. Another peculiar Act pass'd, 'That no Pretence of a Pre-contract should be us'd to annul a Marriage duly solemniz'd and consummated;

Several Acts pass'd.

‘summed; and no Degrees of Kindred, but those enumerated in the Laws of *Moses*, might hinder a Marriage. This last Clause was added to enable the King to marry to the Lady *Catharine Howard*, who was Cousin German to *Anne Bolen*, which was one of the Degrees prohibited by the Canon Law. The Province of *Canterbury* gave the King a Subsidy of four Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in two Years, with a Preamble of high Acknowledgments of their Happiness under his Protection. A Subsidy was also demanded of the Laity, but it was much oppos’d in the House of Commons: Many alledg’d They had given the King the Abby Lands, in Hopes that no Subsidies should be demanded for the future; and it shew’d a strange Profuseness, that one should be demanded within one Year after. But it was answer’d, That the King had been at great Charges in fortifying his Coasts, and supporting such foreign Leagues as preserv’d the Nation in Safety; therefore a Tenth, and four Fifteens were granted. Several Bills of Attainder were pass’d; and in Conclusion, the King sent a general Pardon, out of which *Cromwell*, and several others were excepted, and on the twenty fourth Day of *July* the Parliament was dissolv’d.

Subsidies granted.

The Parliament dissolv’d.

Cromwell beheaded.

His Character.

And now the unfortunate *Cromwell*, who had been six Weeks a Prisoner, was brought to his Execution, notwithstanding all his Endeavours for his Preservation. Once he wrote to the King in such melting Terms, that he caus’d the Letter to be read thrice, and was sensibly affected with it; but the Charms of *Catharine Howard*, and the Endeavours of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Bishop of *Winchester* at length prevail’d: So a Warrant was sent to cut off his Head on *Tower-Hill*, on the twenty eighth of *July*. Being brought to the Scaffold, his Kindness to his Son made him very cautious in what he said, ‘He thanked God for bringing him to die in that Manner, which was just, on the Account of his Offences against God and his Prince. He declar’d he doubted of no Article of the Catholick Faith, nor of any Sacrament of the Church. He said he had been seduc’d, but now he dy’d in the Catholick Faith; and deny’d that he had supported the Preachers of evil Opinions. Then praying fervently for the King, and the Remission of his own Sins, upon giving the Sign, the Executioner cut off his Head very barbarously. Thus fell that wonderful Minister of State, who had rais’d himself meerly by the Strength of his natural Parts. For tho’ his Extract was mean, and his Education and Learning as low; yet his mighty Wisdom and Dexterity in Business, mounted him through various Ascents, till he had gain’d the utmost Height of a Subject. He carry’d his Greatness with an admirable Temper and Moderation; and fell more under the Weight of a popular Odium, than any real Guilt, with which he was charg’d. Yet he cannot be excus’d in two Particulars: His too boldly dipping his Hands in Sacrilege, and his too ready joining in condemning Persons unheard. The last of which prov’d his own Fate; which seems more like the Vengeance of Heaven, than the Punishment of Men. With him fell the Office of the King’s *Viceroy*; and none after ever aspir’d to that Title and Character, that prov’d so fatal to him who first bore it. The King is said to have lamented his Death when it was too late; and the Miseries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Family afterwards, were look’d upon as so many Scourges of Providence, for their implacable Prosecution of this unfortunate Minister.

The King’s fifth Marriage, with *Catharine Howard*.

With his Fall, the Progress of the Reformation stopt; for *Cranmer* could never gain much Ground after this, and indeed many hop’d to see him made the next Sacrifice; and some complain’d of him in the House of Commons, and Informations were brought to the King, that the chief Incouragement that the Hereticks had, came from him. In the mean Time the King pursu’d his Amours, and marry’d the Lady *Catharine Howard*, and shortly after upon the eighth Day of *August*, shew’d her publicly as Queen. Still the Ecclesiastical Committees were employ’d by the King, and gave their last finishing to a Book formerly

formerly prepar'd, but at this Time corrected and explain'd in many Particulars. This was pursuant to the late Act of Parliament, and was an Explanation of Faith, Justification, the Apostles Creed, the Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, Free-Will, Good Works; all writ in a plain and masculine Stile, and accommodated to any Capacity. This was publish'd by Authority, and the People requir'd by the King to read it, and print it in their Hearts. Tho' this Book in many Particulars condemn'd the *Romish* Tenets, yet that Party reassum'd much Courage, and *Bonner* began to show his Severity and Cruelty, which occasion'd *Barnes*, *Gerrard*, and *Jerome*, three Preachers, to be condemn'd for Hereticks. When they were carry'd to *Smithfield*, three others, *Abel*, *Featherston*, and *Powel*, who were attainted for denying the King's Supremacy, were coupled with them in the Hurdles that carry'd them; the King affecting in this an extravagant Appearance of Impartiality in his Justice. In the end of this Year, the King began to endow his new Bishopricks: *Westminster* was the first; after which he endow'd *Chester*, *Glocester* and *Peterborough*, and lastly *Oxford* and *Bristol*. And here ends the Series of the King's Advances towards a Reformation, which was now digested and form'd into a Body. What follow'd was not in a Thread, but by Starts, sometimes in favour of the one, and sometimes of the other Party. Nor was he truly steady in his Councils as to State Affairs; for since *Cromwell's* Death he had no Minister about him, that had a just Ascendent over him. So that the King was now left too much to himself, at a Time when Years, Sicknefs and Opposition had made him more humorous and impatient than formerly; so that more Errors were committed in the last seven Years of his Government, than in all his Reign besides.

*Several suffer
for Religion.*

XI. In the latter Part of this Reign, by the Commotion of the unsettled Times, and the growing Indispositions of the King, Bloodsheds and Executions became more frequent in the Nation than formerly. A little Rebellion now appearing in *Yorkshire*, in which Sir *John Nevil* was an Accomplice, the King took Order to suppress it in due Time, and commanded that Knight to be put to Death at *York*. Shortly after follow'd the Execution of the Countess of *Salisbury*; which was probably occasion'd by the late Rebellion, as being judg'd of her Son Cardinal *Pool's* Instigation. The old Lady, above seventy Years of Age, being brought to the Scaffold, erected in the Tower, was commanded to lay her Head on the Block; but she positively refus'd, saying, *So should Traytors do, but I am none*. Nor did it avail, that the Executioner told her *It was always customary*; but turning her gray Head every Way, she cry'd out, *If you will have my Head, get it as you can*: So he was constrain'd to take it off barbarously. And thus ended the last of the right Line of the famous *Plantagenets*. There still remain'd one of that Name, *Arthur* a natural Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, who this Year dy'd with Joy at *Calais*.

*The Execution
of the Countess
of Salisbury.*

*The End of the
Plantagenets.*

In Summer, the King with his fair and beloved Queen went to *York*, to meet his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, who promis'd to give him an Interview in that City. He was an extraordinary Prince, a great Promoter both of Learning and Justice; but still unmeasurably addicted to his Pleasures. The Clergy of *Scotland* were very apprehensive of his seeing his Uncle *Henry*, lest he should persuade him to follow the Copy he had set to his Neighbours; and they us'd such Persuasions, that being seconded by a Message from *France*, they diverted him from his Purpose; which provok'd his Uncle, and gave Occasion to a Rupture not long after. King *Henry* being arriv'd at *York*, he issu'd out a popular Proclamation, 'That all who had been aggriev'd for want of Justice, by any whom he had formerly employ'd, should repair to him and his Council for Redress; all which was done to cast all past Miscarriages on *Cromwell*, and to put the People in Hopes of better Times.'

*The King and
Queen go to
York*

The Queen's
ill Life disco-
ver'd.

He was now so captivated with the Charms of his Queen, at his Return to *London*, he gave publick Thanks to God for the Happiness he enjoy'd by her Means. But this prov'd very short-liv'd Pleasure; for the next Day the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* came to him, and deliver'd him a melancholy Account of the Queen's lewd Life, as it had been brought him by one *John Lassels*; who had told him from his Sister, an old Servant belonging to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and concern'd in the Queen's Education, that the Queen had often been wicked with two Persons nam'd *Deirham* and *Mannock*, with other scandalous Circumstances not fit to be related. By the Advice of the Lord Chancellor and other Privy-Counsellors, *Cranmer* put down the Particulars in Writing, and deliver'd it to the King, as not well knowing how to open it in Discourse. When the King saw it, he was much confounded, but he lov'd the Queen so tenderly, that he at first look'd upon it as a Forgery; so that if full Evidence had been wanting, it had certainly turn'd to the Arch-Bishop's Ruin. The King import'd the Matter to some other Counsellors, and with the utmost Secrecy sent to examine *Lassels* and his Sister; which being confirm'd by them, he order'd *Deirham* and *Mannock* to be arrested upon some other Pretences. But they being examin'd, not only confess'd what was inform'd, but reveal'd some other Circumstances that shew'd the Queen had laid aside all Sense of Modesty, as well as the Fear of a Discovery; three several Women having been Witnesses to her lewd Practices. The Report of this struck the King into a most profound Pensiveness, and caus'd him with a Flood of Tears to lament his Misfortune. The Arch-Bishop and some other Counsellors were sent to examine the Queen; who at first deny'd every Thing, but finding it was already known, she confess'd all and set her Hand to it. It also appear'd that she had intended to continue in that impious Course of Life, for she had brought *Deirham* into her Service; and at *Lincoln*, by the Lady *Rockford*'s Means, one *Culpepper* was brought to her in the Night, and stay'd many Hours with her in a Cellar; and at his Departure, she gave him a Gold Chain. *Culpepper* being examin'd, confess'd the Crime; for which, both *Deirham* and he suffer'd; and others were indicted of Misprision of Treason, and condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment.

A. D. 1542.
Reg. 33.
An Act of Attainder against the Queen.

This unfortunate Affair occasion'd a new Parliament to be summon'd on the sixteenth of *January*; in which a Committee was particularly appointed to examine the Queen: Their Report is recorded only in general, that she confess'd, but no Particulars are mention'd. Upon which they pass'd an Act in the Form of a Petition: 'After desiring the King not to be griev'd at this Misfortune, they pray'd, that the Queen and her Complices, with her Procuress the Lady *Rockford*, might be attainted of Treason: And that all those who knew of the Queen's vicious Course before her Marriage, might be attainted of Misprision of Treason, for not revealing to the King in due Time; among whom were her Father and Mother, and her Grand-Mother, the Dutchess of *Norfolk*. It was also declar'd Treason to know any thing of the Incontinence of any Queen of *England* for the future, and not to reveal it. And it was made Treason, in any whom the King intended to marry, judging they were Virgins, not to reveal it, if they were not really such. This remarkable Act being pass'd, the Queen, and the Lady *Rockford*, were beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the twelfth of *February*; about seventeen Months after she was marry'd to the King, and had founded her Greatness in the unfortunate Blood of *Cromwell*. The Queen confess'd the Miscarriages of her former Life, before the King marry'd her, which had brought her to this fatal End; but did positively deny, before God and his Angels, and upon the Salvation of her Soul, that she was ever guilty of betraying her Sovereign's Bed; yet the unbounded Looseness of her former Course of Living, inclin'd the World to believe the most scandalous Things that could be reported. But all observ'd the Judgments of Heaven upon the Lady *Rockford*, who had a principal Part in the Death of Queen *Anne*

The Queen be-
headed

Anne Boleyn, and her own Husband; and her appearing so vile a Woman, tended much to raise their Reputations again, in whose Fall her Spite and other Artifices had so criminal a Share. The Attainting her Kindred and Parents, for not discovering her former Lewdness, was thought extream Severity; for in them it would have been a hard Piece of Duty to have discover'd such a Secret: Yet tho' they lay some Time in Prison, the King pardon'd them all when his Rage was a little qualify'd. That other Proviso, which oblig'd a young Lady to discover her own Frailties, if the King should please to make Love to her, was thought a Piece of grievous Tyranny: Upon which, those who thought fit to rally the Sex, took Occasion to say, That after this no one, reputed a Virgin, could be induc'd to marry the King: So that it was not so much Choice, as Necessity, that caus'd him to marry a Widow two Years after.

In this Parliament there pass'd another Act that made way for the Dissolutions of Colleges, Hospitals, and other Foundations of that Nature. The Courtiers had been practising with the Presidents and Governors of some of these, to make Resignations to the King; which were conceiv'd in the same Stile with the Surrenders of Monasteries. Eight of these were already procur'd; but they could not make any great Progress, because by their local Statutes it was provided, that the Consent of all the Fellows, was necessary to make their Deeds good in Law; which were not so easily obtain'd. Therefore all such Statutes were now annull'd; and none for the future were any more to be sworn to them. In this Parliament it was observ'd, That the Kings of *England* for many Years had govern'd *Ireland* by no other Title than *Lords* of that Island; King *Henry* now thought fit to change the Stile, and honour a populous and warlike Nation with the Title of a King. Therefore in a Parliament held at this Time in that Country, he gave Orders to be declar'd King of *Ireland*; which was also proclaim'd in *England* during this Parliament, and afterward finally enacted in the thirty fifth Year of this Reign.

The Kings of England first stild Kings of Ireland.

This gave Offence to *James* King of *Scotland*; and by the Instigation of the *French* King, a War broke out between the two old contending Kingdoms. King *Henry* set out a Declaration, importing that the Crown of *Scotland* ow'd Homage to that of *England*; and cited many Precedents to shew that it had been done not only by their Kings, but by Consent of their States; for which he appeal'd to Original Records. The *Scots* asserted they were an independent Kingdom, and the Homages they paid were for Lands in *England*, or else were extorted by Force of Arms. And thus a War began in *October*, when the Duke of *Norfolk* made an Inroad into *Scotland* with twenty thousand Men; but after he had burnt some small Towns, and wasted *Teviotdale*, he return'd into *England*. In the End of *November*, an Army of fifteen thousand *Scots*, with a good Train of Artillery, was gather'd together, with a Design to march into *England* by the Western Road. King *James* repair'd thither in Person; but he was at this Time violently disturb'd in his Fancy, and imagin'd the Ghost of one whom he had unjustly put to Death, follow'd him continually; so that he not only left his Army, but Commission'd *Oliver Sinclair*, then called his *Minion*, to command in chief. This highly disgusted the Nobility, who were weary'd out with the Insolence of that Favourite; insomuch that they refus'd to march, and were beginning to separate. While they continu'd in this inglorious Disorder, five hundred *Englishmen* appear'd; and the *Scotch* apprehending it was an advanc'd Part of the Duke of *Norfolk's* Army, refus'd to fight: So the *English* set upon and dispers'd them, and took all their Ordinance and Baggage, and a thousand Prisoners, of whom two hundred were Gentlemen, the Earl of *Glencarn* and *Cassiles* being the chief. This unexpected News so overcharg'd the melancholy King, that he dy'd shortly after; leaving only an Infant Daughter newly born to succeed him. The *Scotch* Lords that were taken, were brought to *London*, and lodg'd in the Houses of

A War with Scotland.

The Death of King James the Fifth.

the *English* Nobility: *Cassiles* was sent to *Lambeth*, where he receiv'd those Seeds of Knowledge, which afterwards produc'd a plentiful Harvest in *Scotland*. The other Prisoners were also so well instructed, that they soon had very different Thoughts of the Changes made in *England*, than what the *Scotch* Clergy had taught them; who had given the greatest Incouragement to this War. The King's Death, and the Crown falling to his Daughter, caus'd the *English* Council to make use of this as a proper Conjuncture for uniting the whole Island; therefore they sent to the *Scotch* Lords, and propos'd the marrying the young Prince *Edward* with their Queen; which was so acceptable, that they promis'd to promote it to their utmost Power. But that unfortunate Princess was not born under such happy Stars, tho' she was Mother to him, in whom this long desir'd Union took Effect. However upon giving Hostages for Performance of their particular Promises, the Lords were sent home honourably; being highly pleas'd both with the Splendor of the King's Court, and with the Way of Religion which they had seen in *England*.

A. D.

1534.

34

35

Parliament

1534.

1534 about

Religion.

Shortly after a Parliament was call'd, in which the King had large Subsidies granted him of six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three Years. A Bill was now propos'd for the Advancement of true Religion, by *Cranmer* and some other Bishops; for the Spirits of the *Romish* Party were much sunk since the Death of the last Queen; yet at this Time a Treaty was set on Foot between the King and the Emperor, which began to raise them again: For since the King had Thoughts of ingaging in a War with *France*, it was necessary for him to make the Emperor his Friend. *Cranmer's* Motion was much oppos'd, and the timorous Bishops forsook him; yet still he push'd the Matter as far as he was able, tho' in most Points Things went contrary to his Desire. By the Act ' *Tindall's* Translation of the Bible was condemn'd; but Bibles of another Translation were still allow'd to be kept, only all Prefaces and Annotations were to be dash'd or cut out: All the King's Injunctions were confirm'd: ' No Books of Religion might be printed without Licence; there was to be no ' Exposition of the Scripture in Plays or Enterludes; nor none of the Laity ' might read the Scripture, or explain it in any publick Assembly. Noblemen, ' Gentlemen and their Wives, or Merchants, might have Bibles; but they were ' forbidden to ordinary Persons, Tradesmen, and Husbandmen. Every Person ' might have the Book set out by the Bishops, and the Psalter, and other Rudiments of Religion in *English*. All Churchmen that preach'd contrary to ' that Book, were to recant for the first Offence, to carry a Faggot and abjure ' for the second, and to be burnt for the third: The Laity for the third Offence ' were only to suffer Loss of Goods and perpetual Imprisonment; but they ' were to be proceeded against within a Year, and the accus'd Parties were allow'd Witnesses for their Purgation. The Act of *the Six Articles* was here ' confirm'd, and Liberty was left to the King to change this Act, or any Proviso in it. As this Act about Religion was a great Mitigation of former Severities, so it brought the Reformers to depend wholly on the King's Mercy for their Lives; since he could now chain up, or let loose the Act of *the Six Articles* upon them, at his Pleasure. This Proviso was highly grateful to the King, who much affected to have his People depend intirely upon him.

A League

with the Em-

peror.

Soon after the Conclusion of this Parliament, on *Trinity-Sunday* a League Offensive and Defensive was sworn between the King and the Emperor; for *England*, *Calais*, and the adjacent Places, and for all *Flanders*, with many other Particulars set down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. Here Assurances were given, that tho' the King would not declare the Princess *Mary* Legitimate, upon which the Emperor much insisted, yet she should be put in the Succession to the Crown next Prince *Edward*. By this Treaty the Emperor gain'd much; for having ingag'd the Crowns of *England* and *France* in a War, and drawn off King *Henry* from his League with the Princes of *Germany*, he was now more at leisure to prosecute his aspiring Designs in that Country.

But

But the Negotiation did not so well succeed in *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Arran*, next in Blood to the Infant Queen, was establish'd in the Government during her Minority. King *Henry* sent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to him to induce him to promote the Queen's Match with Prince *Edward*, and to offer the young Princess *Elizabeth* to his Son. This was so acceptable, that it was agreed and confirm'd in Parliament, That the young Queen should be bred in *Scotland* till she was ten Years old, and the King of *England* to send a Nobleman and his Lady with others not exceeding twenty, to wait on her, after which Age she was to be sent into *England*; and in the mean Time, six Hostages were to be given. But all the Clergy, headed by Cardinal *Beaton*, together with the Queen-Mother, violently oppos'd this Design; and it was alledg'd, That a Match with the *French* would be more advantageous to the Nation, who being at so great a Distance could not so easily oppress them as the *English*: For if the *French* oppress'd them, it would be the Interest of the *English* to protect them; but if they came under the Yoke of *England*, they could expect no Protection from any other Prince. This meeting with that Antipathy then form'd between the two Nations, and being inflam'd by the Clergy, turn'd the People in general to prefer a Match with *France* before the other propos'd with Prince *Edward*. The *French* sent over the Earl of *Lennox* to make a Party against the Governor, together with the Governor's natural Brother; who together us'd such Threatnings and Artifices, as had their full Effects upon him: For he turn'd off wholly from the Interests of *England*, and gave himself up to the *French* Councils. When they had thus resolv'd to break the Match with *England*, the Lords who had left Hostages with King *Henry* for the faithful Performance of their Promises, now little regarded either their own Honour, or the Safety of their Hostages. Only the brave Earl of *Cassles* thought it unworthy of him to break his Faith in such a mean manner; therefore he went into *England*, and generously deliver'd himself Prisoner to King *Henry*; who express'd the highest Value for him, and call'd him a second *Regulus*, but treated him after a better manner. For he gave him his Liberty and a noble Present, and sent him back honourably to *Scotland* with all his Hostages; but he resolv'd to take a severe Reparation of those who had fail'd him in that Kingdom.

At the same Time he resolv'd upon a War against *France*, their great Supporter on all Occasions; for which there were many Reasons and Provocations. Among others one was, That King *Francis* had fail'd in the Matter of shaking off the Pope's Authority, and advancing a Reformation, in which he had promis'd to second him. But before this was undertaken, the King resolv'd upon another Marriage, in which he met with some Difficulty, by Reason of the late Act concerning the Virginity of the Person to be marry'd with him: Therefore at length he fix'd upon the Lady *Catharine Parr*, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*; who as she was a Lady of much Integrity and Worth, and some Maturity of Years, so the King for the most part liv'd happily with her. She was a secret Favourer of the Reformation; yet could not divert a Storm, which at this Time fell on some of her Party at *Windsor*, particularly *Person*, *Tesswood*, *Filmer* and *Marbeck*, all but the last of whom were burnt alive; tho' some of their Accusers were afterwards convicted of Perjury. Others were also accus'd and threaten'd by the *Romish* Party, but none so industriously aim'd at as the Arch-Bishop himself. The Plot against him was laid very deep by Bishop *Gardiner* and several others, and a long Paper of his Heretical Principles and Practices were deliver'd to the King; who in this shew'd himself so true a Friend to him, and the other so true a Christian, that it sunk and vanish'd into Air. Shortly after when *Cranmer* gain'd the most apparent Advantage over his Enemies and Accusers, he would make no other Use of it than to display his Readiness to forgive, and to do Good for Evil; for which he became so celebrated, that it was commonly said, *That the best way to obtain his Favour, was to do him an Injury.*

Affairs in Scotland.

The King's sixth and last Marriage, with Catharine Parr.

Cranmer's Behaviour.

A. D.

1544.

Reg. 35.
30.*The last Act of
Succession.**Other Acts.**The King makes
War both with
France and
Scotland.*

XII. We are now arriv'd at the latter Scenes and Transactions of this bute and memorable Reign; when a new Parliament was summon'd that pass'd the last remarkable Act for the Succession of the Crown. By this it was enacted, 'That in Default of Heirs of Prince *Edward's* Body, or of Heirs by the King's present Marriage, the Crown should devolve on the Lady *Mary*; and in Default of Heirs of her Body, or if she did not observe such Limitations or Conditions as should be declar'd by the King's Letters Patents, or by his last Will under his Hand, it should next fall to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and her Heirs; or if she had none, or should not keep the Conditions declar'd by the King, it should fall to any other nominated by the King's Letters Patents, or his last Will sign'd with his Hand. An Oath was also appointed both against the Pope's Supremacy, and for the maintaining the Succession according to this Act, which all were requir'd to take under the Pains of Treason, and it was made Treason to say or write any thing contrary to this Act, or to the Slender of any of the King's Heirs nam'd in it. By this, tho' the King did not Legitimate his Daughters, yet it was made Treason to declare them Spurious. In another Act, 'The Stile of King of *England, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of *England and Ireland*, in Earth the Supream Head, was united and annex'd for ever to the Imperial Crown of *England*. Another Act was pass'd, qualifying the Severities of the Act of *The Six Articles*; 'by which none were to be imprison'd, but upon a legal Presentment, except upon the King's Warrant; and none was to be challeng'd for Words, but within a Year, nor for a Sermon, but within forty Days. All this was to prevent such Conspiracies as had been discover'd the former Year. Another Act renew'd the Authority given to thirty two to reform the Ecclesiastical Law, which *Cranmer* much promoted; and to effect it, drew out of the Canon Law a Collection of many things inconsistent with the present Establishment, to show that such a Book ought not to continue in Credit in *England*: But he could not bring this to a good Issue, during this Reign. By another Act all the King's Loans were discharg'd, and such as had receiv'd Payment, requir'd to bring back the Mony into the Exchequer. This was censur'd as a direct Piece of Injustice; and it was thought strange, that since the King had done this once before, he could have the Credit to raise more Mony, and be tempted to do it a second Time. Lastly, a general Pardon was granted, out of which, *Heresie* was excepted; and so the Parliament was prorogu'd 'till the next Winter.

The valiant King was now engag'd in a War, both with *France* and *Scotland*; and to make his Treasure more effectual, he embas'd the Coin in a very extraordinary Manner. The Earl of *Hartford* was sent with an Army into *Scotland*, who landing a little above *Leith*, burnt both that Town and the Capital City *Edinburgh*; but did not stay to take the Castle of *Edinburgh*, or to fortifie *Leith*, but wasted all the Country between that and *Berwick*. He perform'd too much, if it was intended to gain the Hearts of that Nation; and too little, if it was design'd to subdue them: For this did only more highly inflame their Spirits, by which they were so implacably united against *England*, that the Earl of *Lennox*, who had been thrown off by *France*, and had join'd with the *English* Interest, could form no Party in his Country, but was constrain'd to fly into *England* for Preservation. In the mean time *Audley*, the Chancellor, deceasing, *Wriothesly*, who was of the *Romish* Party, was put in his Place; and in his Room, Docter *Petre*, a great Friend to *Cranmer*, was made Secretary of State; so equally did the King preserve the Ballance between both Parties. And being ready to cross the Seas, he left a Commission for the publick Administration, during his Absence, to the Queen, the Arch-Bishop, the Chancellor, the Earl of *Hartford*, and Secretary *Petre*: And if there should be Occasion to raise any Forces, he appointed the Earl of *Hartford* his Lieutenant.

nant. He gave order also to translate the Prayers, Processions and Litanies, into the *English* Tongue, which gave the Reformers some new Hopes that he had not quite abandon'd of correcting of such Abuses, as had crept into the Worship of God.

Affairs being thus settled at home, the gallant King having sent his Forces before him, cross'd the Seas with his usual Pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloath of Gold. He landed at *Calais* on the fourteenth of *July*; and the Emperor press'd his marching directly to *Paris*. But he judg'd it of more Importance to take *Boloign*; and after a two Months brave Siege, it was surrender'd to him; so that in a short time, he is observ'd to have gain'd that, which neither his Father, nor the former Kings of *England* could ever win. After a triumphant Entrance into the Place, he found that the very next Day, the Emperor, to carry on his Designs in *Germany*, had unfairly concluded a Treaty with the *French* King, upon the nineteenth of *September*, which is set down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. On the thirtieth of that Month, the King return'd into *England* with fresh Laurels; and to prevent future Insults, he caus'd Fortifications to be made at *Gravesend*, and *Tilbury*, and afterwards at *Dover*, *Portsmouth*, and many other Places. He also took an exact Account of his Ordnance; and he himself invented certain small Pieces of Artillery, not unlike *Drakes*, for Defence of his Waggon, as also certain Forms of Bulwarks: For as he was a great Soldier, so he had a singular Capacity in apprehending all the new Inventions daily appearing; and as the Musket was first in use in this Reign, so in this Year the Pistol came first in request among the *French* Horse.

He goes into France.

He takes Boloign

The following Year, the *French* King resolving to recover *Boloign*, and to take *Calais*, and so expel the *English* out of *France*, intended first to make himself Master of the Sea. Accordingly he set out a great Fleet of a hundred and fifty larger Ships, and sixty of a lesser Sort, besides many Gallies brought from the *Streights*. But after the *French* Fleet had view'd the *English* Coast, unsuccessfully attempted to land, both in the Isle of *Wight* and *Suffex*, and had engag'd in a Sea-Fight for some Hours, they return'd without any considerable Action: Nor did they perform any thing at Land. But King *Henry's* Fleet made a successful Descent upon *Normandy*, and destroy'd the Country; so that this Year prov'd likewise glorious to the King. The Emperor had now effected what he had long design'd; and therefore being courted by both Crowns, he undertook a Mediation, that under Colour of that, he might the better keep up the War. The Princes of *Germany* saw what Mischiefs were threaten'd them; and the famous Council of *Trent* was now open'd, and was condemning their Doctrine. A League was also concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, for procuring Obedience to their Canons and Decrees; and an Army was rais'd. The Emperor was also reviving ancient Contests with some of the Princes; and a firm Peace was concluded with the *Turk*. So that if the Crowns of *England* and *France* were not brought to an Agreement, they might be ruin'd; therefore they sent Ambassadors to both Courts to mediate a Peace. With them *Cranmer* join'd his Endeavours, but he wanted a *Cromwell* in the Court to manage the Temper of the King; who was so exasperated with the ill Treatment from *France*, that he would not come to any Agreement; nor would he restore *Boloign*, without which the *French* would hear of no Peace. *Cranmer* had now almost prevail'd with the King to make further Steps in a Reformation; but *Gardiner*, then Ambassador in the Emperor's Court, wrote to the King, that the Emperor would certainly join with *France* against him, if he made any further Innovation in Religion. This diverted the King from the Design; and in *August* this Year the only great Friend *Cranmer* had in the Court dy'd, *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, who for many Years continu'd in the Height of Favour; which was ever preserv'd, not only by an Agreement of Dispositions between the King and him, but by the constant Success that attended his vali-

A D.

1545.

Reg. 36.
37.

Several Transactions abroad.

The Death of Charles Brandon.

ant Exploits. By his Death *Cranmer* was in a great Measure left alone, without Friend or Support.

The Parliament meets.

In *November* following, a new Parliament was held, where towards the Expence of the King's Wars, the Spirituality gave him a Subsidy of six Shillings in the Pound, payable in two Years. The Temporality also not only gave him a Subsidy for the War, but confirm'd all the Surrenders that had been made of Chantries, Chappels, Colleges, Hospitals, and other Foundations, for saying Masses for departed Souls; and they empower'd the King during his Life to grant Commissions for seizing on the rest of them. Yet the King found that this would probably give new Discontent to the Gentry, to whom these belong'd; so he made but a small Progress in it, and many were reserv'd to be devour'd by his Son's Courtiers. The King dismiss'd the Parliament with a long Speech, which was the last he ever spoke in that Place. In it, 'After he had thank'd them for their Bills in his Favour, he earnestly exhorted them to Charity and Concord in Matters of Religion; and to forbear all Terms of Reproach, such as ' *Papist* and *Heretick* : He complain'd much of the Obstinacy of some Churchmen, and of the Indiscretion of others, who both gave ill Examples, and sow'd the Seed of Discord among the Laity : He, as God's Vicar on Earth, thought himself oblig'd to see these Abuses reform'd. He also reprov'd the Temporality for the ill Use they made of the Scriptures; for instead of being taught by it to live better, and to be more Charitable to one another, they only rail'd at each other, and made Songs out of it, to disgrace those that differ'd from them; so he exhorted them to serve God, and to love one another, which he would esteem the best Expression of their Duty and Obedience to him. The King had appointed a Distribution of five hundred and fifty Pounds a Year in several Cathedrals, for the Poor, and about four hundred Pounds a Year for High-ways; so this Year some Bishops were appointed to see whether these Payments were made as he had order'd or not. The two Universities were now in great Danger of having their Colleges suppress'd by the late Act of Parliament; but upon their Applications to the King by Doctor *Cox*, Tutor to Prince *Edward*, they were deliver'd from their Fears.

The King's Speech.

A. D. We are now enter'd upon the last Year of this King's Reign; in which the War with *France* was manag'd with doubtful Success; yet the Losses were greater on the *English* Side. And the Forces being commanded by the Earl of *Surry*, who was brave but unsuccessful, he was not only blam'd, but recall'd, and the Earl of *Hartford* sent to command in his Room. But *Surry* being of an aspiring Spirit, and disdaining to see the Earl of *Hartford* exalted above him, dropt some Words of a high Resentment, and violent Contempt, which not long after caus'd his Ruin. The King was now single in the War, which was very chargable to him; and observing the Progress that the Council of *Trent* was making, where Cardinal *Pool* was one of the Legates, he had reason to expect some severe Decree to be made against him, since none was so much hated by the Court of *Rome* as himself: Therefore he harkned to Counsels of Peace. And tho' he was not old, yet he was extreamly corpulent, and felt such Decays in his Strength, as he judg'd he could not live long: Therefore that he might not leave his young Son involv'd in so great a War, a firm Peace was concluded in *June*, which was manag'd much to the King's Honour and Wisdom, tho' the taking and keeping of *Boloign* for eight Years, according to Articles, cost him above a million and three hundred thousand Pounds. The Peace was proclaim'd in *London* with a general Procession; and all the richest Silver Crosses out of the Parish Churches were carry'd, and the finest Copes worn, for the greater Solemnity; which was the last time that they were publicly us'd. The two Kings had new Projects for Reformation on foot, and the Animosities which the former War had rais'd between them, were converted into a firm Friendship; which became so strong in King *Francis*, that he never was seen to rejoice at any Thing, after he heard of King *Henry's* Death.

A Peace with France.

1546.
Reg. 37.
38.

In this Year dy'd the famous *Martin Luther*, in the seventy third Year of his Age. Luther's Death.

There was at this Time a new Prosecution of those that deny'd the Corporal Presence in the Eucharist; and *Shaxton* was accus'd of some Words about it, but he abjur'd and comply'd so entirely, that soon after he preach'd a Sermon at the Execution of *Anne Aiscough*, a Gentlewoman who was first barbarously rack'd, and then burnt at *Smithfield*, with two others. In this Year there were also two burnt in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk*, on the same Account. But the chief of the *Romish* Party were not satisfy'd with these finaller Sacrifices; therefore they perswaded the King that *Cranmer* was the Source of all the Heresie in *England*, but because of his great Favour to him none durst appear against him: So they desir'd that he might be once put in the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him. The King seem'd to consent to this, and they resolv'd to execute it the next Day; but in the Night the King sent for the Arch-Bishop, and generously told him the whole Design. He thank'd the King for not suffering him to be surpriz'd, and submitted to it; only he desir'd he might be heard to answer for himself before indifferent Judges who understood these Matters. The King was amaz'd to see him so little apprehensive of his Ruin, and kindly told him, *He must take Care of him, since he took so little Care of himself*. He therefore gave him Instructions to appear before the Council, and to desire to see his Accusers before he was sent to the Tower; and that he might be us'd by them, as they would desire to be us'd in the like Case: And if he could not prevail by the Force of Reason, then he was to appeal to the King in Person, and was to shew the King's Seal-Ring, which he took from his Finger and gave him; which was so well known to them all, that they soon stopp'd when they once saw that. According to his Expectation, being summon'd before the Council next Morning, he came over to *White-Hall*, where he was unhandsonly detain'd in the Lobby, before he was call'd in. When he appear'd, and had observ'd the Method the King had order'd him to use, and had at last shown the Ring, they all rose in great Confusion, and went to the King, who had designedly absented himself that Day. He severely reprimanded them, and express'd his Esteem and Kindness for the Arch-Bishop in such Terms, that his Enemies were glad to retreat, by pretending they only design'd to clear his Innocence in a publick Trial; and were now so convinc'd of the King's unalterable Favour to him, that they never made any more Attempts upon him.

But what they durst not attempt in Relation to the Arch-Bishop, they thought they might more safely experience against the Queen, who was known to love the Reformation, and to have Sermons in a Privy-Chamber; which could not be so secretly carry'd, but that it came to the King's Knowledge. Yet her Conduct in all other Respects was so exact, and she express'd such a tender Care of the King's Person, as she gain'd much upon his Affections; but his Peevishness being increas'd by his Distempers, made him often uneasy, and sometimes to her. They frequently discours'd of Points of Religion, and often concerning the Reformers; and once in Defence of them she provok'd the King's Humour so far, that before he was cool, he express'd his Displeasure to Bishop *Gardiner*; who greedily seiz'd on this Opportunity to persuade the King, That she was a great Cherisher of Hereticks. Chancellor *Wriothesly* join'd with him in the same Artifice, and fill'd the angry King's Head with many Conjectures and Surmises; insomuch that he sign'd the Articles upon which she was to be impeach'd. But the Chancellor carelessly dropping the Paper, it was accidentally taken up by one of the Queen's Friends, who carry'd it to her. Upon which she repair'd to the King, and ingeniously brought in a Discourse about Religion; and after a little Opposition, she artificially yielded, and seem'd convinc'd by the King's Arguments, and told him, *That she only argu'd with him by way of Instruction; sometimes to engage him in Discourse, and to divert his Pains*; and this she

71222

seconded

seconded with such nice Flattery, that he was perfectly satisfy'd, and reconcil'd to her. The following Day, as they were walking in the Garden, the Chancellor came thither with a Design to have carry'd her to the Tower; but the King stepping aside, chid him severely for his Attempt, and was heard to call him *Knave* and *Fool*. The good natur'd Queen innocently interpos'd to mitigate his Displeasure; but the King handsomly told her, *She of all others had least Reason to plead for him*. Thus the Design vanish'd, and *Gardiner*, who promoted it, intirely lost the King's Favour.

The Fall of the
Duke of Nor-
folk and his
Son the Earl of
Surry.

But the chief of the Party, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surry*, fell under deeper Misfortunes. The Father had many Years been Treasurer, and had serv'd the King with great Fidelity and Reputation: His Son was a Man of rare Qualities, great Wit, and more than ordinary Learning; but particularly hated the Earl of *Hartford*, and despis'd an Alliance with him, which his Father had projected; which was to unite his Family to the *Seymours*, by marrying his Son to the Earl of *Hartford's* Daughter, and his Daughter the Dutcheß of *Richmond*, to *Hartford's* Brother, Sir *Thomas Seymour*. But both his Children refus'd to comply in this Matter: The *Seymours* were apprehensive upon the King's Death, of the Opposition they might meet with from the Earl of *Surry*, who was of a high Spirit, had a vast Fortune, and was the Head of the *Romish* Party; and it was likewise suspected, that he kept himself unmarried in Hopes of gaining the Princess *Mary*. The Duke's Family was also fatally divided: His Dutcheß had been separated from him about four Years, and now turn'd Informer against him: His Daughter hated her Brother, and was a Spy upon him; and one *Holland*, a Jilting Mistress of the Duke's, did also betray him, and discover'd all she could; yet all amounted to no more than some Complaints of the Father, who thought his great Services too little regarded, and some indiscreet Threatnings of the Son. It was also alledg'd, that the Father gave the Coat of Arms belonging to the Prince of *Wales*, and his Son gave the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor; but this seem'd rather a Pretence to create a Clamour among the People, and to cover the Want of more material Objections against them. One *Southwell* indeed alledg'd Matters of a higher Nature against the Earl of *Surry*; which he deny'd, and desir'd a Trial by Combate, and to fight in their Shirts. But all Challenges avail'd nothing, for the Father and the Son were, upon Reasons of State, mark'd out for Ruin, and both sent Prisoners to the Tower.

A. D. The Earl of *Surry* being but a Commoner, was try'd by a Jury of nine
1547. Knights and three Esquires; by whom he was found guilty of Treason, and
Reg. 38. had Sentence of Death pass'd upon him, which was executed on the nineteenth
of *January* at *Tower-Hill*. This was generally condemn'd as an Act of great
Hardship and Severity, which loaded the *Seymours* with a popular *Odium* that
they could never overcome. He was much pity'd, as a Man of great Parts and
Courage, and other noble Qualifications; but yet was thought to have too
much dipp'd his Hands in the Blood of *Cromwell*, and others of his Party.
The Storm fell next upon the old Duke, who saw a Parliament call'd to destroy
him by an Act of Attainder, since there was not Matter enough to ruin him by
common Law: Therefore to prevent that, he made such an humble Submission to
the King, as might have mollify'd the most obdurate Disposition. He wrote to
him, 'That he had spent his whole Life in his Service, without entertaining one
'Thought to his Prejudice; and that he had obey'd all his Laws, and was re-
'solv'd to obey all that ever he should make. He earnestly begg'd that he might
'be hear'd with his Accusers Face to Face; and that the King would take all
'his Lands, and Goods, and only restore him to his Favour, and grant him
'such an Allowance for his Subsistence, as he thought fit. Because this had
no Effect, he proceeded further, and set his Hand to a Confession of several
Crimes; 'as First, his revealing the Secrets of the King's Council; Secondly, his
'concealing his Son's Treason in giving the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor;
'and

The Duke of
Norfolk's Sub-
mission.

and Thirdly his own giving the Arms of *England*, with the Labels of Silver belonging only to the Prince; which he acknowledg'd to be High-Treason, and therefore humbly begg'd the King's Mercy and Compassion. But all this had no Effect upon the King, who, as one expresses it, never hated or ruin'd any Body by halves.

When the Parliament met, the King was not able to come to *Westminster*, but he sent his Pleasure to them by a Commission. He declar'd his Intention was to have his Son *Edward* crown'd Prince of *Wales*; and therefore desir'd they would make all possible Haste in the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, that so the Places which he held by Patent might be dispos'd of to others, who should assist at the Coronation: Which, tho' it was a very slight Excuse for so high a Piece of Injustice, yet had that Effect, that in seven Days both Houses of Parliament pass'd the Bill. On the twenty seventh of *January*, the Royal Assent was given by those commission'd by the King; and the Execution was positively order'd to be the next Morning. There was no special Matter in the Act, but that of the Coat of Arms, which he and his Ancestors were wont to give, according to Records in the Herald's Office; so that this was condemn'd by all Persons as a most inexcusable Act of Tyranny. But the Death of the King that Night put a Stop to the Execution, which, tho' it was conceal'd three Days from the Nation, yet we are assur'd it was reveal'd by an extraordinary Vision to the Duke that Morning, by which he narrowly and fortunately escap'd. Yet both Parties made their Inferences from this Calamity that befel him. The *Romanists* said it was God's just Vengeance upon him, for his too great Obsequiousness to the King in many Particulars. But the Reformers said, it was a just Return upon him, for what he had acted against *Cromwell*, and many others upon the Account of Opinions. The Arch-Bishop would not concern himself in that Affair, but retir'd himself to *Croydon*; whereas Bishop *Gardiner*, who had continually been his Friend, still kept to the Court.

He is Attainted in Parliament.

He escapes narrowly.

The King was now overgrown with Corpulency and Fatness, and became so exceeding unwieldy, that he could not go up or down his Stairs, but as he made use of an Engine for that Purpose. He had an old Ulcer in his Leg, which became very uneasie to him; and all the Humours of his Body sinking down thither, he was much afflicted, and became exceeding froward and intractable, to which his late Severities may be in a great measure imputed. His Servants durst scarcely speak to him, to put him in mind of his approaching End, lest they might be brought within the Statute that made it Treason to foretel the King's Death. His Will was made ready, and was sign'd, or rather stamp'd, on the thirtieth Day of *December*. He had finish'd one at his last going over to *France*; and all the Change he made in this was, that he order'd *Gardiner's* Name to be struck out, for in his former Will he was nam'd one of the Executors. When Sir *Anthony Brown* endeavour'd to persuade him not to put that Disgrace upon an old Servant, he continu'd positive in his Resolution, and declar'd, *That he knew Gardiner's Temper sufficiently; and tho' he could govern him, none of them would be able to do it, if he were put into so high a Trust.* The most material Clause in this Will was, That in the Succession of the Crown, he preferr'd the Children of his second Sister by *Charles Brandon*, to the Children of his eldest Sister, the Queen of *Scotland*. On his Death-Bed he finish'd the Foundation of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, one of the noblest in *Europe*; and likewise founded *Christ's-Church Hospital* near *Newgate*; yet this last was not so fully settled as was needful, till his Son compleated what he had begun. On the twenty seventh of *January* his Spirits sunk so low, that it was apparent he had not long to live; and when all declin'd touching upon so unwelcome a Subject, Sir *Anthony Denny* had the Honesty and Courage to do it, desiring him to prepare for Death, and to call upon God and Jesus Christ for Mercy. Upon which the King express'd his Sorrow for the Sins of his past Life; yet he said, *he trusted in the Mercies of Christ, which were greater than*

The King's last Sickness.

His Will.

his Sins. Then *Denny* ask'd him if any Churchman should be sent for, and he answer'd, *If any, it should be Arch-Bishop Cranmer.* Upon which *Cranmer* was sent for to *Croydon*; but before he arriv'd, the King was speechless. Therefore *Cranmer* desir'd him to give some Sign of his Dying in the Faith of Christ; upon which he tenderly squeez'd his Hand, and shortly after dy'd, upon the twenty eighth Day of *January*, and fifty sixth Year of his Age; after a most active and wonderful Reign of thirty seven Years, nine Months, and five Days. His Funeral Obsequies were as pompous and magnificent as his Reign, as appears from *Sandford* and others; being bury'd at *Windsor*, where he had begun a noble Monument, and founded a College for thirteen poor Knights, and two Priests. Nor were these last Rites perform'd by his own Subjects only; but a solemn Obsequy was kept for him by King *Francis*, at the Cathedral of *Paris*, notwithstanding his Excommunication, and all the Fulminations of the Court of *Rome*.

His Death and Obsequies.

His Character.

To say something of the Person and Qualifications of this wondrous Prince; his History will be his truest Character and Description, which contain'd an uncommon Variety, in all his Capacities; as a Man, a King, and a Christian. He had all the Qualifications of Nature and Education, with no less Perfections of Body and Mind. His Person was extraordinary tall and majestick, of a mighty Strength and Activity; his Looks great and surprizing, and his whole Countenance bespoke the Monarch. His Mind was still more capacious than his Body, vigorous and vast, his Temper generous and fiery, his Spirit magnanimous and invincible, and his Judgment profound and penetrating; so that with all his Failings he was every way a proper Instrument to effect those great Works design'd by Providence. As to Matters of State, never Prince proceeded upon truer Maxims for this Kingdom, which was to make himself Arbiter of *Europe*; in which, instead of being a bare Spectator, he was so much an Actor, that there was no Treaty or State Assembly in Christendom, in which he had not his particular Agent and Interest; which was one of his extraordinary Ways of spending Mony. At home, it was his Manner to treat much with his Parliaments, where he sometimes made use of rough Methods; yet none of his Predecessors understood the Temper of Parliaments better than himself, or more dexterously prevail'd upon such a numerous Body. His Disposition was certainly very aspiring, and his Ambition very extensive; which by Means of Flattery and ill Counsel, in the latter Part of his Reign produc'd Effects very formidable to his Subjects: So that he has been too justly charg'd with Cruelty, Rapaciousness and Lust; all which have been unmeasurably aggravated by his Enemies, whose Numbers were very great. His Cruelties appear both from the Number and Manner of the Executions in his Reign, which were generally towards the latter End of it, at a Time when he had met with unsufferable Provocations and Oppositions, and when less Severities might probably have ruin'd him and all his Designs: And really it is extraordinary wonderful that such Alterations in the Nation should be made with so little Bloodshed. His Rapaciousness appears from his Sacrilegious swallowing such vast Quantities of Church Revenues: To palliate which, besides its being done by the Representatives of the Nation, it has been alledg'd that the Religious Orders of the Kingdom would have assisted those who threaten'd Invasion from abroad, and that he had no other Means but their Revenues left to defend himself. However he had laid noble Designs for Reparation, and tho' he accidentally fell short of them, yet he actually founded six Bishopricks, endow'd Deaneries, Prebends, and other Offices, in fourteen several Sees, and founded *Christ-Church* Hospital, *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, Professors in both Universities, and many Grammar Schools. As to his Lusts, they are as much aggravated as any other of his Vices; of which the Number of his Wives are but a weak Proof. Fornication in Princes is never to be excus'd by a Christian Politician; yet this may be alledg'd for him, that he was not so exorbitant as many other Princes,

Princes, and we find but one Mistress that he kept, which was in his younger Years, when encourag'd by a Churchman, and indulgent Confessor. It is true, the general Steps he made were sometimes bold and desperate, yet with all his Crimes he was one of the most glorious Princes of his Time; and if his Crimes were still greater, it would be no just Aspersions upon the Reformation he effected; since Providence often brings about the noblest Designs by the most exceptionable Instruments, when the best Men have been deny'd that Honour. In short as his Reign affords the greatest Varieties, so in his Character there was a wonderful Mixture of Virtues and Vices; and the Hand of Heaven seem'd to lye heavy upon him and his Family; for notwithstanding all his extraordinary Methods to obtain Posterity, and his peculiar Establishments of the Succession, from six several Wives he was not able to produce one Grand-Child.

S E C T. III.

The Reign of King EDWARD the Sixth.

Containing 6 Years, 5 Months, and 9 Days.

Edw.
had
from
Edward
by
himself
to I. **T**H E Imperial Crown of *England*, that had for thirty seven Years A. D. been worn by the most martial and vigorous Monarch of the Age, 1547. now devolv'd upon a Child of little more than nine Years of Age; but Reg. 1. a Child of those promising Virtues, and admirable Abilities, that might well be- The great Abi-
lities of Prince
Edward. speak him a Man in Wisdom and Understanding. This Prince had a most noble Education given him by his Father, who at six Years of Age put him under the Government of Doctor *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*; the one his Preceptor for Philosophy, Morality and Divinity, and the other for Languages and Mathematicks. He was also provided with Masters for the *French* Tongue, and other Parts of Learning becoming a Prince, who was Heir to such famous Dominions. He gave early Indications of a rare Disposition to Knowledge, of a most wonderful Probity of Mind, and of the highest Veneration for Religion and Piety: So that once in his Childish Diversions, somewhat being wanted which he and his Companions could not reach, one of them laid a great Bible on the Floor to step on, which he beholding with Indignation, reverently took it up, and gave over his Play. He was so forward in Languages, that besides his Proficiency in *French*, *Italian* and *Spanish*, at eight Years of Age he frequently wrote *Latin* Letters to the King, to the last Queen, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and his Uncle the Earl of *Hartford*. In all things he was a Prince of extraordinary Hopes; but such unusual Beginnings seem'd rather to threaten the too early End of a Life, that was to produce such astonishing Things.

His Father's Death was conceal'd from the Publick for three Days; during which time, his Uncle the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, were sent by the Council to *Hartford* where he resided, to conduct him to the Tower of *London*. Having brought him to *Enfield*, with his Sister the Princess *Elizabeth*, they told him that his Father was actually dead; which News was receiv'd with such real Sorrow, that it was hard to know whether Tears did more obscure or illustrate their Beauties. At the Tower, his Father's Executors, He is receiv'd
by the Lords of
the Council. with the rest of the Privy-Council, receiv'd him with a profound Respect due to their King; so tempering their Sorrows for their Master's Decease with their Satisfaction for his Son's succeeding him, that by an Excess of Joy they might not seem too soon to have forgot the one, nor by Extremity of Grief to apprehend Ill from the other. The first Thing they did was the opening of King *Henry's*

King Henry's
Testaments.

Henry's Will, by which they found that he had nominated sixteen Persons to be his Executors, and Governors of his Son 'till he should be eighteen Years of Age. These were the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesly*, the Lord *St. John* great Master, the Lord *Russel* Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Hartford* Lord Great-Chamberlain, Viscount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, *Tonstall* Bishop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, Sir *William Paget* Secretary of State, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Augmentations, Lord Chief Justice *Montague*, Judge *Bromley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert* chief Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treasurer of *Calais*, and Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. By the Consent of these Sixteen, the King and his Sisters were to be dispos'd in Marriage; but with this Difference, that it was only order'd that the King should marry by their Advice; but the Sisters were so limited in their Marriages, that they were to forfeit their Right of Succession if they marry'd without their Consents; it being of greater Importance to the Good of the Nation, who should be their Husbands, if they come to the Crown, than who should be the King's Wife: And King *Henry* was empower'd by Act of Parliament to leave the Crown to them with what Limitations he should think fit to appoint. Besides these Sixteen there was a Privy-Council nominated to be their Assistants in the Government; and if any of the Sixteen dy'd, the Survivors were to continue in the Administration, without a Power of substituting others in the Rooms of the Deceas'd. He also charg'd them to pay all his Debts, the Legacies he left, to perfect all the Grants he had begun, and to make good every thing he had promis'd. It was now propos'd that one should be chosen out of the Sixteen, to whom Ambassadors should address themselves, and who should have the chief Direction of Affairs; but should be restrain'd from acting without the Consent of the major Part of the rest. The Chancellor, who thought the Precedence in secular Affairs fell to him by his Office, oppos'd this much, and said it was changing the King's Will, who had made them equal in Power and Dignity; and if any were rais'd above the rest in Title, it would be impossible to keep him within just Bounds, since great Titles made way for exorbitant Power. But the Earl of *Hartford* had so prepar'd his Friends, that it was voted that he should be declar'd *The Governor of the King's Person, and the Protector of the Kingdom*; with this Restriction, that he should not act without the Advice and Consent of the rest. Upon this Advancement, and the Opposition made against it, two several Parties were form'd, the one headed by the new Protector, and the other by the Chancellor: The Favourers of the Reformation were for the Former, and the Opposers of it were for the Latter.

A Protector
chosen.

The Bishops
Commissions.

After this the Chancellor was order'd to renew the Commissions of the Judges and Justices of Peace; and King *Henry's* Great Seal was to be us'd, 'till a new one should be made. Then all the Executors took their Oaths to execute their Trust faithfully; and the Privy-Counsellors were brought into the King's Presence, who all express'd their Satisfaction in the Choice of the new Protector: and it was order'd that all Dispatches to Foreign Princes should be sign'd only by him. All that held Offices were requir'd to come and renew their Commissions, and to swear Allegiance to the King; and even the Bishops themselves took out such Commissions as were granted in the former Reign; only by those they were subaltern to the King's Vicegerent, but none being now in that Office, they were immediately under the King: And by them they were to hold their Bishopricks only during the King's Pleasure, and were empower'd in the King's Name, as his Delegates, to perform all the Parts of the Episcopal Function. The ill Consequences of this unjustifiable Method being soon foreseen, the Bishops afterwards promoted, were not put under such unreasonable Obligations, but were appointed to hold their Bishopricks during Life. After a Dispatch of some Business relating to *Scotland*, the Protector knighted the young

young King, being authoriz'd to do it by Letters Patents ; and the King at the same time knighted Sir *John Hublethorn*, the Lord Mayor of *London*. An Account of some Disturbances being now presented to the Council, concerning the pulling down some Images in Churches, Orders were sent to the Justices of the Peace, to take Care of the Peace and Government of the Nation, to meet frequently, and every six Weeks to advertise the Protector of the State of the Country where they resided.

On the thirteenth Day of *February*, the Obsequies of the late King were solemniz'd with the utmost Degree of Pomp and Magnificence. Shortly after follow'd the Diversions of the Coronation ; before which, according to the late King's Intentions, the Protector was made Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Essex* Marquess of *Northampton*, the Lords *Lisle* and *Wriothesly* Earls of *Warwick* and *Southampton* ; *Seymour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby* and *Sheffield* were made Barons. In order to the King's Coronation, the Office of that Ceremony was now review'd, and much shorten'd : One remarkable Alteration was, that formerly the King was always presented to the People at the Corners of the Scaffold, and they were ask'd, *If they would have him to be their King ?* Which look'd more like a Rite of an Election, than a Ceremony of Investing one who was already King. This was now chang'd, and the People were desir'd only to give their Assents and good Will to his Coronation, as they were bound by their Duty of Allegiance. On the nineteenth Day of *February*, the King rode in great State and Splendor from the Tower, to the Palace of *Westminster* ; and the following Day he was crown'd by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, according to the Form prescrib'd. We are assur'd that when three Swords were deliver'd to him as King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, he said, *He wanted another Sword yet, the Holy Bible, the Sword of the Spirit, without which they could all do nothing.* At this Time a general Pardon was proclaim'd to all Offenders, six only excepted, namely the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, *Edward Courtney*, Mr. *Fortescue*, Mr. *Throgmorton*, and Doctor *Pates* Bishop of *Worcester*, who was fled to *Rome*, to avoid the Oath of Supremacy ; all which six continu'd unpardon'd, 'till the first of Queen *Mary's* Reign, and then were restor'd.

The Lord Chancellor, who was esteem'd the Head of the *Romish* Party, now gave an Advantage against himself, which soon occasion'd his Disgrace. He granted a Commission to the Master of the Rolls and three Masters of Chancery, to execute his Office in the Court of Chancery, as if he were present ; only the Decrees were to be brought to him to be sign'd, before they should be Inroll'd. This being perform'd without any Authority from the Protector, and the other Executors, was thought a high Act of Presumption, since by this he devolv'd that Trust on others which was deposited in his own Hands. Several Lawyers complain'd of this Practice to the Protector, being apprehensive of some dangerous Innovations in that high Court. The Judges being desir'd to give their Opinions, made Report, *That what the Chancellor had acted, was against Law, that he had forfeited his Place, and was liable to Imprisonment during the King's Pleasure.* But he carry'd it with a high Hand, and with Threats both to the Judges and Lawyers ; and when it was urg'd, That he had forfeited his Place, he alledg'd *He had it from the late King, who had likewise nominated him one of the Executors during his Son's Minority* : To which it was answer'd, *That the Major Part had Power over any of the rest, otherwise one of them might rebel, and pretend the rest could not bring him to Punishment.* Being driven from this Hold, he became more humble, and acknowledg'd he had no Warrant for granting the Commission, *but thought he might lawfully do it by his Office* : He ask'd Pardon for his Offence, and begg'd that he might lose his Place with as little Disgrace as was possible ; upon which it was resolv'd the Seal should be taken from him, and a Fine laid upon him as should be thought proper. He was per-

King Edward's
Coronation.

The Lord
Chancellor
turn'd out

*The Protector's
Patent.*

permitted to go home with the Seal ; but the Lord *Seymour* and some others were sent to demand it of him. He was also confin'd to his House, and kept under the Terror of an arbitrary Fine ; but upon giving a Bond of four thousand Pounds to be paid upon Demand, he was freed from his Confinement. Yet he was not remov'd from the Trust of the King and Government ; for probably the Council look'd upon that to be out of their Power. The Protector, the better to secure himself, took out a Patent for his Office under the Great Seal, ' by which he was confirm'd in his Authority, 'till the King should be eighteen Years of Age ; he was also authoriz'd to bring in new Counsellors, besides those enumerated in the Patent, who were both the Executors and Counsellors nominated by the late King : The Protector, with so many of the Council as he thought fit, were empower'd to administer the Affairs of the Kingdom ; but the Council was limited not to act any thing without his Advice and Consent. And thus was he as fully establish'd in his extraordinary Authority as Law could do it : He had a Negative on the Council, but they had none on him ; and he could either bring his own Creatures into it, or select a Cabinet-Council out of it, at Pleasure : And the other Executors having by this Patent deliver'd up their Authority to him, were only Privy-Counsellors as the rest, without retaining any Authority peculiar to themselves, as was particularly provided by King *Henry's* Will.

*The Emperor's
Designs in Ger-
many.*

The first foreign Affair that requir'd great Consideration, was the *German* War, then begun between the Emperor and the Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League ; by which the Emperor, if successful, was in a probable Way, both to extirpate *Lutheranism*, and to make himself absolute Master of *Germany*. But he politickly disguis'd his great Design to other Princes : To the Pope he pretended it was only to extirpate Heresie ; to other Princes, that it was only to suppress some Rebels, and deny'd all Intentions of suppressing their new Doctrines ; all which he manag'd so artificially, that he divided *Germany* itself, and gain'd some *Lutheran* Princes to declare for him, and others to be Neutrals : And having, by granting an Edict for Liberty of Religion, obtain'd a liberal Supply for his Wars with *France* and the *Turk*, he made Peace with both those Princes, and resolv'd to imploy the Money the *Germans* had given him, against themselves. That he might deprive them of their chief Allies, he us'd all Means to engage King *Henry* and *Francis* in a War ; but that was compos'd chiefly by their Interposition : And now when the War was to be pursu'd with great Vigour, they lost both those Princes ; for as *Henry* dy'd in *January*, so *Francis* dy'd the *March* following. Many of their Confederates began to capitulate and fall off ; and the divided Command of the Duke of *Saxony* and Prince of *Hesse*, lost them great Advantages the former Year, in which they might have easily driven the Emperor out of *Germany*. The Pope desir'd to engage the Emperor in a War with *Germany*, that *Italy* might be unmolested ; in order to which, and the imbroiling the Emperor with the *Lutherans*, he publish'd his Treaty with him, to shew the World that the Design of the War was to extirpate Heresie, tho' the Emperor was making great Protestations to the contrary in *Germany*. He also open'd the Council of *Trent*, which tho' formerly desir'd by the Emperor, was now unreasonable to his Affairs : For the Protestants all declar'd, That they could not esteem it as a free General Council, since it was so intirely at the Pope's Devotion : Nor could the Emperor prevail with the Council to relax their Proceedings against Heresie ; but the more he obstructed it by his Delays, the more vigorously the Pope drove it on, to open the Eyes of the *Germans*, and engage them more unanimously against the Emperor, who now gave them such secret Assurances of tolerating the *Ausburg* Confession, that the Marquess of *Brandenburg* declar'd for him ; and this, join'd with the Hopes of an *Electorate*, drew in *Maurice* of *Saxony*. The Count *Palatine* was old and feeble, the Arch-Bishop of *Coloign* would make no Resistance, but retir'd, and many Cities submitted :

*The Council of
Trent.*

and *Maurice* by falling into *Saxony*, forc'd the Elector to separate from the Prince of *Hesse*, and return to the Defence of his own Dominions. This was the general State of the Affairs in *Germany*: So that it was a difficult Point to determine, what Answer the Protector should give to the Duke of *Saxony's* Chancellor, whom he sent over to beg an Aid in Mony, for carrying on the War. It was certainly of great Importance to the Safety of *England* to preserve the *German* Princes; and yet it was very dangerous to begin a War of such Consequence under an Infant King. However at present they promis'd within three Months to send the Duke fifty thousand Crowns by certain Merchants to *Hamburg*; but resolv'd to do no more till new Emergencies should lead them to new Counsels.

The German Princes sue to England.

The Nation was now in an ill Condition for a War with such a mighty Prince, the Government in several Things disjointed, labouring under great Divisions at home; the People generally cry'd out for a Reformation, they despis'd the *Romish* Clergy, and lov'd the new Preachers. The Priests were for the most part very ignorant and scandalous in their Lives and Conversations; and were many of them degraded Monks crept into small Benefices. These were zealously engag'd against all Changes, and were encourag'd in their Opposition, by the Protection they expected from *Gardiner*, *Bonner* and *Tonstall*, who were Men of great Reputation, and in high Stations: And above all the Princess *Mary* did openly declare against all Changes, till the King should be of Age. But on the other Hand the diligent *Cranmer*, who possibly had been too obsequious to King *Henry*, being now at Liberty, resolv'd to proceed more vigorously: The Protector was firmly united to him, as also the young King's Tutors; and he himself was as much engag'd as could be expected from so young a Person; for both his Knowledge and Zeal were far above his Years. Doctor *Ridley*, now made Bishop of *Rockester*, and Doctor *Latimer* by his popular Sermons, were both very serviceable in this Affair. Most of the Privy-Council were consenting towards a further Reformation; and according to the Power invested in them, it was resolv'd to begin with a general Visitation of all *England*, which was divided into six Precincts; and two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Register, were appointed for each. But before they were sent out, Letters were written to all Bishops, giving them Notice of it, and suspending their Jurisdiction, while the Commission lasted. The greatest Difficulty that the Reformers found, was in the Want of able and prudent Men; and those that were most eminent were to be imploy'd in *London* and the Universities. Therefore the only Thing by which the People could be universally instructed, was a Book of Homilies; so the twelve first Homilies in the Book, still known by that Name, were compil'd to be us'd by every Minister. Orders were also given, that a Bible should be kept in every Church, which tho' it was commanded by King *Henry*, yet had not been generally obey'd; and for understanding the New Testament, the Paraphrase of *Erasmus* was published in *English*, and appointed to be set up in every Church. They also renew'd the Injunctions made by *Cromwell* in the late Reign, which after his Fall had been neglected, as those for instructing the People, for removing of Images, and abolishing all Customs abus'd to Superstition; for reading the Scriptures in *English*, for frequenting Sermons and Catechising, for the exemplary Lives of the Clergy, and the other Parts of their Functions.

Divisions in England.

A Visitation of all Churches.

Whilst these and many other Things were transacting towards a Reformation, a War with *Scotland* was under a close Consultation: But the Protector being apprehensive that *France* would engage in the Contest, sent an Embassie to congratulate the new King *Henry* the Second, to desire a Confirmation of the last Peace, and to complain of the *Scots*, who had broken their Faith with King *Edward* on the Point of the Marriage of their Queen. The *French* King refused to confirm the Treaty, till some Articles were first explain'd, and disown'd what had been done by his Father's Agent *Poligny*; and for the *Scots*,

The War with Scotland.

he declar'd he could not abandon them, if they were in Distress. The *English* alledg'd that *Scotland* was subject to *England*, but the *French* had no Regard to that, and would not so much as look on the Records that were offer'd to prove the Subjection; declaring, That they would esteem the Cause as they found it, and not look back to a Dispute of two or three hundred Years old. This caus'd the *English* Council to be more cautious in beginning one War, which in all Probability would bring another upon them from *France*. The Castle of *St. Andrews* was surrender'd, and all the Pensioners in *Scotland* were not able to do them much Service: The *Scots* were now much elevated; for as *England* was under the Government of a Child, so the Court of *France* was govern'd by the *Scotch* Queen Dowager's Brothers. The *Scots* began to make Inroads upon *England*, and Descents into *Ireland*; Commissioners were sent to the Borders to treat on both Sides; and the Protector rais'd a powerful Army, which he bravely resolv'd to command in Person. But the Meetings on the Borders were soon ended; for the *Scots* had no Instructions to treat concerning the Marriage, and the *English* were order'd to treat of nothing else, 'till that should be first concluded. As to the Records that were shown to prove the Homages of the *Scotch* Kings to the *English*, they had no great Effect; for the *Scots* either said they were forc'd or extorted from some weak Princes, or were only Homages for their Lands in *England*, as the Kings of *England* did Homage to the Crown of *France*, for their Lands in that Country. They also shew'd their Records, by which their Ancestors had asserted themselves free and independent of *England*.

The Protector
enters that
Kingdom with
an Army.

All Hopes of Peace vanishing, on the twenty first Day of *August* the Protector took out a Commission to be General, and to make War in *Scotland*; in order to which he left Commissions of Lieutenancy to his Brother and other Noblemen, and during his Absence devolv'd his own Power on the Privy-Council. He came upon the Borders by the End of *August*, and enter'd the *Scotch* Ground the second of *September*; where he found the Passes abandon'd, and small Forts that were in his March were surrender'd upon Summons. On the ninth, he arriv'd at *Falside*, where there was a long Struggle in several Parties, in which thirteen hundred of the *Scots* were slain. And now they were in Sight of the *Scotch* Army, which for Numbers of regular Men was one of the greatest they had ever brought together, consisting of thirty thousand Men, with a fair Train of Artillery both of Brasses and Iron Guns. On the other Side, the *English* Army consisted of about fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, but all excellently well appointed. The *Scots* were now inflam'd with the old National Quarrel to *England*; it was rumour'd that the Protector was come to carry away the Queen, and enslave the Kingdom; and for their encouragement, it was said, that the *French* were coming with a great Fleet to their Assistance. The Protector sent a Message to the *Scots*, 'Inviting them by all the most insinuating Arguments, to consent to the Marriage; and if that would not be granted, he desier'd Engagements from them, that their Queen should be contracted to no other Person, at least 'till she came of Age, and by the Advice of the Estates, should chuse a Husband for her self. All this the Protector offer'd, that he might be disingag'd from this unreasonable War upon honourable Terms; but the *Scotch* Lords thought this great Condescension the Effect of Fear, and believ'd the Protector was straiten'd for Want of Provisions; so instead of publishing this Offer, they resolv'd to fall upon him the next Day: And all the Return that was made, was, *that if the Protector would march back without any Act of Hostility, he should not be molested*; which the Protector rejected, as knowing that so mean an Action at this nice Conjuncture would ruin his Reputation. At the same Time a Person went officiously with the Trumpeter, and challeng'd the Protector in the Earl of *Huntley's* Name, to decide the Contest in their private Valour; but the Protector answer'd, *He was oblig'd to fight no Way but at the Head of his Army*; yet the Earl of *Warwick* accepted the Challenge, but it appear'd that *Huntley* had given no Commission for it.

On the tenth of *September* the two Armies drew out, and engag'd in the Field of *Pinkey* near *Musselburgh*; in the beginning of which Action, a Cannon Ball from the Ships cut off a whole Lane of Men, and so disorder'd the *Highlanders*, that their Commanders could not make them keep their Ranks. The Earl of *Angus* made a brave Charge, but still was repuls'd; and the *English* upon this broke in with such a dreadful Fury upon the *Scots*, that they threw down their Arms and fled. About fourteen thousand were kill'd, and fifteen hundred taken Prisoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and five hundred Gentlemen; and all the Artillery was taken. This Loss quite dishearten'd the *Scots*, so that they all fled to *Striveling*, and left the whole Country to the Mercy of the Protector; who the next Day went and took *Leith*, and the Soldiers in the Ships burnt some of the Sea-Towns of *Fife*, and recover'd some *English* Ships that had been taken from the *Scots*. The Protector sent some Ships to the Mouth of the *Tay*, and took the Castle of *Broughty*, that commanded that River, and likewise wasted *Edinburgh* it self, with other Places. If he had follow'd this remarkable Blow, and march'd directly to *Striveling*, where the Governor of *Scotland* and the young Queen were retir'd, it is probable that under that great Consternation he might have taken the Place, and put an End to the War. But the Party his Brother was making at Court, gave him such an inward Alarm, that he drew off before he had finish'd his Work; and the *Scots* making Overtures for a Treaty, which was only to gain Time, he order'd them to send their Commissioners to *Berwick*, and so march'd back. The ambitious Earl of *Warwick*, who had a large Share in the Honour of the Victory, but knew that the Errors in Conduct would much diminish the Protector's Glory, which otherwise might have been too exorbitant, was not displeas'd at it. Yet still he wanted not new Opportunities of Triumphant; for in his Return he took all the Castles in the Counties of *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, and caus'd all the Gentry to swear to be true to King *Edward*, and to promote the Marriage. After twenty five Days Continuance in *Scotland*, the Protector return'd into *England*, cover'd with Glories, having in the whole Expedition lost but sixty Men, taken eighty Pieces of Cannon, bridled the two chief Rivers of the Kingdom by Garrisons, and gain'd several strong Places. And now it may easily be imagin'd how much this rais'd his Reputation in *England*, especially since he had done such great Services in *France*, so that all had great Expectations under his Government. And if the Breach between his Brother and him had not lost him the present Advantages, this Action had laid a Foundation of prodigious Fortunes to him.

The Battel of Musselburgh.

The Scots defeated.

The Protector returns to England.

The *Scots* sent no Commissioners to *Berwick*, but instead of that, they sent some to *France*, to offer their Queen to the *Dauphine*, and to throw themselves on the Protection of that Crown; and so the Earl of *Warwick*, whom the Protector left to treat with them, return'd back, with no small Share in the other's Glory. This remarkable Man was Son to that *Dudley* who was attainted and executed in the first Year of the late Reign, and was one of extraordinary Abilities, had not insatiable Ambition and profound Dissimulation stain'd his other noble Qualities. By means of the *Scots* the Wars were continu'd, and magn'd the following Year by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* with various Success. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was also sent with fifteen thousand Men; against him, for the Assistance of the *Scots*, was sent the *Rhinegrave* with ten thousand *French*; who entering into a Consultation how to remove the young Queen beyond the *English* Power, provided a Fleet, and sailing round the North of *Scotland*, notwithstanding the *English* Fleet lay in readiness to stop their Passage, yet she was convey'd safely into *France*, being about six Years of Age, and was long afterwards marry'd to the *Dauphine* of *France*.

The young Queen of Scots carry'd into France.

A. D. 1547. Reg. 1. II. The Protector having obtain'd such signal Advantages, proceeded in the ^{History} Business of the Reformation, and to summon a new Parliament. As to the ^{History} former, great Inferences were made from one Particular, that on the same Day ^{History} in which the Images were burnt in *London*, the *English* Army obtain'd a signal Victory in *Scotland*, which was the same Day of the Victory of *Flodden* Field, thirty four Years before. All submitted to the new Visitors, only the two Bishops *Bonner* and *Gardiner*, for refusing the Injunctions, were both imprison'd. Upon the fourth of *November* the Parliament was open'd; the Day before which the Protector gave too publick an Instance how he was elevated by his Prosperity: For by a Patent he was authoriz'd to sit under the Cloath of State, on the right Hand of the Throne; and to have all the Honours and Privileges that any Uncle of the Crown ever had, with a *Non-obstante* to the Statute of Precedence. The Lord *Rich* was made Lord Chancellor; and the first Act that pass'd was 'A Repeal of all Statutes that had made any thing Treason or Felony in the late Reign, which was not so before; particularly of the *Six Articles*, and the Authority given to the King's Proclamations, as also of the Acts against *Lollards*. All who deny'd the King's Supremacy, or asserted the Pope's, the first Offence was forfeiture of Goods, the second a *Premunire*, and the third Treason: But if any intended to deprive the King of his Estate or Title, that was made direct Treason. It also repeal'd the Power the King had of annulling all Laws made, 'till he was twenty four Years of Age, and restrain'd it only to the annulling them for the time to come, but that it should not be of force for the declaring them null from the Beginning. In passing of this Act five Bishops dissented; and another Act pass'd with the same Dissent, 'For the Communion in both Kinds, and that the People should always Communicate with the Priest; and by it Irreverence to the Sacrament was condemn'd under severe Penalties. Another Act pass'd without any Dissent, 'That the *Conge d'elire*, and the Election pursuant to it, should cease for the future, and that Bishops should be nam'd by the King's Letters Patents, and thereupon consecrated; and should all hold their Courts in the King's Name, excepting the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; and were to use the King's Seal in all their Writings, excepting Presentations, Collations, and Letters of Orders, in which they might use their own. After an Act against idle Vagabonds, came the Act for giving the King all the Chantries, which the late King had not seiz'd by virtue of the Grant made to him of them. *Cranmer*, with seven other Bishops dissented, but could not prevent the Act from passing at last. Last of all came the King's general Pardon, with the common Exceptions, among which the Duke of *Norfolk* was named. And thus ended this Session; when the Protector, being establish'd in his Power without Contradiction, took out a new Commission, in which besides his former Authority, he was empower'd to substitute one in his Room, during his Absence.

The Affairs of Germany. During these Transactions at home, the poor *German* Princes, who rely'd upon the Assistance of *England*, were ruin'd by the Emperor: The Duke of *Saxony* was defeated and taken Prisoner; the Prince of *Hesse* was persuaded to submit, and by an Artifice detain'd Prisoner; upon which all the Princes and Towns of the *Smalcaldick* League submitted, and purchas'd their Pardon, at what Terms the Conqueror was pleas'd to impose. Now all *Germany*, except *Magdebury* and *Breme*, was at the Emperor's Mercy; some Cathedrals were again restor'd to the Bishops, and Mass was said in them; a Diet was also held, in which the Emperor obtain'd a Decree, by which Matters of Religion were referr'd wholly to his Care. The Pope instead of rejoicing at this Blow given to the *Lutherans*, was extremely concern'd at it: For the Emperor had now in one Year finish'd a War, which he hop'd would have imbroil'd him his whole Life; so that *Italy* was more than ever expos'd to his Arms, where he had many

many Reasons to be jealous of his Power. The Emperor's Ambassadors became very uneasy to the Legates at *Trent*, and urg'd a Reformation of Abuses, and endeavour'd to restrain them from proceeding in Points of Doctrine; upon which they took advantage from the Death of one who seem'd to have some Symptoms of the Plague, and remov'd the Council to *Bononia* in *Italy*. By this all the Advantages the Emperor had from the Promises of the Protestants to submit to a free General Council assembled in *Germany*, were defeated: And it was judg'd a wonderful Turn of Providence, that when *Lutheranism* was so near its Extirpation, a Stop was put to it by what was least imagin'd; since it was highly probable that perfecting such a Design would have reconcil'd the widest Differences between the Pope and the Emperor. So unexpected an Accident caus'd the Favourers of the Reformation to ascribe it to the immediate Care that Heaven had of that Work, at a Time when all human Supports were remov'd. However upon the Emperor's Advantages, the Foreign Reformers, who generally made *Germany* their Sanctuary, were now forc'd to come into *England*: *Peter Martyr* and *Bernard Ochinus* came over first, and *Bucer* and *Fagius* follow'd. They were invited over by the generous *Cranmer*, who entertain'd them at *Lambeth*, till Provision was made for them; *Martyr* was sent to *Oxford*, and *Bucer* and *Fagius* to *Cambridge*, where shortly after the latter dy'd. In this Year there were some Differences between the *French* and *English*, concerning some new Forts, which were made about *Boloign*, on both Sides, yet a Truce was concluded; for the Protector, who began to have Troubles in his own Family, had no Desire to ingage in a War against *France*.

The Foreign Reformers re- pair to England

The great Work of the Reformation was still carry'd on by continu'd Steps and Progressions; and much Care was taken to remove what related to Ignorance and Superstition. As *Candlemass* and *Lent* were approaching, *Cranmer* procur'd an Order of Council against the carrying of Candles on *Candlemass*-Day, of Ashes on *Ash-Wednesday*, and Palms on *Palm-Sunday*. By a Proclamation, the creeping to the Cross, and taking Holy Bread and Water were abolish'd; and Power given to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to certify, in the King's Name, what Ceremonies should be afterwards laid aside. Shortly after, a general Order follow'd for a Removal of all Images out of Churches, of which some were of a very gross Nature: The only Occasion given to censure this Order, was that all Shrines, and the Plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the King's Use. Eighteen Bishops, and some Divines, were now employ'd to examine the Offices of the Church, and to see which of them needed Amendment. They began with the *Eucharist*, and the first Step now made was a new Office for the Communion, and the Distribution of the Sacrament; which differ'd not much from what is still in Use, and was printed with a Proclamation, requiring all to receive it with such Reverence and Uniformity, as might encourage the King to proceed further. *Auricular Confession* was also examin'd, which being then us'd as a mere Trade, it was now thrown out of the Church, and private Confession was declar'd indifferent. After this a general Reformation of the whole Liturgy was under Consideration, that all the Nation might have an Uniformity in the Worship of God, and be no more content'd to the several Uses of distinct Dioceses. It was resolv'd to have a Liturgy, as might bring the Divine Worship to a fit Medium, between the Pomp of Superstition, and a naked Flatness: And it was resolv'd to have nothing chang'd meerly in Opposition to receiv'd Practices, but rather in Imitation of what Christ did, in the Institution of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, that consisted of Rites us'd among the *Jews*, but bless'd by him to higher Purposes, to comply with what had been formerly in use, as much as was possible, thereby to gain the People. It was also resolv'd to have the whole Worship in the vulgar Tongue; and the Morning and Evening Prayers were put almost in the same Method, in which they are still us'd, only there was no Confession or

A. D.
1548.
Reg. 2.

The Progress of the English Reformation.

Abso-

Absolution. The Liturgy thus compil'd, was publish'd with a Preface concerning Ceremonies; the same that is still in the Common-Prayer-Book, written with extraordinary Judgment and Temper. Of all these Ecclesiastical Transactions the Reader may see a large Account in Doctor *Burnet's* second Volume of *The History of the Reformation*.

*The Marquess
of Northamp-
ton's Divorce.*

The Affairs of State took up the Council, as much as the Matters of Religion imploy'd the Bishops; the War with *Scotland* became chargeable, and was supported from *France*, but the Sale of the Chantry Lands brought in some Money to the Council. About the same time Bishop *Gardiner*, who was lately releas'd from his Imprisonment, again rais'd some Disturbances against the Re-forming Preachers; for which, not without some Hardship, he was sent to the Tower. Another Accident also rais'd no small Disputes in the Court, which was the second Marriage of the Marquess of *Northampton*, which was try'd at this time, for his first Wife being convict of Adultery, he and she were separated. He had mov'd at the end of the late Reign, that he might be suffer'd to marry again; therefore a Commission was then granted, and was renew'd in the present Reign to some Delegates to examine what Relief might be given to the innocent Person in such a Case. But this being new, and *Cranmer* proceeding in it with his usual Exactness, which was often accompany'd with Slowness, the Marquess became impatient, and marry'd a second Wife. This gave Offence to the Council, who order'd them to be parted 'till the Delegates should give Sentence; which after famous Debates, and Consideration of all Arguments, was at length given in his Favour, and his second Marriage confirm'd. Yet four Years after, he was advis'd to have a special Act of Parliament for confirming this Sentence.

*Affairs in Scot-
land.*

The War with *Scotland* still continu'd, where being encourag'd by a great Supply from *France*, the Clergy could not be satisfy'd, 'till they had put all things out of their Power, by sending away their Queen into *France*, as was before-mention'd. The *English* had fortify'd *Haddington*, a *Scotch* Town well situated, and in a fruitful Country; upon which the Governor of *Scotland*, joining with the *French*, sat down before it; a great Recruit sent to the Garrison from *Berwick* was intercepted and cut off, but they were well supply'd with Ammunition and Provisions. Some Castles that the *English* had gain'd were taken by Surprize, and others by Treachery: A Fleet was sent to waste the Coast of *Scotland*, under the Admiral's Command; but he only made two Descents, in both which he had such ill Success, that he lost near twelve hundred Men. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* advanc'd with a considerable Army to the Relief of *Haddington*, broke up the Siege, and well supply'd the Place. But as *Dessy* the *French* General march'd back to *Edinburgh*, his Soldiers committed great Outrages upon the *Scots*, so that *Shrewsbury* might have taken great Advantages, since the *Scots* were so weary of their imperious Friends the *French*; but he march'd back, having perform'd his Commission. *Dessy* follow'd him, and made a great Inroad into *England*, but would not give the *Scots* any Share of the Spoil, and treated them in all Things as a conquer'd People; and being justly apprehensive of them, he fortify'd himself in *Leith*, which before was but an inconsiderable Village. He also attack'd the Fort which the *English* had in *Inchkeith*, and took it; but he was recall'd upon the loud Complaints that were sent to the Court of *France* against him. Now the People began to be sensible of their Slavery, and to detest those who had advis'd the sending their Queen to *France*, particularly the Clergy; and were by that the more dispos'd to hearken to such Preachers, as discover'd their Superstition and Corruptions. And thus ended this Year's War between *England* and *Scotland*, with a Mixture of good and bad Success. The *English* had preserv'd *Haddington*, but lost all Hopes of the Marriage, and were in danger of being engag'd in a War with *France*, at a time when the King's Affairs were in an ill Condition, his People divided and discontented at home, and his Treasure much exhausted by the present Expences. The

The Protector had us'd several Methods to bring the *Scots* to a ten Years Truce, but with no Effect; for he had now most unhappy Troubles rais'd in his own Family by the Ambition of his Brother the Admiral, who being also Uncle to the young King, expected to have still a larger Share in the Government. This aspiring Man had formerly made his Addresses to the Princess *Elizabeth* the King's Sister, but finding no hopes of Success, he made early Applications to King *Henry's* Queen Dowager, who comply'd with him a little undecently; for it was afterwards objected to him, that he marry'd her so soon after the King's Death, that if she had conceiv'd immediately after this Marriage, it might have been dubious whether it was by the late King or himself. Yet the Marriage was for some Time conceal'd, and the Admiral subtilly mov'd the King and his Sisters, to write to the Queen in his Favour: The Princesses excus'd themselves, that it was not proper for them to interpose in such a Matter; but he prevail'd upon the young King, and upon his Letter the Queen publish'd her Marriage. The Admiral being by this possess'd of great Wealth, and finding the King frequently repairing to the Queen's Lodgings, he endeavour'd to gain him, and all that were about him; and often took Occasion to furnish the King with small Sums of Mony. Having thus insinuated himself to the King's Acquaintance, his Design was this; that whereas, in former Times, when Infant Kings had two Uncles, one was Protector of the Realm, and the other Governor of his Person, so now these two Trusts might be divided, and that he might be made Governor of the King's Person. This is the most probable Foundation of the Breach between the unfortunate Brothers; for the vulgar Story of the Quarrel between their Wives about Precedence, seems an ill-grounded Fiction: For there was no Pretence of a Competition between the Queen Dowager and the Dutcheß of *Somerſet*; only the latter being of a most haughty Spirit, might probably inflame her Husband's Resentments, over whom she had an unreasonable Power, which gave rise to the Story, and to other Mischiefs. At first the Protector was easie to be reconcil'd to his Brother; but after the numerous Provocations he receiv'd from him, he too much threw off Nature. When he was in *Scotland*, the Admiral was daily forming a Party against him; and the good Advices given him by *Paget*, to treat such as Enemies as were making a Breach between them, had no Effect to cure a Mind impetuously hurry'd on by a fatal Ambition. During the last Session of Parliament the Admiral prevail'd with the King to write a Message with his own Hand to the House of Commons, to make him Governor of his Person; and when his Brother and his Friends endeavour'd to divert him from this Design, he declar'd, *That if he was cross'd in his Attempt, he would make this the blackest Parliament that ever was in England.* Upon this he was sent for to appear before the Council, but he refus'd to come; but when they threaten'd to turn him out of all his Places, and to send him to the Tower, he submitted, and he and his Brother seem'd perfectly reconcil'd.

The Parliament being broke up, in the Month of *September*, the Admiral's Wife, the Queen Dowager dy'd, not without Suspicion of Poison; upon which he boldly renew'd his Addresses to the Princess *Elizabeth*. But finding it vain to expect that his Brother and the Council would consent, and knowing that if she marry'd without their Consent, she would be excluded the Succession, he resolv'd to secure the King's Person, 'till he had made a sufficient Change in the Government. Accordingly he fortify'd his House in the Country, prepar'd Magazines, list'd great Numbers of Men, and openly complain'd *That his Brother design'd to enslave the Nation, and govern all*, and he also enter'd into a Treaty with several of the Nobility, who envy'd his Brother's Greatness, promising that they should be of the Council, and that he would dispose of the King in Marriage to one of their Daughters. The Protector employ'd many to divert him from these desperate Designs; but his restless Ambition being incurable, he was oblig'd to proceed to Extremities, and to send him Prisoner

Differences between the Protector and the Admiral his Brother.

The Admiral's Designs.

He is sent Prisoner to the Tower.

soner to the Tower, together with his Confederate *Sharington*, who being Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at *Bristol*, had supply'd him with Mony, and had coin'd much base Mony for his Use. Many were sent to persuade him to a better Temper of Mind, and his Brother was again willing to be reconcil'd to him, if he would retire from the Court and publick Business; but he was still violent and intractable. Upon which many Articles were drawn up against him, both of his Designs against the State, and of his Maleverfation in his Office, several Pirates having been entertain'd by him; and many Witnesses and Letters under his own Hand, were produc'd against him. The greatest Part of the Council went to the Tower, and examin'd him; but he refus'd to give any particular Answers, but declar'd he expected a fair and open Trial. The whole Council upon this, acquainted the young King with it, and desir'd him to refer the Matter to the Parliament then sitting; which he granted with a Caution and Respect becoming one of riper Years. Upon which some Counsellors were again sent to him to see what they could draw from him; but he shew'd a peculiar Sullenness, and after he had answer'd to three of the Articles, denying some Particulars, and excusing others, he refus'd to proceed any further.

He is intractable.

A D.

1549.

Reg. 3.

A Session of Parliament.

The old Parliament met in the latter End of the Year 48, but no Bills were finish'd before *February* following: The first was concerning the marry'd Clergy, which was finish'd by the Commons in six Days, but lay six Weeks before the Lords; nine Bishops and four Temporal Lords protesting against it. 'By it, it was declar'd that tho' it was better for Priests to live unmarried, and free from worldly Cares; yet since the Laws compelling it had occasion'd great Filthiness, and other Inconveniences, they were all repeal'd. Another Act pass'd, confirming the Liturgy, which was now finish'd; eight Bishops, and three Temporal Lords only protesting against it. There was a long Preamble, 'setting forth the Inconvenience of the former Offices, and the Pains taken to reform them; and that divers Bishops and Divines had, by the Aid of the Holy Ghost, with an uniform Agreement concluded on the new Book: 'Therefore it was Enacted, That all Divine Offices should be perform'd according to that; and whoever us'd other Offices, for the first Offence should suffer six Months Imprisonment, loss of Benefice for the second, and perpetual Imprisonment for the third. There was also another Act pass'd concerning Fasting, declaring, 'That tho' all Days and Meats were of themselves alike, yet Fasting, being a great Help to Virtue, and to the subduing the Body to the Mind, and a Distinction of Meats conducing to the Fishing Trade, it was Enacted, That *Lent*, and all *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, and *Ember Days* should be Fish-Days, under several Penalties, excepting to the Weak, or those that had the King's Licence. These and some other Things being pass'd, and Subsidies granted to the King, the Parliament was prorogu'd in *March* to *November*.

The Admiral attainted.

But what occasion'd as great Discourse as any Thing in this Parliament was the Attainder of the Admiral; which was begun in the House of Lords, who had been too much accusom'd to pass such Bills in the late Reign. All the Judges and the King's Council deliver'd their Opinions, that the Articles produc'd against him were Treason. When the Evidence was produc'd, many Lords gave it so fully, that all the rest with one Voice consented to the Bill; only the Protector, for the sake of natural Pity, desir'd Leave to withdraw. The Lords dispatch'd it in two Days; but in the House of Commons many argu'd against such unjust Attainders without a Trial, or bringing the Party to make his Answers. At length a Message was sent from the King, desiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun; and the Lords who had given Evidence against him in their own House, were sent down to the Commons. Upon which the Bill pass'd, and had shortly after the Royal Assent. On the seventeenth of *March* the Council sign'd a Warrant for his Execution, to which both

both the Lord Protector, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, set their Hands. And on the twentieth he was beheaded on Tower-Hill; but we find not his Behaviour on the Scaffold, only that he declar'd, *That he had never committed, or meant any Treason against the King or Kingdom.* Thus fell *Thomas Lord Seymour*, Lord High-Admiral of *England*; a Man of high Thoughts, of great Violence of Temper, and unmeasurably aspiring; so, as other ambitious Men, he was like a Bubble, which is swell'd by every small Breath, and broken by every great Blast. This Execution caus'd divers Censures, particularly against the Protector, who set his Hand to the Warrant; for the popular Notion, of its being against Nature for one Brother to destroy another, was easily entertain'd by the Multitude, who could not penetrate into the Mysteries of State. Then the Attainting of a Man without hearing him, was condemn'd as contrary to natural Justice; so that the Protector lost one who could have been a mighty Prop, and suffer'd almost as much by his Death, as he could have done by his Life.

He is beheaded.

III. The Protector having now lost the chief Support of his House, design'd to repair that Ruin, by erecting a magnificent Palace. Accordingly he cast his Eyes upon a Piece of Ground in the *Strand*, on which stood one Parish-Church and three Episcopal Houses; the former dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and the latter belonging to the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Litchfield* and *Landaff*: All which he assum'd into his Hands without any great Opposition. Having clear'd the Place and projected the intended Fabrick, the Workmen found that more Materials would be wanting to finish it, than the demolish'd Churches and Houses could afford. He therefore resolv'd to take down the Parish-Church of *St. Margaret's* in *Westminster*, and appointed a particular Portion of the Abby-Church to be mark'd out for the Use of the Parishoners. But in this his Workmen were prevented by an Insurrection of the Multitude, who finally discourag'd the Undertaking. In the next Place he was inform'd of some superfluous, or rather superstitious Buildings about *St. Paul's*, as a regular Cloyster with a Chappel, and a fair Charnel House, and another Chappel belonging to it. This was conceiv'd to be a safer Undertaking, while the Churchmen continu'd to be little better than Tenants at Will; and thereupon he employ'd his Workmen to take all down, and convert the Stone, Timber, Lead and Iron, to the use of his intended Palace, leaving the Bones of the dead Bodies to be bury'd in the Fields. But all this not being sufficient for his Work, the Steeple, and the greatest Part of the Church of *St. John's* of *Jerusalem*, not far from *Smithfield*, a beautiful Building, was pull'd down, and the Stone employ'd to the same Purpose. Such was the Ground, and such were the Materials of the Duke's new Palace, call'd *Somerset-House*; which either he liv'd not to finish, or else it must be unaccountably strange, that after the demolishing of two Churches, two Chappels, and three Episcopal Houses, to build one Palace, there should be no particular Room erected for Religious Offices.

The Building of Somerset-House.

As this Year began, so it proceeded; in which nothing more was to be found than Troubles, Commotions and Disquiets, both in Church and State. For about this Time there started up a sort of Men, call'd by the Name of *Gospellers*, who held peculiar Notions as to Punishments and God's Providence, and making God the Author of Evil. And at the same Time the *Anabaptists* from *Germany* began to vent their Opinions in *England*, which were not only a Denial of Infant Baptism, but also of the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, and other Heretical Principles. For the stifling of this Mischief, some of the Principal of them were conven'd before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and other Divines and Civilians; and being convicted of their Errors, some of them were dismiss'd only with Admonition, some sentenc'd to a Recantation, and others condemn'd to bear their Faggots at *St. Paul's Cross*. But

Variety of Opinions in Religion.

they proceeded further with one *Joan Bocher*, commonly call'd *Joan of Kent*, who deny'd the Incarnation of Christ; and being unmeasurably vain and conceited of her Notions, she scornfully rejected all Instructions that were offer'd her. Upon which she was condemn'd as an obstinate Heretick, and deliver'd to the secular Power; but it was very difficult to persuade the tender King to sign the Warrant for her Execution: He thought it an Instance of the same Spirit of Cruelty, for which the Reformers condemn'd the Papists; and that it was unreasonable to burn a Person for some wild Opinions, especially when they seem'd to flow from a disturb'd Brain. But *Cranmer* persuaded him that being God's Lieutenant, he was oblig'd to punish direct Blasphemers, according to the Laws of *Moses*. This rather silenc'd than satisfy'd the young King; who sign'd the Warrant with Tears in his Eyes, and told the Arch-Bishop, *That since he resign'd himself to his Judgment, if he sinn'd it should lye at his Door*. This sensibly struck the Arch-Bishop; and both he and *Ridley* took her to their Houses, and try'd how far Reason, join'd with Gentleness, could prevail. But being still more insolent, at last she was burnt, and ended her Life with such indecent Jeers and Reproaches, that she was thought a Person more fit for a dark Chamber than a Stake. Afterwards a *Dutchman*, nam'd *George van Parre*, was also condemn'd and burnt, for denying the Divinity of our Saviour, who was a Man of exemplary Piety, and suffer'd with great Composedness of Mind. These Things cast a great Blemish upon the Reformers, who were said to condemn Cruelty only when it was exercis'd on themselves; and the Papists made great use of this in the next Reign; and when *Cranmer* and *Ridley* suffer'd, it was thought a just Retaliation upon them, by that Providence that does Justice to all Mankind.

Great Tumults
about Inclo-
sures.

At this Time a sort of Contagion of Rage and Violence ran over all the Commons of *England*: The Nobility and Gentry finding more Advantage by the Trade of Wool than by their Corn, did generally inclose their Grounds, and turn them to Pasture; and so kept but few Servants, and took large Portions of their Estates into their own Hands. Yet still the Numbers of the People increas'd, since Marriage was allow'd to all; and the Abrogation of many Holy-Days, and the putting down of Pilgrimages, gave them also more Time to work. By these Means the Commons were under terrible Apprehensions, and fear'd to be reduc'd to great Misery. Some propos'd a sort of *Aggrarian* Law, for regulating this threatening Inconvenience; and the King himself wrote a Discourse about it, that there might be some Equality in the Division of the Soil among the Tenants. The Protector, being naturally just and compassionate, was a great Friend to the Commons, and much complain'd of the Oppression of the Landlords. There was therefore a Commission issu'd out, to enquire concerning Inclosures and Farms, and whether those who purchas'd the Abbey Lands, and were oblig'd to keep up Hospitality, perform'd it, or not; and what Incouragement they gave to Husbandry. This having but little Effect, the Commons rose in most Parts of the Nation, but chiefly in the Inland Counties; but they were easily dispers'd, with a Promise that their Grievances should be redress'd. The Protector, contrary to the Council's Opinion, set out a Proclamation against all new Inclosures, and for indemnifying the People for what was past. Commissioners were also sent into most Counties, to hear and determine all Complaints; but the Power that was given to them was so arbitrary, that the Landlords call'd it an Invasion of Property, when their Rights were thus subjected to the Pleasure of such Men. The Commons understanding that the Protector was so favourable to them, soon fell into greater Outrages than ever: Insomuch it was afterwards objected to him, that the Convulsions of *England* were chiefly owing to his ill Conduct; in which he was the more blam'd because he acted against the Opinion of the Majority of the Council.

The most dangerous Commotions, which continu'd so long, as to gain the Name of Rebellions, were those of *Devonshire* and *Norfolk*; Counties remote from each other, but such as seem'd to have communicated Counsels, for carrying on the Design. The first was in *Devonshire*, where the Insurrection was very formidable, the Superstition of the Priests joining with the Rage of the People; so that they soon became ten thousand strong. The Lord *Russett* at first was sent against them with a small Force, and was order'd to try if he could compose the Disturbance without Bloodshed; but *Arundel*, a Man of Quality, commanding the Rebels, they prov'd not a loose Body of Men, easily dissipated. They boldly sent their Demands to the Court, ' That the old Service and Ceremonies might be restor'd; That the Act of the *Six Articles*, and the Decrees of General Councils might again be in Force; That the Bible in *English* might be call'd in; That Preachers should pray for the Souls in Purgatory; That Cardinal *Pool* should be restor'd; That half the Abby Lands should be restor'd, to found two Abbies in every County, and that Gentle-men of a hundred Marks a Year should have but one Servant: And they desir'd a safe Conduct for their chief Leaders, in order to redress their particular Grievances: Afterwards they moderated their Demands, only to Points of Religion. Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* wrote a large Answer to these, ' shewing the Novelties and Superstition of those Rites and Ceremonies, and of the whole Way of Worship of which they were so fond: That the Amendments and Alterations had been made according to the Scriptures, and the Customs of the Primitive Church; and their being fond of a Worship they did not understand, and desirous to be kept still in Ignorance without the Scriptures, shew'd that their Priests had a greater Influence over them, than the common Reason of all Mankind: As for the *Six Articles*, that Act had never pass'd if the King had not gone in Person to the Parliament, and argu'd for it; yet he soon saw his Error, and was slack in executing it. After that there was a high threatening Answer sent them in the King's Name, condemning them for their Rebellion, and blind Obedience to their Priests: In which, the King's Authority under Age was largely set forth; because the Pretence of the King's Minority caus'd the People in general to believe, that their Insurrection was no Rebellion. In Conclusion, ' They were earnestly invited to the King's Mercy, as others had done, whom the King had not only pardon'd, but had redress'd their just Grievances.

A Rebellion in Devonshire, commended by Arundel.

But this giving no Satisfaction, the Rebels march'd with all their Forces to besiege *Exeter*; carrying before them in their March the consecrated Host, born under a Canopy, with Crosses, Banners, Candlesticks, and other Utenfils. But all these had no Effect upon the Citizens, who were no less gallantly resolv'd to make good the Town, than the other were desperately bent to force it. To which Resolution of the Citizens, the natural Defences of the City gave not more Incouragement, than some insolent Speeches of the Rebels, boasting, *That they would shortly measure all the Silks and Sattens in it, by the Length of their Bows*. They set Fire to the Gates, and wrought Mines, but all to no Effect; at length they resolv'd to try how far Famine would prevail, and after many Days Siege, they reduc'd the Citizens to great Extremities. They were forc'd to feed upon Horses, especially for twelve Days; during which Time, they were encourag'd by an Aged Citizen, who brought out all his Stores, and declar'd, *That he would eat one Arm, and fight with the other, before he would yield to the Seditious*. After they were reduc'd to these Necessities, the Lord *Russett* with his small Army resolv'd to attack the Rebels; who had possess'd themselves of a Bridge behind him, both to surround him, and to hinder others from joining him: But he suddenly march'd back, and soon beat them from the Bridge with the Loss of six hundred of their Men; by which Attempt he perceiv'd how easie a Work it would be to disperse them. Shortly after the Lord *Gray*, and *Spinola*, commanding some *Germans*, join-

The Rebels besiege Exeter.

ing him, he proceeded to raise the Siege of *Exeter*. They had block'd up the Ways, and left two thousand Men to keep a Bridge, where the King's Forces were to pass; but the Lord *Russel* bravely broke through them, and kill'd about a thousand of them; upon which they were forc'd to raise the Siege and retire to *Lanceston*. Having pursu'd them with new Slaughter, the Lord *Russel* enter'd the City of *Exeter* on the sixth of *August*, where he was joyfully receiv'd by the half starv'd Citizens; whose Loyalty the King rewarded with an Encrease of Privileges, and the Manor of *Eviland*. This very Day has been ever since observ'd amongst them for an annual Feast, in perpetual Gratitude to God, for their happy Deliverance. *Arundel*, and the rest of the Heads, were taken and executed; and the Vicar of *St. Thomas*, a principal Incendiary, was hang'd on the Top of his own Tower, in his *Popish* Attire, and his Beads at his Girdle. And thus was the Rebellion happily suppress'd in the West, to the great Honour of the Lord *Russel*, who finish'd it with little or no Loss.

They are total-
ly suppress'd.

Another Rebel-
lion, Nor-
folk under Ket
a Tanner.

The Rebels
incamp before
Norwich.

In the mean Time the *Norfolk* Rebellion broke out, on the twentieth Day of *June*, beginning at a Place call'd *Attleborough*; but was not considerable either for Power or Numbers, 'till the sixth of *July*; when it was greatly increas'd by *Robert Ket* a Tanner of *Windham*, who undertook to lead the Multitude. These Men at first pretended only against Inclosures, and Religion seem'd to be kept as a Reserve; but when their Numbers were greatly increas'd, their Insolence was such, as nothing would satisfy them, but the total Suppression of the Gentry, the placing of new Counsellors about the King, and other Things to be done in favour of the old Religion. Concerning which they made large Remonstrances both to the King and People. The Sheriff of the County came boldly to them, and requir'd them in the King's Name to disperse and go home; but had he not been well mounted, they would have put him to a cruel Death. After this they march'd directly towards *Norwich*, and possess'd themselves of *Moushold-Hill*; which gave them a full Prospect over, and a compleat Command upon that large City, where they had many Friends. To this Place great Numbers resorted out of *Suffolk* as well as *Norfolk*, many for Want, and many upon a turbulent Mind and a weak Notion of *Levelling the World*; and in all Parts Beacons were fir'd and Bells rung, to promote the Insurrection; so that in a short Time the Multitude increas'd to twenty thousand, which were rather to be esteem'd a Number than an Army. Their Companies rang'd through all the neighbouring Parts, and took what Goods they thought fit; and besides Deer out of Parks, they brought such Quantities of Beasts and Provisions, that a fat Sheep was sold for four Pence. This was interpreted as a present Plenty, but it afterwards made such a Scarcity, as could not be repair'd in several Years. Their Actions were disguis'd with the usual Coverings in Time of Rebellion, which were Religion and Justice: For the former they had one *Coniers* for their Chaplain, an idle vicious Person, who Morning and Evening read Prayers to them, and often Preach'd. But Doctor *Parker*, afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, coming to Preach before them, so fully laid open their notorious Impieties, that he was in Danger of his Life. As for Justice, *Ket* assum'd to himself the Power of Judicature, and in Imitation of the ancient *Druids*, under an old Oak, since call'd *The Oak of Reformation*, together with two of each Hundred in the County, did such Justice as might be expected from such a Judge, and in such a Camp.

The Marquess
of Northampton
was sent
against them.

The Marquess of *Northampton* was sent against them, but with Orders to keep at a Distance from them, and to cut off their Provisions; for it was hop'd that without much Bloodshed, they might in Time be reduc'd. But at the same Time there was an Insurrection in *Yorkshire*, the Commons being further encourag'd by a Prophecy, That there should be no King nor Nobility in *England*, that the Kingdom should be rul'd by four Governors chosen by the Commons, who should hold a Parliament in Motion, to begin at the South and North Seas; which they apply'd to the *Devonshire* Men on the South Seas;

and

and to themselves on the North Seas. They at their first Rising fir'd Beacons, and so gather'd the Country as if it had been for the Defence of the Coasts; and meeting two Gentlemen and two others, they without Provocation murder'd them, and left their naked Bodies in the Road. At the same Time the French King resolv'd to take Advantage of these Commotions, and to regain the Town of *Boloign*: Three Days before he march'd with his Army, the English Ambassador pressing him upon the Intimations that were given him of his Designs, he assur'd him, *On the Faith of a Gentleman, he would not begin a War, till he had first given Warning*: But many Princes reckon it a Part of their Prerogative, to be exempted from such Obligations as bind poor Subjects. All these Misfortunes falling upon the Government at once, it may easily be imagin'd that the Council was under no small Consternation. Therefore a solemn Fast was proclaim'd at Court, where Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* preach'd with a true Christian Freedom and Vehemence. This was the more seasonable, because the Marquess of *Northampton* was at this Time unsuccessful in *Norfolk*; for having eleven hundred Men with him, he did not strictly observe his Orders, but enter'd the City of *Norwich*. The Rebels rejoic'd at an Occasion to engage with him, and fell in upon him the next Day with great Fury; and the Place not being tenable, he was forc'd to quit it, with the Slaughter of a hundred of his Men, among whom was the Lord *Sheffield*, who was much lamented. The Rebels also took about thirty Prisoners, fir'd great Part of the City, and return'd in Triumph to their Camp.

The French take Advantage.

This being understood at Court, the Protector suffer'd his most dangerous Enemy the valiant Earl of *Warwick*, to march against the Rebels with six thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, that were prepar'd for an Expedition to *Scotland*. He with difficulty enter'd the City of *Norwich*, but was scarce able to defend it, nor was he well assur'd of the Inhabitants. But he entertain'd the Rebels with frequent Skirmishes, and so cut off their Provisions, that having wasted all the Country about them, they forsook the Hill, and retir'd to a Place call'd *Dussing-Dale*, where by a Prophecy they expected great Success. Here they came to a Battel, where the Rebels plac'd in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken Prisoners, designing that they should be first slain; but the brave Earl of *Warwick* so manag'd his Men, that without any great Hurt to the Gentlemen, he defeated the Rebels with the Death of above two thousand of them. And now again the Earl offer'd them Pardon, if they would submit; but notwithstanding all their Losses, they continu'd still obstinate. At last, the Earl sent to know, if they would accept of a Pardon, if he should come in Person to offer it to them: This so sensibly mov'd them, that they answer'd, *They knew him to be so honourable, that from himself they would embrace it*. Whereupon the Earl riding to them, and causing their Pardon to be read, they threw away their Arms, and cry'd *Long live King Edward*! The Principals of them were taken and deservedly executed: *Robert Ket* was hang'd in Chains upon *Norwich* Castle, and his Brother *William* upon the Top of the high Church-Tower of *Windham*: Nine of his chief Followers were hang'd on as many Bows of the *Oak of Reformation*, where *Ket* held his Courts; of whom two were Seducing Prophets, and one a most excellent Canonier, who had done extraordinary Service to the Rebels. This great Deliverance was celebrated in the City of *Norwich* by a publick Thanksgiving, on the twenty second Day of *August*, which has been since annually observ'd. The Rebels in *Yorkshire*, who were no more than three thousand in Number, hearing of this Success, accepted of the Pardon that was sent them; only some few of the Ringleaders, continuing obstinate, were executed at *York*. After this, the Protector publish'd a general Pardon, in the King's Name, of all that had been done, with some few Exceptions; tho' many of the Council oppos'd it, as Mercy too profuse, judging it better to keep the Commons under the Lash; but the Protector and his Friends thought, that in this Case Fear was

The Earl of Warwick sent against the Norfolk Rebels.

He defeats them.

The Rebels in all Parts are quieted.

a greater Cause of Disorders than Impunity. Thus was *England* deliver'd from one of the most threatening Storms that had broke out for many Years; in which Deliverance the singular Prudence and Temper of the Protector seems to have had no small Share.

*The English
unsuccessful
abroad.*

The *English* Affairs in Foreign Parts were very unsuccessful this Year; for when *England* was so distracted at home, it was no wonder if the *French* and *Scots* took what Advantages they could. Most of the Forts about *Boloign* were taken by the *French*; but those who commanded them, for their Excuse alledg'd they were ill provided; yet *Thuanus* says they were all well stor'd. From these they came and fate down before *Boloign*, with their King in Person; and tho' the Plague broke out in the *French* Camp, yet the Siege was not rais'd; but the King left the Army under the Command of *Coligny*, the famous Admiral of *France*. He found the only Way to take the Place was to cut it off from Sea, and so to keep out all Supplies; in order to which he design'd to have sunk a Gally full of Stones and Gravel in it; but this and several other Attempts prov'd unsuccessful. The Winter coming on, compell'd him to raise the Siege; but he lodg'd the greatest Part of his Army in the adjacent Forts, so that the Town was in danger of being lost the next Year. In *Scotland* there was also a great Turn; the Castle of *Broughty* was taken by the *Scots*, and the Garrison almost intirely cut off. The *English* took particular Care of *Haddington*, to supply it well, expecting a Siege, upon which the *Scots* desisted from attacking it; yet the Charge of keeping it was so great, and the neighbouring Country so wasted, that it was necessary to send all their Provisions from *Berwick*: So that the Protector thought it more advisable to abandon it; and upon that sent Orders to the Garrison to demolish the Works, and return into *England*. So that now the *English* had no Place beyond the Borders but *Lauder*; and *Thermes* the *French* General fate down before that, and if a Peace had not been concluded, it would have fallen into his Hands.

*Several Expedients
propos'd.*

Affairs being in this Disorder both at home and abroad, the Protector had nothing to depend on, but the Emperor's Aid; who was so dissatisfy'd with the Changes made in Religion, that much was not to be expected from him. At this Time the Emperor brought his Son *Philip* into the *Netherlands*, that he might put him in Possession of those Provinces; where he settled several Limitations both as to Civil and Military Power, and made a special Provision, that in Case his Son should break these Rules, the Provinces should not be oblig'd to obey him any longer: Which was the chief Ground both in Law and Conscience, upon which they afterwards justify'd their shaking off his Yoke. The Emperor was now Master of the Princes of *Germany*, who saw no Way to recover their Liberty but by the Assistance of the *French* King; therefore Applications were made to him, which were chearfully receiv'd, only he was resolv'd first to make himself Master of *Boloign*, and then to turn his whole Force towards *Germany*. Advertisements were given of this to the Protector, who thereupon enter'd into a deep Consultation with his Friends what was proper to be done in so critical a Conjuncture; whether it was better to deliver up *Boloign* to the *French* by a Treaty, or to engage in a War to preserve it, which would not only be vastly expensive, but highly dangerous in these unsettled Times. He himself was inclin'd to deliver up *Boloign*; but his Enemies, who were a Majority in the Council, saw the Continuance of the War like to ruin him, whereas a general Peace would put the whole Nation into his Hands; therefore they set themselves against all Motions for a Treaty, declaring that the Sale of such a Place as *Boloign* would be a lasting Reproach to the Government. Many considerable Arguments were us'd on both Sides; and the Issue of their Consultations was the sending over Sir *William Paget* to the Emperor, to learn what might be expected from him. His publick Instructions were some superficial Matters relating to former Treaties and Trade; but his secret Instructions were to see whether the Emperor would include *Boloign* in the Defensive League, and so protect it; or whether he would take it into his Hands, and what

*The Emperor
refuses his Aid.*

what Recompence he would give for it; the Emperor long shifted him off with Delays and Pretences of great Business, and at last would give him no satisfactory Answer as to *Boloign*: So he was oblig'd to return home, and give an Account of his Negotiation to a divided Council.

Upon this ill Success the Protector found that his Power was in a declining Condition. But to finish this perplexing Affair, it was propos'd in Council, Whether since *Boloign* by a former Treaty was to be deliver'd up within a few Years, it were not better to prevent a new War and a Siege, where the Issue was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a Treaty for doing it immediately; and at the same Time, whether it were not more advisable to finish the War with *Scotland*, since there was no Possibility of compassing the Marriage, for which it was first begun. Upon this Motion, all the Protector's Enemies took off the Mask, and declar'd themselves against it. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Warwick* were chief of the Party; the one hated him for turning him out of his Office, and the other expected to be the principal Man in Business, if he should be remov'd. Various Things concurr'd to raise the Protector many Enemies: His Partiality to the Commons provok'd the Gentry; his cutting off his Brother's Head, and his Palace in the *Strand*, sacrilegiously erected in the Time both of War and Plague, disgusted the People. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the Changes made in Religion, but for his enjoying so many of the Bishop's best Manors: His entertaining Foreign Troops, both *Germans* and *Italians*, tho' done by the Consent of Council, yet gave a general Dislike: And the high Station he had obtain'd, wrought much on himself and others; raising the Pride of the former, and the Envy of the latter. The Privy-Counsellors complain'd, that he was become so Arbitrary in his Proceedings, that he scarcely regarded the Opposition made by the Majority to any of his Designs. All these Particulars concurr'd to beget him many Enemies; and except the generous *Cranmer*, who never forsook his Friend, and *Paget* and *Smith*, all turn'd against him, and violently oppos'd his Proposition for a Treaty with *France*. They also complain'd that the Places about *Boloign* were lost by his Carelessness, and Neglect of well furnishing them, and that he had recall'd the Garrison out of *Haddington*. They put him in mind of the Conditions, upon which he was first made Protector, by which he was limited to act nothing without their Advice; tho' he had since that taken out a Patent, which invested him with far greater Power. Then they charg'd him with ordering *Paget* to procure no better Answer from the Emperor, that he might be furnish'd with an Excuse for a dishonourable Treaty with *France*. Thus all the Month of *September* there were great Heats in the Council, when several interpos'd to no Effect; for the Faction against him was now so strong, that they resolv'd to strip him of his exorbitant Greatness, and reduce him to an Equality with themselves.

Upon these Animosities, the Protector carry'd the King to *Hampton-Court*, and put many of his own Creatures about him, which increas'd the former jealousies; therefore nine of the Privy-Council met at *Ely House*, and assum'd to themselves the Name and Authority of the Council; and Secretary *Petre* being sent by the King, to demand the Reason of their Meeting, instead of returning, join'd himself to them. They made a large Declaration of the Protector's Male-Administration and dangerous Designs, and of his engaging the King to sign Letters for raising of Men, and for dispersing seditious Papers; therefore they resolv'd to provide for the Safety of the King and Kingdom. Both the City of *London*, and the Lieutenants of the Tower declar'd for them; and they also sent Letters all over *England*, desiring the Assistance of the Nobility and Gentry. They were join'd by seven more Privy-Counsellors; and all wrote to the King 'Complaining of the Protector's Obstinacy, and his refusing to hearken to their Counsels, tho' the late King had left the Government of his Person and Kingdom to them in common, and the Protector was advanc'd

A Faction against the Protector.

Which turns to a publick Branch.

Great Heats.

‘ to that Dignity over them, upon the Conditions which he had little regarded; ‘ therefore they desir’d that the King would make a good Construction of their ‘ Intentions and Proceedings. The Protector had remov’d the King from *Hampton-Court*, as being an open Place, to *Windsor*, which had some better Defence about it; and had arm’d some of his own Servants, and plac’d them about the King’s Person, which still increas’d the former Jealousies; yet seeing himself abandon’d by most of his Friends, and finding the Party against him so formidable, that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offer’d to submit himself to the Council. Accordingly a Proposition of a Treaty was set on Foot; and the Lords at *London* were desired to send two of their Number with their Propositions, and a Passport was sent them for their Safety. *Cranmer*, *Paget* and *Smith* wrote to the Council, to dispose them to an Agreement, ‘ and not to follow *cruel Counsels*. Many false Reports, as is usual in all such Occasions, were carry’d of the Protector, as if he had threaten’d, that if they design’d to put him to Death, the King should die first; which serv’d to improve their Prejudices against him. The Council wrote to *Cranmer* and *Paget*, ‘ Charging them to look well to the King’s Person, that he should not be ‘ remov’d from *Windsor*, and that the Duke of *Somerset*’s Servants might be ‘ remov’d from his Presence, and his own sworn Servants admitted to wait; ‘ protesting also that they would proceed with all Moderation and Favour that ‘ was possible towards the Duke of *Somerset*.

The Protector’s
Fall.

The Council understanding that all Things were prepar’d, as they had desir’d, first sent three of their Number, to take care that the Protector, and some of his Favourites, *Smith*, *Stanhope*, *Thynne*, *Wolf* and *Cecil* should be confin’d to their Lodgings; and on the twelfth of *October* the whole Council went to *Windsor*, and made great Protestations of their Duty to the King, which he receiv’d favourably, and assur’d them he took all they had acted in the best Sense. The Protector, with the rest of his Friends, except *Cecil*, were sent to the Tower, and many Articles were drawn up against him, ‘ That he being ‘ Protector, with this Condition, that he should act nothing, but by the Consent of the other Executors, had separately treated with Ambassadors; had ‘ made Bishops and Lord-Lieutenants without their Knowledge; had held ‘ a *Court of Requests* in his House; had embas’d the Coin of the Nation; ‘ had neglected the Places the King had in *France*; had encourag’d the Com- ‘ mons in their late Insurrections, and had given out Commissions, and proclaim’d a Pardon without their Consent: That he had animated the King ‘ against the rest of the Council, and had proclaim’d them Traitors; and had ‘ put his own Servants armed about the King’s Person. And thus fell the Duke of *Somerset* from his high Offices and great Trust; but it appears by the Articles that what was charg’d upon him were rather Errors and Infirmities, than notorious Crimes, such as are incident to all who are suddenly exalted to a disproportion’d Greatness. He was not charg’d with Cruelty, Rapine or Bribery, or yet Sacrilege; and his embasing the Coin was done upon a common Mistake of weak Governments, which in the Necessity of Affairs usually fly to that as their last Refuge. He bore his Fall more equally than he had done his Prosperity; and in his Imprisonment, he set himself to the Study of moral Philosophy and Divinity, and wrote a Preface to a Book of Patience, which had noble Impressions upon his Mind. However his Fall was a great Affliction to all who lov’d the Reformation; which was increas’d by the apprehensions they had of the two chief Men of the Party against him, *Southampton* and *Warwick*; the one a known Papist, and the other esteem’d as a Man of no Religion: And both at the Emperor’s Court, and in *France*, it was expected, that upon this Revolution, Matters of Religion would be reduced back to the same Posture, in which King *Henry* had left them. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and Bishop *Gardiner*, now hop’d to be set at Liberty; and *Bonner*, who for his Principles and Disobedience had this Year been depriv’d of his Bishop-

The Popish
Party are elevated.

Bishoprick, expected to be re-establish'd; and all the People began much to decline from the Use of the new Service. But the Earl of *Warwick*, finding the King so zealously addicted to the Reformation, as nothing could more recommend a Man than that, soon forsook the Popish Party, and appear'd a mighty Promoter of that Work. Upon this the Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great Discontent: He was neither restor'd to his Office of Chancellor, nor made Lord Treasurer, nor one of the Six who had the Charge of the King's Person, as he expected. Therefore he began to lay a Train against the Earl of *Warwick*, who being too quick for him, he retir'd, and not long after dy'd, by the Force of Poison or Grief.

In *November*, a Session of Parliament met; in which an Act was pass'd, declaring it Treason to call any to the Number of twelve together, about any Matter of State, if being requir'd, they did not disperse themselves: Other Riotous Assemblies were also declar'd Felonious; and the giving out of Prophecies concerning the King, or Council, was also made penal. Another Law was made against Vagabonds, the former Statute was repeal'd, as too severe, and Provisions were made for the Relief of the Sick and Impotent, and employing such as were able to Work. The Bishops made a great Complaint, of the Growth of Vice and Impiety, and that their Power was so much abridg'd, that they could not suppress it: Therefore a Bill was read, enlarging their Authority, which tho' great, was at length so moderated, that the Lords pass'd it. But the Commons rejected it; and instead of that, sent up a Bill, that empower'd thirty two, who were to be nominated by the King, the one half of the Spirituality, and the other of the Temporality, to compile a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws, within the Compass of three Years; and that those, not being contrary to the Common or Statute Law, and approv'd by the King, should have the Force of Ecclesiastical Laws: Of the thirty two, four were to be Bishops, and as many to be common Lawyers. Six Bishops and six Divines were also empower'd by an Act to prepare a new Form of Ordination, which being confirm'd under the Great Seal should take place after *April* following. On the second of *January*, a Bill was brought in against the Duke of *Somerset*, containing the Articles formerly mention'd, with a Confession of them, sign'd by his own Hand. But some objected, that they ought not to proceed, till they knew whether his signing of it was voluntary or not: Accordingly some were sent to examine him, to whom he acknowledg'd that he had done it freely, but protested that his Errors had flow'd rather from Indiscretion than Malice, and positively deny'd all treasonable Designs against the King or the Realm. Upon which he was fin'd in two thousand Pounds a Year, and in the Loss of all his Offices and Goods. He complain'd of the great Weight of this Censure, and earnestly begg'd to be restor'd to the King's Favour, and promis'd for the future to carry himself so humbly and obedient, as should make full Amends for his past Follies: All which was thought by some to be the Sign of an abject Spirit; tho' others excus'd it, for that the Power and Malice of his Enemies was so predominant, that he could not be safe, while he continu'd a Prisoner. He was discharg'd in the Beginning of *February*; shortly after he had his Pardon, and did so manage his Interest with the King, his Nephew, that he was brought both to the Court and Council in *April*. And thus the Storm pass'd over him more gently than was expected; but his Carriage in it was thought to have so little of the *Heroe*, that after this he was never much consider'd.

A Session of Parliament.

The Protector fin'd.

And restor'd to Favour.

IV. After this Disturbance and Confusion was over, the Reformation was again carry'd on with great Vigour. The Council sent Orders over all *England*, to require all to conform to the new Service, and to call in all the Books of the old Offices. To give a more publick Declaration of their Zeal, an Act pass'd in Parliament to the same Effect; by which all the old Books and Images were appointed to be defac'd, and all Prayers to Saints were to be struck out.

A. D. 1550. Reg. 4.

Cardinal Pool
chosen Pope, but
lost it.

out of the Primers publish'd by the late King. A Subsidy was granted, and the King gave a general Pardon, out of which all State Prisoners and Anabaptists were excepted. In this Session it is observ'd, that the eldest Sons of Peers were first allow'd to sit in the House of Commons. The Committee appointed to prepare the Book of Ordination, finish'd their Work with common Consent; only *Heath* Bishop of *Worcester* refus'd to sign it, for which he was imprison'd by Order of Council. While the Reformation thus succeeded in *England*, Pope *Paul* dy'd; and Cardinal *Pool*, the grand Enemy to the Work, for his great Services and Sufferings was elected Pope, in the Night Time. He did by no means aspire to this Dignity; so that when a full Number had agreed, and came according to Custom to adore him, he receiv'd it with his usual Coldness, and said, *God lov'd Light*, advising them to defer the Matter 'till the Morning. The *Italians*, among whom Ambition passes for Greatness of Mind, look'd on this as an unsufferable Piece of Dulness and Stupidity; upon which the Cardinals thrunk from him before Day, and chose *de Monte* to be Pope, who reign'd by the Name of *Julius* the Third. The first Promotion he made was very extraordinary, for he gave his own Cardinal's Hat, to a Servant that kept his Monkey; and being ask'd what he observ'd in him to make him Cardinal, he answer'd, *As much as the Cardinals had seen in him to make him Pope.*

A Treaty with
France.

At this Time the Council was daily perplex'd concerning the Affair of *Boloign*; and tho' they had oppos'd the Surrender of it by the Protector, yet that great End being serv'd in pulling him down, they were convinc'd of the Necessity of doing of it, and so were induc'd to hearken to the Proposition that one *Guidotti*, an *Italian*, made for a Treaty. He was imploy'd by the Constable *Monmorancy*, and gave them Assurances, that as soon as that was effected, the *French* King would ingage in favour of the oppress'd Princes of the Empire. For this End Ambassadors were sent over to *France*, the Lord *Ruffel*, and *Paget* now made a Lord, with some others, to settle the Treaty of Peace. They were order'd in the first Place to demand the Delivery of the *Scotch* Queen, and the Payment of the perpetual Tribute or Pension from *France* to *England*: But the *French* refus'd to treat upon these Heads; their Master design'd to marry the *Scotch* Queen to the *Dauphine*, and would not be so tributary to another Prince as to pay a perpetual Pension; but they offer'd a particular Sum of Mony for *Boloign*. Some Difficulties were rais'd about demolishing the Fortifications in *Aldernay* and *Sark*, two small Islands in the Channel which the *French* expected; and about the Surrender of *Roxburgh* and *Aymouth* to the *Scots*, then in the Hands of the *English*. The Council order'd the Commissioners to insist upon these Particulars, and to offer to break the Negotiation rather than yield to them; but if that had no Effect upon the *French*, then they were to drop them as honourably as they could. In Conclusion, the *English*, after a special Protestation, by which they reserv'd to their King all the Rights he had at the Beginning of the War, agreed to deliver up *Boloign*, and all the Places about it, with all the Ordinance in it, except what the *English* had cast; for all which the *French* were to pay four hundred thousand Crowns, each amounting to the Value of an *English* Noble. Likewise all the Places which the *English* held in *Scotland* were to be deliver'd up, and the Fortifications demolish'd; and six Hostages were to be dispos'd on both Sides for the Performance of Articles, who were the Sons of Men of the highest Quality. Thus was the Peace fully concluded; and the Articles were exactly perform'd on both Sides. The Council all approv'd of the Proceedings of their Plenipotentiaries; only the high Earl of *Warwick*, who had violently declared himself against the Delivery of *Boloign*, pretended Sickness, and absented himself when the Peace was proclaim'd, on the twenty ninth Day of *March*.

Boloign deliver'd
up to the
French.

A Treaty
concluded.

And now the King was entring in the fourth Year of his Reign, free from all Wars, which had hitherto distracted his Government, so that the Council was more at leisure to settle Affairs at home. But the Earl of *Warwick* beginning to form great Designs, resolv'd first to make himself popular, by calling all concern'd in the King's Affairs to a strict Account; and either to make them compound for large Sums, by which the King's Debts should be paid, or to keep them under Power, 'till he had made them subservient to his Ends. He began with the Earl of *Arundel*, who being charg'd with many Things, submitted to a Fine of twelve thousand Pounds, to be paid in twelve Yearstime. This was the more publickly observ'd, because *Southampton*, *Arundel* and he, with Sir *Richard Southwell* Master of the Rolls, had been the chief Contrivers of the Protector's Fall: *Southampton* was disappointed and driven away, *Arundel* was fin'd, and *Southwell* soon after imprison'd for dispersing some seditious Papers. This wrought much on the Vulgar, who imputed it to a secret Curse, on those who had conspir'd against the Protector; and the Delivery of *Boloign* still made it more apparent, that the Charge against him was chiefly grounded on Malice. After *Arundel's* Disgrace, all the Protector's Friends made their Compositions, and were discharg'd. Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Thomas Fisher*, and *William Gray*, each of them acknowledg'd they ow'd the King three thousand Pounds; and Sir *John Thynn* submitted to six thousand Pounds Fine.

The Earl of
Warwick's
Designs.

All Things being now quieted at home, and compos'd abroad, there was a Discourse on Foot of a Marriage between the King, and a Daughter of *France*, which griev'd the Reformers, who more desir'd him to marry a Sister of *Maximilians*, who was believ'd to favour the Reformation, and was esteem'd one of the best Men of the Age. Old *Latimer* upon this Occasion preach'd at Court, and freely warn'd the King of the ill Effects of Marriages, made up only as Bargains, without Affection between the Parties, which occasion'd shameful Whoredoms and Divorces: He also complain'd of the Luxury and Vanity of the Age, and of many call'd *Gospellers*, who were concern'd for nothing but Abby and Chantry-Lands, pressing for a primitive Discipline in the Church: He complain'd that the King's Debts were not paid, and yet his Officers became vastly rich. He preach'd this as his last Sermon; and therefore us'd the greater Freedom. The Reformation still was carry'd on with Success; and *Ridley* Bishop of *Rochester*, a most learned and zealous Reformer, was made Bishop of *London*, in the Room of *Bonner* depriv'd. *Gardiner* was still kept a Prisoner, and treated with a Severity not altogether excusable. Doctor *Hooper* was at this Time made Bishop of *Glocester*, who being over Scrupulous about the Church Vestments, unhappily gave Rise to Disputes and Heats about indifferent Things, which have continu'd to this Day. This Dispute was too much promoted by *John a Lasco*, a *German* Reformer driven from his Country, who being allow'd to set up a Congregation in *England*, took an undecent Liberty in the *English* Affairs, and wrote against the *Habits*, and kneeling at the Sacrament. About the same Time, the famous *Polydore Virgil*, who had been now almost forty Years in *England*, growing old, desir'd leave to go nearer the Sun, all which was allow'd; and in Consideration of the publick Service he was thought to have done the Nation by his History of *England*, he was permitted still to hold his Arch-Deaconry of *Wells*, and Prebend of *Nonnington*. He is said to have pillag'd the publick Libraries at his Pleasure; and at last to have sent over a whole Ship Load of Manuscripts to *Rome*. At this Time the Young King, now thirteen Years of Age, began to display his Parts and Abilities by means of his industrious Pen, which still went beyond his Years: Particularly he wrote a Journal with his own Hand of his Reign, and of all Foreign Affairs; and wrote a Scheme for amending many Things amiss in the Government; and wrote another Discourse in *French* against Idolatry, with a Preface to it, dedicated to his Uncle the Protector.

The Progress
of the Reformation

The young
King's Abilities.

A. D. 1551. The Government was now free from all Disturbances, the Coin was regulated, and Trade encourag'd; and the Faction in the Court seem'd to be extinguish'd, by a Marriage between the Earl of *Warwick's* Son and the Duke of *Somerset's* Daughter. All which gave Opportunity for the Reformation to be carry'd on with great Vigour and Success; and the *Romish* did now generally comply with every Change that was made in the Church. The Principle by which most of that Party were govern'd, was this; They believ'd they ought to oppose all the Changes, before they were establish'd by Law, yet when once done, they might afterwards comply with them. *Cranmer*, who was of great Temper and Prudence, was willing to accept of any thing they offer'd, rightly judging, that whether they acted sincerely or not, their Compliance would be a Means to quiet the Nation; and he was so naturally compassionate, that he would not use Extremities, against Men that were grown old in their Errors, and could not easily be wean'd from them. Only *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were such deceitful and cruel Men, that he thought it more excusable to make Stretches, for delivering the Church from them; for as *Bonner* had formerly lost the Bishoprick of *London*, so this Year *Gardiner* was formally depriv'd of *Winchester*, and *Poinet* put in his Room. About the same Time that eminent Reformer *Martin Bucer* dy'd at *Cambridge*, a Man of great Learning and excellent Temper of Mind; and by Order from *Cranmer* and Sir *John Cheek*, he was bury'd with the highest Solemnities that could be invented, to express the Esteem the University had for him. By this Time the greater Number of the Bishops were Men that heartily receiv'd the Reformation; so it was resolv'd now to proceed to a Settlement of the Doctrine of the Church. Accordingly, after some mature Debates and Considerations, they fram'd a Body of Articles, which contain'd the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: They were cast into forty two Articles, and afterwards some few Alterations being made in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, they were reduced to THIRTY NINE; which continue in Use and Force to this Day. Altars began to be put down, and Communion-Tables were plac'd in their Room; and the Common-Prayer Book was review'd and alter'd, and put in the same Order and Method, in which it continues to this Day, excepting only some inconsiderable Variations, that have been made since. At this Time six of the most eminent Preachers were appointed to wait on the Court by Turns, two at a Time, and the other four were sent as Itinerant Preachers, into all the Counties of *England*, in a Circuit, for supplying the Defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

The Princess Mary a great Opposer of it.

The greatest Opposer of the Reformation was the Princess *Mary*; and the Mass constantly said in her Chappel, was now again disputed. The Court became less apprehensive of the Emperor's Displeasure than formerly, and therefore would no longer bear with so publick a Breach of Law; and the Promise they made being but temporary, and not in Writing, they were not under any further Obligation. But the Emperor assuring her, that he had an absolute Promise for that Privilege, she was so much encourag'd, that when the Council wrote to her to desist, she declar'd *She would adhere to the Catholick Church, and her Father's Religion*. She still meeting with Opposition, a strange Project was form'd, which was to have a Ship ready upon the Coast of *Essex*, to convey her suddenly into *Flanders*; and if this had taken Place, she must have been intirely shut out from succeeding to the Crown. The Emperor so warmly espous'd her Cause, that he threaten'd to make War, if she met with any hard Usage; and the *English* Merchants having then great Effects at *Antwerp*, it was not thought Policy to give him a Pretence to seize them; so the Council was willing to let the Matter fall of it self, and only advis'd her to have her Mass said privately: Yet the conscientious King could not easily be induc'd to yield to that, for he said *He ought not to connive at Idolatry*. By Order of Council, *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Poinet* went to satiate him in the

Poinet

Point; and they convinc'd him, *That tho' he ought not to consent to any Sin, yet he was not at all Times oblig'd to punish it*: Upon which he burst out into Tears, lamenting his Sister's Obstinacy, and his own hard Circumstances, that oblig'd him to comply with such an impious Way of Worship. After new Messages to the Emperor to no great Effect, the Council seiz'd two of her Chaplains; and after much struggling, gain'd this Point, that for the future she had her Mass said so secretly, that she gave no Occasion of publick Offence. As to the King's Sister *Elizabeth*, she in all Things conform'd to the Laws; for her Mother at her Death had earnestly recommended her to the Care of Doctor *Parker*, a great Reformer, who well instructed her in the Principles of the Christian Religion.

While the Affairs of Religion were thus in Debate, the aspiring Earl of *Warwick* began to form vast Designs of bringing the Crown into his Family: *The Earl of Warwick's vast Ambition.* He found the King was now alienated from his Sister *Mary*, and the Privy-Council had so nearly concern'd themselves with her, that they would be easily engag'd against her. The Pretence against both the Sisters was the same, that they stood Illegitimated by two Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, confirm'd by Acts of Parliament; so that it would be a Dishonour to the *English* Nation to suffer the Crown to devolve upon spurious Issues. And since the Apprehensions of the Revenge of the Princess *Mary*, made the Council willing to exclude her; he found that the only Reason on which they could ground that, must likewise take Place against the Princess *Elizabeth*. And therefore tho' the Crown was appointed to them, both by Act of Parliament, and the late King's Will; yet these being founded on an Error that was insuperable, which was the Illegitimacy of their Descent, they ought not to take place. They being thus laid aside, the Daughters of the *French* Queen by *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, stood next in the Act; tho' there was a strong Suspicion that they were also Illegitimate, by reason of a prior and secret Marriage, he was suppos'd to have made with one *Mortimer*. The Duke's two Sons dy'd both in one Day of the sweating Sickness, which rag'd in *England* this Year: His eldest Daughter was marry'd to *Gray* Marquess of *Dorset*, a weak and good Man, who was made Duke of *Suffolk*, and had three Daughters; of which the Eldest the Lady *Jane* had all the charming Qualities of her own Sex, and was judg'd to be the Wonder of both. So the Earl of *Warwick* projected a Match between her and his fourth Son *Guilford*, his three eldest being already marry'd; but because the Princess *Elizabeth* was like to be the most effectual Obstacle, a Design was laid to send her out of *England*, and a Match was treated for her with the King of *Denmark*. To amuse the King himself, a most splendid Embassie was sent into *France* with the noble Order of the *Garter*. The Marquess of *Northampton* carry'd it, accompany'd with three Earls, the Bishop of *Ely*, five Barons, and above two hundred Gentlemen. They were to make a Proposition of a Marriage for the King with the *French* King's Daughter *Elizabeth*. The Bishop of *Ely* made the first Speech, which was answer'd by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and it was soon concluded; yet neither Party was to stand oblig'd, either in Honour or Conscience, till the Lady should be of Years to give Consent. In return a magnificent Embassie was sent from *France* to *England*, with the Order of St. *Michael*. The *French* Ambassadors desir'd in their Master's Name the Continuance of the King's Friendship, and that he would not be mov'd by vain Rumours and malicious Reports, to break the Alliance. Upon this the wondrous young King immediately return'd this Answer with his own Mouth, *That Rumours were not always to be credited, nor always to be rejected; for it was no less vain to fear all things, than to doubt of nothing: If any Differences should arise, he should be always more ready to determine them by Reason than Force, so far as was consistent with his Honour.*

But

But while all this was in Agitation, there was a Design laid to destroy the Duke of *Somerset*; who had now such Access to the King, and such Freedom with him, that the Earl of *Warwick* expected no less than the Ruin of his Projects. Therefore to prevent that, and to raise himself and his Friends higher, he procured a great Creation of new Honours: He himself was made Duke of *Northumberland*, the Blood of the *Percies* being then under an Attainder; *Pawlet* was made Marquess of *Winchester*, *Herbert* was made Earl of *Pembroke*, and a little before this, *Russel* had been made Earl of *Bedford*, and *Darcy* was made a Lord. There was none so likely to take the King out of the new Duke of *Northumberland's* Hands, as the Duke of *Somerset*, who was beginning to form a new Party about the King; therefore upon some Informations, both the Duke of *Somerset* and his haughty Dutchess, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and several others, of whom some were Gentlemen of Quality, and others Servants to the Duke, were all committed to the Tower. The Commitment of *Palmer* was to delude the World, for he had really betray'd the Duke, and was secur'd as an Accomplice, and then pretended to discover a Conspiracy: He declar'd, that the Duke design'd to have rais'd the People, and that when *Northumberland*, *Northampton* and *Pembroke*, had been invited to dine at the Lord *Paget's*, he determin'd to have set upon them by the Way, or to have kill'd them at Dinner; that *Vane* was to have two thousand Men in Readiness; *Arundel* was to have seiz'd on the Tower, and all the *Gens d'Arms* were to have been cut in Pieces. All these Particulars were related to the young King with such aggravating Circumstances, that he too easily believ'd them; and upon that was much alienated from his Uncle, as one really guilty of so shameful a Conspiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke design'd to have rais'd the City of *London*, and one *Crane* confirm'd *Palmer's* Testimony; so that both the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget* were also committed as Accomplices.

He is made
Duke of Northumberland.

He causes the
Protector to be
sent to the Tower.

Who is try'd by
his Peers.

His Defence.

On the first of *December*, the unfortunate Duke was brought to his Trial: The Marquess of *Winchester* was Lord High-Steward, and twenty seven Peers sat to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Particulars charg'd upon him were, a Design to seize on the King's Person, to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland*, and to raise the City of *London*: But it seem'd prodigious to see *Northumberland* sit a Judge, when the Crime objected, was a Design against his Life; for tho' by the Law of *England* no Peer can be challeng'd in a Trial, yet by the Law of Nature no Man ought to judge where he is a Party: And what still made the Design appear worse, was that the Lord Chancellor, tho' a Peer, was left out, upon Suspicion of a Reconciliation, which he was making with the Duke. In this Trial, the Duke not being well skill'd in Law, neither objected to the Indictment, nor desir'd Council to plead for him, but only answer'd to Matters of Fact: 'He deny'd all Designs to raise the People, or to 'assassinate *Northumberland*; and if he had mention'd it, it was in Passion without any Intention: And it was ridiculous to believe, that he with a small 'Troop should design to destroy the *Gens d'Arms*, who were nine hundred in 'Number. The armed Men he had about him, were only for his own Defence; 'he had done no hurt to his Enemies, tho' it was once very much in his Power; 'and he had surrender'd himself without making Resistance: He also desir'd the 'Witnesses might be brought Face to Face, and objected many Things against 'them, especially *Palmer*. But this last was not allow'd; and their Depositions were read. The King's Council pleaded upon the Statute against unlawful Assemblies; that to contrive the Death of Privy-Counsellors was Felony, and to have armed Men about him for his Defence was also Felony. The material Defence was unhappily omitted; for by that Statute those Assemblies were not Felonious, except the Parties refus'd to disperse themselves, after they were legally requir'd; and it did not appear that any such Proclamation had been

been made in this Case. The Proofs of his raising Rebellion were altogether insufficient, so he was acquitted of Treason, which immediately rais'd a mighty Shout of Joy, that was heard as far as *Charing-Cross*; but this was soon allay'd when they heard he was found guilty of Felony, in intending to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland*. During the Trial he carry'd himself with great Temper; and the Sharpness which the King's Council express'd in pleading against him, did not provoke him to any indecent Passion. But when Sentence was given he sunk a little under the Weight, and ask'd Pardon of the three Lords that were his Enemies, for his ill Designs against them, and made Suite for his Life, and for his Wife and Children. It was generally concluded, That nothing being found against him, but an Intention to imprison a Privy-Counsellor which never took Effect, one so nearly related the King would not have suffer'd Death upon such an Account. It was therefore necessary to raise in the King a strong Aversion to him; accordingly a Story was brought to the King, as if in the Tower he had confess'd a Design of employing some to assassinate those Lords; and the Persons nam'd for that impious Purpose, were also perswaded to undertake it. This being unfortunately believ'd by the King, he took no further Care to preserve him; and Assassination being a Crime of that barbarous Nature, it possess'd him with the utmost Horror, even against his Uncle; and therefore he was deliver'd up to the Rage of his Enemies.

*He is found
guilty of Felony.*

Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Thomas Arundel* and Sir *Ralph Vane*, were next brought to their Trials; the two first were not much pity'd, for they had made a very ill Use of their Interests in the Duke, during his Greatness; but the other two were much lamented. *Arundel's* Jury was shut up a whole Day and a Night; and those who were for acquitting him, were compell'd by the Fury of the rest; only that they might save their own Lives, and not be starv'd. *Vane* had done noble Services in the Wars, but carry'd himself with a Magnanimity that was too extravagant: They were all four condemn'd, and *Partridge* and he were hang'd, and the other two were beheaded. As to the Duke himself, the Lord Chancellor *Rich* was now become a secret Friend to him; which was thus unhappily discover'd: He once went aside at Council and wrote a Note, giving the Duke Notice of what was then in Agitation against him, and indors'd it only *For the Duke*, and sent it to the Tower; but his Servant not having particular Directions, imagin'd it was for the old Duke of *Norfolk*, and not *Somerset*, and carry'd it to him. This Duke, to make *Northumberland* his Friend, sent it to him; upon which the Chancellor, understanding the Mistake into which his Servant had fallen, prevented the Discovery, and went immediately to the King, and pretending some Indispositions desir'd to be discharg'd; and upon that he took his Bed, so that it seem'd too barbarous to proceed any further against him; only the Great Seal was taken from him, and was given to the Bishop of *Ely*.

*Some Friends
of his condemn'd.*

Two Months had almost pass'd between the Duke's Sentence of Condemnation and his Execution, in all which Time no one either did or could plead sufficiently in his Favour; so that on the twenty second Day of *January*, he was brought to his Scaffold on Tower-Hill. His whole Deportment was very compos'd, and agreeable to the melancholy Occasion: He first kneel'd down and pray'd, and then rising up he made a Speech to the People, 'Vindicating himself from all ill Designs against the King or Government: He confess'd his private Sins, and acknowledg'd the Mercies of God in granting him such Time for Repentance: He declar'd he had acted sincerely in all he did, in Matters of Religion, while he was in Power; and heartily rejoic'd for his being Instrumental in so good a Work: He exhorted the People to live suitably to the Doctrine receiv'd amongst them; otherwise they were to expect signal Judgments from Heaven. As he was proceeding, there was a prodigious Noise heard in the blowing up of some mighty Fabrick; which so extremely terrify'd the People, that many ran away without knowing the Reason. At the same

*He is brought
to the Scaffold.*

His last Speech.

same Time Sir *Anthony Brown* came riding hastily towards the Scaffold, which caus'd the People with the greatest Acclamations to cry out, *A Pardon, a Pardon, God save the King!* by which it was perceiv'd how dear he was to the People. But this proving a Mistake, the Duke in a compos'd Manner proceeded in his Speech. 'He declar'd his chearful Submission to the Will of God, 'and desir'd them likewise to acquiesce in it: He earnestly pray'd for the King 'and the Council, and exhorted the People to continue obedient to them: And 'lastly he sincerely ask'd Forgiveness of all, whom at any Time he had offend'd. Then taking leave of all about him, he undress'd himself for the Block, without any Change of Countenance: He continu'd calling *Lord Jesus save me!* 'till the Executioner sever'd his Head from his Body.

and Execution.

His Character.

Thus fell the Duke of *Somerſet* from the highest Places, Station and Titles in the Kingdom; a Person of extraordinary Virtues, of great Candor, and eminent Piety; who was always a Promoter of Justice, and a Patron of the Oppressed. He was really a better Captain than a Counsellor; and was too easie and open-hearted, to be so cautious, as such Times, and such Employments requir'd. It was generally believ'd, that all this Conspiracy, for which he and the other four suffer'd, was only a Forgery; all the other Accomplices were soon discharg'd, and *Palmer*, the chief Witness, became *Northumberland's* particular Confident; and the indiscreet Words spoken by the Duke, and his gathering armed Men about him, was imputed to *Palmer's* Artifices, who had put him in Fear of his Life, and made him act and speak those Things, for which he lost it. His four Friends did all end their Lives with the most solemn Protestations of their Innocence; and *Vane* added, *That his Blood would make Northumberland's Pillow uneasy to him.* The People, tho' formerly disgusted, were infinitely affected with this Execution, and many threw their Hankerchiefs into the Duke's Blood, to preserve the Remembrance of him; and one Lady that met *Northumberland*, when he was led through the City in the next Reign, shook her bloody Hankerchief at him, crying, *Behold the Blood of that worthy Man, that good Uncle of that excellent King, which shed by thy malicious Practice, does now apparently revenge it self on thee.* His Innocence as to this Crime, made others to believe this Punishment to be more the Hand of Heaven; particularly for the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Death of the Earl of *Surry*, occasion'd likewise by a Conspiracy of their own Servants, in which he was thought to have been too active. It is hard to vindicate his sacrilegious Attempts upon Churches and Bishops Lands, which lay heavy upon him and his Family; but the frequent Remark made by modern Writers, that for that Reason he wanted a Heart to beg the Benefit of his Clergy, is founded upon an palpable Error. For in the Act by which he was condemn'd, it was particularly provided that no Clergy should be allow'd.

A. D. V. The pious King *Edward*, tho' very young, had liv'd to see the violent Deaths of his two Uncles, and was now in a great Measure thrown into the Hands of the aspiring Duke of *Northumberland*, who was daily grasping at Power, Wealth and Grandeur. And now a new Session of Parliament being met, and finding that *Tonstall* Bishop of *Durham* was imprison'd upon some unreasonable Suspicions, he cast his ambitious Eye upon his Honours and Revenues: He design'd to erect a great Principality for his Family in the North; and the Accession of the Jurisdiction of the County *Palatine*, lodg'd in that See, seem'd so considerable, that to make way to it he resolv'd to ruin the Bishop; who being a Man of Candor and Temper, tho' an Opposer of the Reformation, *Cranmer* stood up for him, and protested against a Bill of Attainder that was brought against him, by which he absolutely lost the Duke of *Northumberland*. Yet all the Popish Lords and Bishops went along with it, and some Depositions being read amongst them to justify the Bill, it pass'd in that House; but when the Bill was sent to the House of Commons, they resolv'd to put a Stop to the

that Way of condemning Men unheard. Therefore they sent a Message to the Lords, that he and his Accusers might be heard Face to Face; which not being done, they let the Bill fall. By these Indications, it appear'd that the House of Commons had no great Affection for this powerful Duke; and many of them had been oblig'd to the Duke of *Somerset*: For which Reason it was resolv'd to have a new Parliament; and this which had sat almost five Years was dissolv'd on the fifteenth Day of *April*.

But before this happen'd, several considerable Acts were pass'd: The first was to establish the Common-Prayer Book as it was last amended; to which only one Earl, two Bishops, and two Barons dissented. 'By this the Book was appointed to be receiv'd in all Places of publick Worship from *All-hallows* next; and the Bishops were requir'd to proceed by the Censures of the Church, against such as did not come thither: They also authoriz'd the Book of Ordinations, and enacted the same Penalties against Offenders, that were in the Act for the former Book three Years before. Another Act pass'd for the Marriage of the Clergy, with the Dissent of four Earls and six Barons, 'Declaring that whereas the former Act concerning it was only thought a Permission of it, as some other unlawful Things were conniv'd at; upon which the Wives and Children of the Clergy were reproachfully treated, and the Word of God was not heard with due Reverence, therefore their Marriages were declar'd valid and good. An Act also pass'd, empowering Church-Wardens to gather Collections for the Poor, and the Bishops to proceed against such as refus'd to contribute; which tho' it was a Bill that tax'd the People, yet had its first Rise in the House of Lords. The Bishoprick of *Westminster* was by an Act reunited to *London*, only the Collegiate-Church was still continu'd. As to Temporal Matters, a Bill concerning Treasons pass'd with little or no Opposition in the House of Lords, but it was much oppos'd by the Commons; for the multiplying of Treasons was always esteem'd a Severity in the Government. One Bill was rejected, but another was pass'd, 'If any call'd the King, or his Successors, nam'd in the Statute of the thirty fifth of *Henry VIII*. Heretick, Tyrant, or other approbrious Name, the first Offence was Forfeiture of Goods, the second a *Premunire*, and the third Treason; but if done in Printing or Writing, the first Offence was Treason. None were to be prosecuted for Words, but within three Months; and two Witnesses were made necessary, who should aver their Depositions to the Party's Face. This last seems to relate to the Proceedings against the Duke of *Somerset*, in which the Witnesses did not appear; when many Times Innocence and Guilt discover themselves, by the Party's being confronted. As to this Duke, a Bill was sent to the House of Commons, sign'd by the King, repealing the Settlement of his Estate, formerly made in Favour of his Children by his second Wife, to exclude the Children by his first, from whom are descended the *Seymours* of *Devonshire*; which some imputed to a Jealousie he had of his first Wife, and others ascrib'd it to the Ascendant the second Wife had over him. But the Commons were very unwilling to vacate a Settlement confirm'd in Parliament, and so for fifteen Days it was debated: A new Bill was drawn up, which was much alter'd, but was not quite finish'd 'till the Day before the Dissolution of the Parliament.

The Common-Prayer Book establish'd.

Other Acts.

In the mean Time the Convocation sat and confirm'd the Articles of Religion that had been prepar'd the former Year; and thus was the Reformation of Worship and Doctrine now brought to such Perfection, that since that Time there have been very little Alterations made in either. But another Branch of it was yet unfinish'd, and was now under Consultation, touching the Government of the Church, and the Rules of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Great Pains and Industry was shewn by the most eminent Men of the Nation, to bring these Matters to Perfection; and at length they reduc'd all to a Method, and cast the Work into fifty one Titles; which if put in Force and Practice, might have been of admirable Use to the Church: But the King's Death, and other Accidents,

The End of the Reformation in this Reign.

*The Poverty of
Clergy.*

dents, put an End to that noble Design, which was never after reassum'd. There were also at this Time Remedies under Consideration, to correct those Disorders, of the Clergy, arising from their extream Poverty; but the Laity was so nearly concern'd in this, that there was no great Hopes of a Redress, 'till the King should come of Age, and by his Authority recover a competent Maintenance for the Clergy, out of the Hands of those who had devour'd their Revenues. Both *Heath* and *Day*, the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester*, were this Year depriv'd of their Bishopricks, by a Court of Delegates that were all Lay-Men; but it does not appear, for what Offences they were so censur'd. In every See, as it fell vacant, the best Manors were seiz'd by such voracious Courtiers, as had the Interest to procure the Grant of them. It was thought by many, that the Bishops Sees were so unmeasurably enrich'd, that they could never be made poor enough; but such Haste and Heat was shown in pillaging them, that they were reduc'd to so low a Condition, that it was scarcely possible for a Bishop to subsist in them. If what was thus taken had been converted to pious Uses, and to the supplying the inferior Clergy, it had been some Mitigation of so heinous a Robbery: But their Lands were frequently snatch'd up by Lay-Men, who thought of making no Compensation to the Church, for the Revenues thus swallow'd by them.

*Many Agents
call'd to an
Account.*

There was also at this Time a very strict Enquiry made into the Accounts of all Ministers and Agents, who had been employ'd in the former Part of the Reign; for it was believ'd that the Visitors had embezell'd much of the Plate of the Churches; and these being the Creatures of the Duke of *Somerset*, it caus'd *Northumberland* to examine and prosecute them with the utmost Strictness and Hatred. But on none did the Storm break more severely than the Lord *Paget*; who was not only fin'd six thousand Pounds, but was degraded from the Order of the *Garter*, with a particular Mark of Infamy on his Extraction; yet he was afterwards restor'd to it with as great a Degree of Honour and Applause. He had been a constant Friend to the Duke of *Somerset*, and that caus'd his Enemies to execute so severe a Revenge upon him. *Northumberland* was industriously preparing for a new Parliament, and being a Man of an insolent Temper, as abject in Adversity, as swell'd in Prosperity, he thought the highest Severity the only Way to oblige the Nation to comply with his Administration; but this Method, tho' for some Time successful, when he most needed its Support, turn'd violently upon his own Head: For nothing can so effectually prevail with a free People as Justice and Clemency in the Government.

*The Increase
of Trade.*

In this Year the good King proceeded in paying his Debts, reforming the Coin, and other Ways that might make the Nation great and wealthy; and a great Design was now settled, that prov'd to be the Foundation of all that Riches and Trade, that has since that Time so much flourish'd in the Nation. *Henry III.* had been much supported in his Wars by the Assistance he got from the free Towns of *Germany*, in Recompence of which hein gave them great Privileges in *England*; where they were form'd into a Corporation, and liv'd in the *Still-yard* near *London* Bridge. They had sometimes exceeded the Limits of their Charters, which were thereupon judg'd to be forfeited, but by great Presents they purchas'd new ones: They traded in a Body, and ruin'd others by underselling them; and by making Presents at Court, or lending great Sums, they had the Government on their Side. Trade was now much increasing, and Courts began to be more magnificent in Habits; so that there was a greater Consumption of Cloath in particular, than formerly. *Antwerp* and *Hamburg*, lying one near the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and the other at the Mouth of the *Elbe*, had then the chief Trade in these Parts of the World; and their Factors in the *Still-yard* had all the Markets in *England* in their Hands, and set such Prizes as they pleas'd both on what they imported or exported, and broke all other Merchants to such a Degree, that in the last Year they shipp'd forty thousand Cloths, when all the other Traders had not shipp'd above a

clever

eleven hundred. Upon this the Merchant-Adventurers complain'd of the *Still-yard Men*; and after several Hearings, it was judg'd that they had forfeited their Charter, and that their Company was dissolv'd: Nor could all the earnest Application of the *Hanse Towns*, seconded by the Emperor's own Intercession, ever procure them a new Charter.

About this Time, *Cardan*, the great Philosopher of that Age, pass'd through *England*, as he return'd from *Scotland*; where the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* Cardan in England. had sent for him out of *Italy*, to cure him of a Dropsie: In this he had great Success; but being much conversant in Astrology and Magick, he told him, *That tho' he had sav'd his Life, he could not change his Fate, which was to die upon a Gallows.* He waited on King *Edward* as he return'd, who receiv'd him with great Honour and Civility; and *Cardan* was so charm'd with his mighty Knowledge and rare Qualities, that he always spoke of him as the most extraordinary Person he had ever seen: And after his Death, when Flattery could be no Advantage to him, he wrote a Character of him, in which for Learning, Parts and all Abilities, he represented him as a Miracle of Mankind.

To conclude this Year, there was a great and unexpected Turn of Affairs in *Germany*. The Council was open'd at *Trent*, where the Emperor by means of *The Affairs of Germany.* the *Spanish* Bishops, began so much to bear down the Power of the Court of *Rome*, that the Pope united himself to *France*, and resolv'd to break the Council on the first Occasion, and in order to that the Legates suspended it for two Years. At the same Time *Maurice* of *Saxony*, who was set up by the Emperor, form'd great Designs, set up for the Liberty of *Germany* and the Protestant Religion, and took *Ausburgh* and several other Towns. The King of *France* also fell in upon the Empire with a great Power, and made himself Master of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, and was near gaining of *Strasburgh*; while the Emperor was so surpriz'd and press'd by *Maurice*, that he fled into *Italy*. Thus that very Army and Prince, that had been chiefly instrumental in the Ruin of the Empire, did now assert its Freedom; and the Emperor's great Design on *Germany* was now so blasted, that he could never after this put any Life into it: He was forc'd to discharge his Prisoners, call in his Proscriptions, and by the Edict of *Passaw* allow the free Exercise of the Protestant Religion: And thus ended the Storm that had almost overwhelm'd the Princes of that Persuasion. The Emperor's Misfortunes increas'd upon him; for against all Reason he besieg'd *Metz* in *December*, but after he had wasted his Army before it, he was compell'd to raise the Siege. Upon that he retir'd into *Flanders*, in such Discontent, that for some Time he would admit none to come near him. Here it was believ'd that he first form'd that Design, which some Years after he effected, of forsaking the World, and exchanging the Magnificence of a Court for the Retirement of a Monastery. As to the Council of *Trent*, we may dismiss the Subject with observing, That this Council had been *An Account of the Council of Trent.* much desir'd both by Princes and Bishops, in hopes of composing the Differences of Religion, and reforming the Corruptions of *Rome*, which caus'd the Popes to be very apprehensive of it: But such was the Subtilty of the Legates, the Voices of the *Italian* Bishops, and the Dissensions of the *European* Princes, that it had Effects directly contrary to what all Sides expected. The Breaches in Religion were now put past Reconciliation, by the positive Decisions they made; the Abuses of the Court of *Rome* were confirm'd by the Proviso's for the Privileges of the Apostolick See; and the World was so cured of the Longings for a *General Council*, that none has been desir'd since that Time.

We are now arriv'd at the last and fatal Year of this young King's Life and *A. D.* Reign; and the first thing done was a Regulation of the Privy-Council, where *1553.* several Committees had proper Work assign'd them, and Directions given them *Reg. 7.* for their Conduct; of which there remains an exact Account corrected with *A new Parliament meets.* King *Edward's* own Hand. A new Parliament was also call'd, the second in this

this Reign, which fate the first of *March*; where a Motion was made for a Subsidy of two Tenths, and two Fifteenths to be paid in two Years, which was granted. At the passing of the Bill, a great Debate arose in the House of Commons, which seems to have been concerning the Preamble; for it contain'd a high Accusation of the Duke of *Somerset's* Administration, which was promoted by the Duke of *Northumberland's* Party, to make the King sensible how well pleas'd the Representatives of the Nation were with his Fall. At this Time the Sons of the Nobility and Gentry had frequently Prebends given them, under a Pretext of following their Studies, and fitting themselves for Holy Orders; which was like to be very prejudicial to the Clergy, when so many Church Dignities were in Lay-Hands. Therefore the Bishops procur'd a Bill to be pass'd in the House of Lords, that no one might hold such, who was not either Priest or Deacon; but at the third Reading, it was thrown out by the Commons. Another Bill pass'd for suppressing the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and erecting two new Sees, the one at *Durham*, and the other at *Newcastle*; but tho' the Secular Jurisdiction of that See was given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, yet the King's Death stopt the further Progress of this Affair. Bishop *Tonstall* was depriv'd, as *Heath* and *Day* were, by a Court of Lay-Delegates, upon the Informations that had been brought against him of Misprision of Treason, and was kept in the Tower 'till Queen *Mary* set him at Liberty. At the End of the Parliament the King granted a general Pardon, and so dissolv'd that Body on the last Day of *March*, after but one Month's Session. For it seems either the Duke of *Northumberland* was not pleas'd with the Proceedings of the House of Commons, or that he was resolv'd to call frequent Parliaments, and wholly to vary from the Measures of the Duke of *Somerset*.

Another Visitation of Churches.

The King's last Sickness.

Shortly after Visitors were sent out to examine what Plate was in every Church, and to leave them one or two Chalice of Silver, with Linnen, for the Communion-Table and for Surplices, and to bring in all other Things of Value to the Treasurer of the King's Household, and to sell the rest, and give it to the Poor. This was still a new Rifling of Churches, by which it appear'd some were resolv'd not to desist, 'till they had reduc'd them to a Primitive Poverty, as well as the Reformers design'd to have rais'd them to a Primitive Purity. The King himself set his Hand to these Instructions; from which some have severely inferr'd, That he was ill principled in himself, when at such an Age he join'd his Authority to such Proceedings. But he was now in his last Sickness, and so weak, that it is probable he set his Hand to every Thing sent him by the Council, without anxiously examining the Contents of it. He had now contracted great Colds by violent Exercises, which in *January* settled into a deep Cough; and all Medicines proving ineffectual, there was a strong Suspicion blown and spread over all *Europe*, that he was poison'd: But of that we find no certain and convincing Proofs.

His Care for publick Charities.

During his Sickness, Bishop *Ridley* preach'd before him, and took an Occasion to launch out in the Subject of Charity, and the Obligations that lay on Men of high Condition to be eminent in Works of that Nature. This so sensibly touch'd the pious King, that immediately after Sermon he sent for the good Bishop; and commanding him to sit down and be cover'd, he resum'd most of the Heads of the Sermon, and declar'd, *That he look'd upon himself, in his Station, to be principally concern'd in it; desiring, as he had already given him the Exhortation in general, to direct him how to perform his Duty in that Particular.* The Bishop, astonish'd and overjoy'd at the generous Tendernefs of so young a Prince, broke out into Tears and Transports to find such noble Inclinations; and told him he must take time to consult with the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen about a Matter of that Importance; upon which the King wrote by him to them to consult speedily how the Poor should be reliev'd. After some Consideration, the Bishop brought the King a Scheme of several Foun-

Foundations, one for the Sick and Wounded, another for such as were wilfully Idle or Mad, and a third for Orphans. Upon which he made several munificent Endowments, St. *Bartholomew's* Hospital for the First, his Palace at *Bridewell* for the Second, and *Christ-Church* near *Newgate* for the Third; and also he enlarg'd the Grant he made the former Year, for St. *Thomas's* Hospital in *Southwark*. And when he set his Hand to these Foundations, which was done upon the twenty sixth Day of *June*, he heartily thank'd God for prolonging his Life, till he had finish'd that good Design. These Houses, by good Government, and the Charities of others, continu'd to be so useful, and became so well endow'd, that now they may be reckon'd among the noblest Foundations in *Europe*.

His noble Foundations.

Before these were compleated, several Marriages were at once solemniz'd by means of the Duke of *Northumberland*: The Duke of *Suffolk* had only three Daughters, the eldest of whom was marry'd to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, younger Son to *Northumberland*, the second to the Earl of *Pembroke's* Son, and the third, who was crooked, to one *Keys* the King's Groom-Porter; and *Northumberland* to strengthen his Family also marry'd his own two Daughters, the one to Sir *Henry Sidney*, and the other to the Earl of *Huntington's* eldest Son. These Marriages at this Time were much observ'd; and the People were highly inflam'd against the insolent Duke, for it was generally reported, that he was Sacrificing the King to his own extravagant Ambition. He seem'd little to regard their Censures, but constantly attending the languishing King, he resolv'd to improve all the Apprehensions he had concerning Religion, to the Advantage of his Son's Wife the Lady *Jane Gray*. The King was easily perswaded to order the Judges and his learned Council to put some Articles, which he had sign'd for the Succession of the Crown, into the common Form of Law. They answer'd, *That the Succession being already settled by Act of Parliament, it could not be alter'd by any other Power*; yet still the King requir'd them to perform what he had commanded. The next Time they came to the Council, they further declar'd, *That it was made Treason to change the Succession by any Act pass'd in this Reign*, so they could not concern themselves in it. *Montague* was Chief Justice, and spoke in the Name of the rest; upon which *Northumberland* flew into a violent Passion against him, and call'd him *Traitor*, for not obeying the King's Commands; the common Language of an Arbitrary Minister who acts against Law. But the Judges were not shaken by his Threatnings; and when they were again brought before the King, who sharply rebuk'd them for their Delays, they said, *That all they could do would be of no Force without a Parliament*. Upon which the King said, *He would call a Parliament shortly, and have it ratify'd there*; and requir'd them to do it in the best Manner they could. At last *Montague* desir'd that they might have a Pardon, for what they were to do; and that being granted, all the Judges, except *Gosnald* and *Hales*, agreed to sign the Patent, and deliver'd their Opinions, That the Lord Chancellor might put the Seal, and then it would be good in Law: Yet *Gosnald* was at last prevail'd upon to sign it, so *Hales* was the only Man who intirely stood out; who tho' he was a zealous Protestant, yet would not give his Opinion against his Conscience, upon any Considerations whatsoever. The Privy-Counsellors were next requir'd to set their Hands to it: *Cecil*, in a Relation he wrote of this Transaction, says, That hearing some of the Judges declare so positively, that it was against Law, he refus'd to set his Hand to it as a Privy-Counsellor, but sign'd it only as a Witness to the King's Subscription. *Cranmer* long stood out, he came not to the Council when it was pass'd there, and refus'd to consent when he was urg'd to it; for he said, *He would never be concern'd in the dismembering his late Master's Daughters*. But the dying young King was at last set upon him, and being assur'd by the best Lawyers *That he might legally*
Subscribe,

He is perswaded to leave the Crown to the Lady Jane Gray.

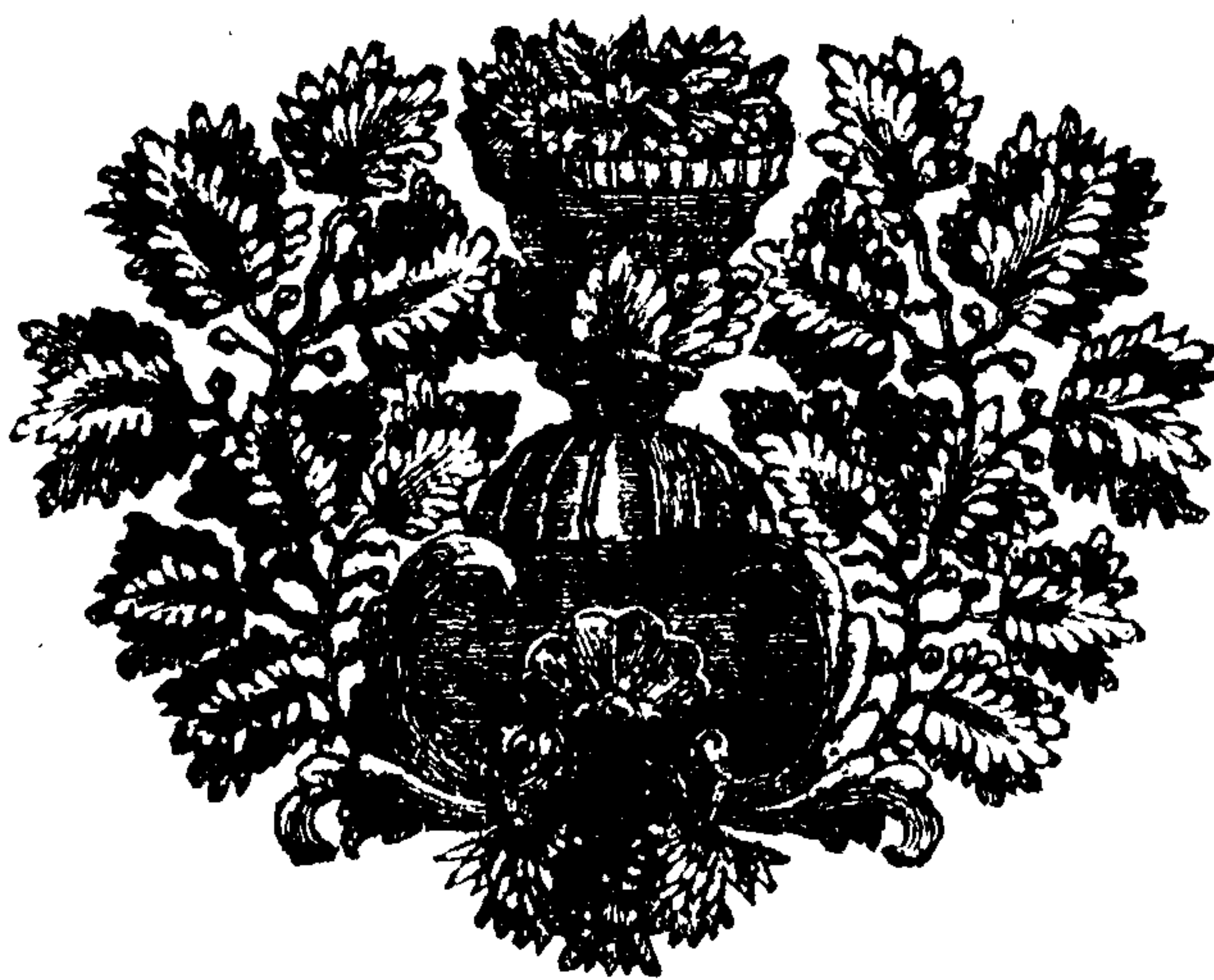
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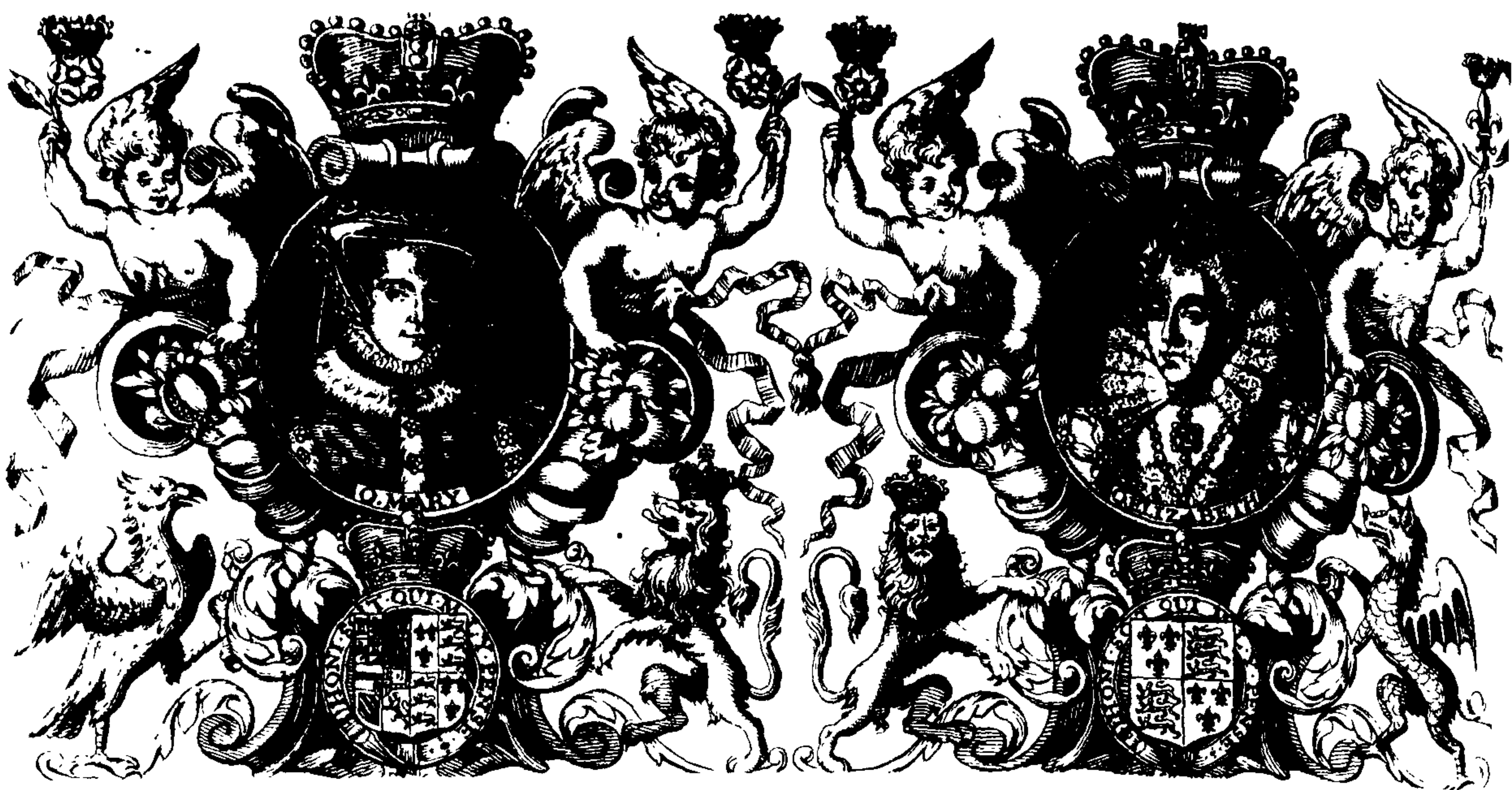
Subscribe, he was prevail'd upon by Importunity, and the threatening Prospects of Religion.

In the whole Course of the King's Sickness, he express'd a great Submission to the Will of God, and seem'd pleas'd at the gradual Approaches of Death; only the Consideration of Religion and the Church sensibly touch'd him, and upon that account he said, *He was desirous of Life*. When the Physicians began to despair of his Recovery, a confident Woman undertook his Cure, and he was put into her Hands; but she left him in a worse Condition than she found him; all which increas'd the Jealousie of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who had introduc'd her, and remov'd his Physicians. At last to crown all his Designs, he procur'd the King to write to his Sisters to desire them to come and divert him in his Sickness; and the Business of the Exclusion had been carry'd so secretly, that they apprehending no Danger, had already begun their Journey. Shortly after he felt Death nearly approaching, and prepar'd himself for it after the most solemn and devout Manner. His whole Exercise was in short Prayers and Ejaculations; and a few Moments before his Death he was heard, with the utmost Resignation to pray earnestly, *That God would deliver him out of this miserable and wretched Life: He committed his Spirit to him, and interceded very fervently for his Subjects, that God would preserve England from Popery, and maintain his true Religion amongst them*. Seeing some about him, he seem'd concern'd that they were so near, and had heard him; but then with a smiling Countenance he said, *He had been praying to God*. Soon after, the Pangs of Death coming upon him, he said to Sir *Henry Sidney*, who tenderly embrac'd him in his Arms, *I am faint, Lord have Mercy on me, and receive my Spirit!* And thus calmly breath'd out his pious Soul, upon the sixth Day of *July*, in the sixteenth Year of his Age, after a most Religious Reign of six Years, five Months, and nine Days.

Concerning the Personage of this admirable young Prince, he was of a strait and well-proportion'd Body, of a sweet and beautiful Aspect, especially in his Eyes, which seem'd to have a starry Liveliness and Lustre in them. As there was a great Vivacity in his Looks, so the Beauties and Perfections of his Mind were incomparable for his Age. He was not only learned in the Tongues, and the Liberal Sciences, but was well skill'd in the State of his Kingdom: He kept a Table-Book, in which he had writ the Characters of all the eminent Men in the Nation; he study'd Fortification, understood the Mint, and knew all the Ports, Havens and Harbours in his Dominions, with the Depth of the Water and Way of Access to them. He was so well vers'd in Foreign Affairs, that the Ambassadors that were sent into *England*, publish'd extraordinary Things of him in all the Courts of *Europe*. He had great Quickness of Apprehension, but being dissident of his Memory, he took Notes of every material Thing he heard, in *Greek* Characters, which he afterwards copy'd out fair in the Journal he kept. His Virtues were admirable, being truly just and merciful in his Disposition; and taking special Care of the Petitions that were given him by the poor and oppress'd. But his pious Zeal for Religion crown'd all the rest; which did not proceed from an angry Heat, but from a true Tenderness of Conscience, founded on the Love of God, and his Fellow-Creatures. These extraordinary Qualities, adorn'd with a charming Sweetness and Affability, made him universally belov'd by all his People. Some call'd him their *Josias*, others *Edward the Saint*, and others the *Phoenix* that rose out of his Mother's Ashes; and all concluded that the Sins of *England* must have been very great, since they provok'd God to snatch away so signal a Blessing from the Nation. As to the Reign it self it was generally weak and tumultuous, defam'd by Sacrilege, and distracted by Parties and Factions. Great Complaints were made by good Men of the Vices of this Time, which were grown so common, that many Men became Strangers to all Shame. Luxury, Oppres-

sion, and a Hatred to Religion had over-run the higher Rank of the People, who countenanc'd the Reformation meerly to rob the Church; by which and their other Practices, they became a Scandal to so noble a Work. Such open Offence was given by the Spoil made of so many rich Endowments, that they who understood little of Religion, labour'd under great Prejudices against any Thing that was advanc'd by such mercenary Instruments. And these Things, as they rous'd up the Vengeance of Heaven, so they dispos'd the People much to that dismal Catastrophe in the following Reign.





CHAP. II.

From the Death of King Edward the Sixth, to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

Containing the Space of above 42 Years.

SECT. I.

The Reign of Queen MARY the First.

Containing 5 Years, 4 Months, and 11 Days.

A. D. I. **T**HE mighty Changes and violent Oppositions made in the Reign of the late King *Henry*, caus'd the *English* Government to be much weaken'd and disunited; and in his Son's Reign, whose Minority

1553.

Reg. 0.

The Princess Mary in Danger.

She retires to Suffolk.

was an insuperable Disadvantage, the Members of that Government became still more relax'd and disjointed; all which were Divine Judgments due to the Sins and Corruptions of the People. But before the Time came, that God was pleas'd to restore the Glory of a degenerate Nation, he thought fit to punish it with a Reign more calamitous and dishonourable than the worst Years of the two last; which was unfortunately introduc'd by an *Interregnum*, and the setting up a popular, but unexpected Title. For by King *Edward's* Death, according to King *Henry's* Will and an Act of Parliament, the Crown devolv'd upon his eldest Sister *Mary*; who was now in her Way to *London*, in Obedience to the Letter written to her to come and visit her Brother in his Sickness. She was come within half a Day's Journey of the Court, when she receiv'd private Advice from the Earl of *Arundel* that her Brother was dead, and what was done concerning the Lady *Jane's* Succession; and likewise that the King's Death was conceal'd, with a Design to ensnare her before she knew of it; and therefore he advis'd her to retire. At first she was at a great Loss, but recollecting that the Duke of *Northumberland* was much hated in *Norfolk*, for the great Slaughter he had made of *Ket's* People in the last Reign, she therefore chose to go that way to the Castle of *Bramingham* in *Suffolk*; Which Place being of Strength,

Strength, and not far from the Sea, if her Designs should miscarry, she might have an Opportunity from thence to fly over to the Emperor, who was then in *Flanders*.

But before she arriv'd there, she wrote on the ninth of *July* to the Council, and let them know *She understood that her Brother was dead, by which she was to succeed to the Crown, but was surpriz'd she had no Account from them: She was sensible in what Consultations they were engag'd; but she was willing to pardon all that was transacted, to such as would return to their Duty, and proclaim her Title to the Crown.* Upon this Letter, they found the King's Death could be no longer conceal'd; therefore the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland* repair'd to *Durham* House, where the Lady *Jane* lodg'd, and acknowledg'd her for their Sovereign Queen. As she had a most tender Affection for the King, so his Death was a great Affliction to her; and the new Prospect of a Crown, rather increas'd than diminish'd her Sorrow. She was a Lady that seem'd born to the highest Fortunes; and being sixteen Years of Age, had all the Excellencies and Perfections both of Body and Mind. Her Tutor was *Doctor Elmer*, from whom she learn'd the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues to a mighty Perfection: And delighting much in Study, she imbib'd the Precepts of true Morality so early, that as she was not tainted with the Levities, not to say Vices of those of her Age and Condition, so she attain'd to the Practice of the highest Notions of Philosophy. *Roger Ascham*, Tutor to the Princess *Elizabeth*, coming to wait on her at her Father's House in *Leicestershire*, found her reading *Plato's* Works in *Greek*, while the rest of the Family were hunting in the Park, he ask'd her, *How she could be absent from such pleasant Diversions?* She answer'd, *The Pleasures of the Park were but Shadows to what she had been in reading Plato's Phedon; and added, That she esteem'd it one of the greatest Blessings God had given her, That she had sharp Parents and a gentle Schoolmaster, which made her delight so much in her Studies.* She read the Scriptures much, and had attain'd great Knowledge in Divinity; and yet with all these Advantages of Birth and Parts, she was so humble, so gentle, and pious, that she charin'd all Persons that knew her, and none more than the late King, who was about the same Age, and with all his Abilities was judg'd inferior to her in Learning. In those sudden Turns of her Condition, as she was not exalted at the View of a Throne; so she was as little dejected, when her Palace was made her Prison. The only Passion she shew'd was that of the noblest Kind, in the Concern she express'd for her Father and Husband, who fell with her, and seemingly on her Account, tho' really *Northumberland's* Ambition, and her Father's Weakness ruin'd her. When the Crown was first offer'd by them, she reject'd it, declaring, *She knew, that of Right it belong'd to the late King's Sisters, and so she could not with a good Conscience assume it.* But it was told her, *That both the Judges and Privy-Counsellors had declar'd, that it fell to her according to Law;* which being join'd with the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Father's Temper, than of her Philosophy, caus'd her at last to submit.

Upon this, Orders were given for proclaiming her Queen the next Day; and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with twenty more of the Nobility and Privy-Council, set their Hands to a Letter written to the Princess *Mary*, letting her know, *That Queen Jane was now their Sovereign, according to the ancient Laws of the Land, and the late King's Letters Patents; and that the Marriage between her Father and Mother was declar'd null by the Laws of God and Man: Therefore they requir'd her to recede from her Pretensions, and submit to the present Establishment; promising, That if she shew'd her self obedient, they would be all ready to do her any Service that was consistent with their Duties.* On the following Day they proclaim'd Queen *Jane*; in which Proclamation they set forth, 'That the late King had by Patent excluded both his Sisters, who had been illegitimated by Sentences pass'd in the Ecclesiastical Courts,

The Council sets up the Lady Jane Gray.

Her Character

She is proclaimed Queen.

‘ Courts, and confirm’d in Parliament; and at best they were only his Sisters
 ‘ by the half Blood, and so not inheritable by the Laws of *England*. There
 ‘ was also cause to fear, that they might marry Strangers, and change the Laws,
 ‘ and subject the Nation to the Tyranny of the Sec of *Rome*. Next to them
 ‘ the Crown fell to the Dutches of *Suffolk*; and it was provided, that if the
 ‘ should have no Sons, when the King dy’d, the Crown should devolve on her
 ‘ Daughter, who was born and marry’d in the Kingdom: Upon which they
 ‘ asserted her Right, as she promis’d to maintain the true Religion, and the
 ‘ Laws of the Land. When this was proclaim’d, great Multitudes were ga-
 ther’d to hear it; but there were very few that shouted with the Acclamations
 ordinary on this Occasion. And whereas a Vintner’s Boy express’d some Scorn,
 when he heard the Proclamation, he was the next Day set in a Pillory, and
 had his Ears nail’d to it; while a Herald in his Coat read the Nature of his
 Offence to the People, who were call’d together by the Sound of Trumpets.

Various Cen-
 sures upon it.

Upon this Proclamation the People were in great Distractions, and variety
 of Censures and Opinions pass’d upon it. Those who look’d upon the King of
England’s Power to proceed immediately from God, said it must descend only
 by Inheritance; and since the King’s Sisters were under Sentences of Illegitima-
 tion, it ought to descend to the young Queen of *Scotland*, who was the next
 Heir. Others said, that tho’ a Prince were nam’d immediately by God, yet
 upon great Reasons he might alter the Succession from its usual Course, as *Da-
 vid* prefer’d *Solomon* to *Adonijah*: But it was said this did not belong to the
 Kings of *England*, whose Rights and Prerogatives did not arise from any Di-
 vine Designation, but from a long Possession and the Laws of the Land; there-
 fore as the King could by Law limit the Prerogative, so he could likewise
 limit the Succession of the Crown; which had been the Opinion of Sir *Tho-
 mas More*. Others alledg’d *Charles Brandon*’s Issue by the *French* Queen to be
 illegitimate, upon a Supposition of a prior Marriage with one *Mortimer*.
 Others demanded, if the Right of Blood could not be cut off, why was the
Scotch Queen excluded? Then as to half Blood, it was said to be only a Rule
 in Law for private Families, which did not extend to the Crown. The Power
 of limiting the Succession by Patent or Testament was said to be only a Per-
 sonal Trust in King *Henry VIII.* and that it did not descend to his Heirs, so that
 King *Edward*’s Patents were thought to be of no Force. Then the Severity
 against the Vintner’s Boy in the beginning of a dubious Title, was thought a
 great Error in Policy; it being a well grounded Maxim, That all Govern-
 ments ought to begin with Acts of Clemency, and to affect the Love rather
 than the Fear of the People. And *Northumberland*’s Proceeding against the
 late Protector, by a foul Conspiracy, and the Suspicions he lay under of being
 the Author of the late King’s untimely Death, begot a violent Aversion in the
 People to him; which much dispos’d them to set up the Princess *Mary*.

Many repair’d
 to the Princess
 Mary in
 Suffolk.

Queen *Jane* was proclaim’d in many Towns near *London*, yet the People
 were generally running to the Princess *Mary*, who now at *Framingham* Castle
 declar’d her self Queen of *England*. Many from *Norfolk* repair’d to her, and
 a greater Body of *Suffolk* Gentlemen and others gather’d about her, who were
 all for the Reformation. They urg’d her to declare whether she would alter
 the Religion establish’d by the late King’s Reign; to whom she gave full and
 solemn Assurances, *That she would make no Innovation or Change, but would
 be satisfy’d with the private Exercise of her own Religion.* Upon which they
 were possess’d with such a firm Belief of her Sincerity, that they resolv’d to
 hazard their Lives and Estates in the Cause of one, who had given them such
 faithful Promises. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suffex* rais’d Forces, and join’d
 with her; as likewise did the Sons of the Lord *Wharton* and *Mordant*, with
 many others. When the Council heard of this, they sent the Earl of *Hunting-
 ton*’s Brother to raise Men in *Buckinghamshire*, and then to join the Forces
 that should be sent from *London* to *New-Market*. The Duke of *Northumber-
 land*

land, as the most valiant and safe Commander, was order'd to be General of the Army; but he was much confounded and distracted in his Thoughts. He found it of equal Importance to preserve *London* and the Privy-Counsellors in a steady Fidelity, as to conduct the Army with Exactness; and a Miscarriage of either of these was sure to be fatal to him. So that he could scarcely resolve in what Manner to proceed; he wanted a Man of Firmness and Spirit to leave behind him; and yet it was absolutely necessary at once to dissipate the Forces that were daily increasing about Queen *Mary*. Queen *Jane* and the Council were by his Means remov'd to the Tower, not only for State, according to the Custom of former Princes, but also for Security; for here the Council were under Command, and in effect Prisoners. He could do no more, but lay a strict Charge on the Council, to adhere firmly to Queen *Jane's* Interests; and so he march'd out of *London* on the fourteenth Day of *July* with six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. But as he rod through the Streets, tho there were great Crouds of Spectators, no one cry'd out to wish him Success; which gave a melancholy Indication how ill they were affected to him.

Northumberland marches against her.

In the mean Time the Council us'd all Methods for their own Security, and gave the Emperor Notice of the Lady *Jane's* Succession, and complain'd of the Disturbance that was rais'd by the other Competitor, and that his Ambassador had too officiously intermeddled in their Affairs; but the Emperor would not so much as receive their Letters. Bishop *Ridley* was appointed to preach upon Queen *Jane's* Title, and to animate the People against Queen *Mary*; which he too rashly obey'd. At the same Time *Northumberland* being at *Cambridge*, where he was both Chancellor and Steward, caus'd the Vice-Chancellor to preach to the same Purpose; but he kept to such general Terms, that no great Offence was given. By this Time Queen *Mary* had caus'd her self to be proclaim'd at *Norwich*; and sent Letters all over *England*, requiring the Peers, and others of Quality, to come to her Assistance. Some Ships had been sent to lye on that Coast for intercepting her, if she should fly away; but those who commanded them were so manag'd, that instead of acting against her, they declar'd for her. Sir *Edward Hastings* having rais'd four thousand Men in *Buckinghamshire*, instead of joining the Duke of *Northumberland*, went over with them into her Service; and her Forces daily increasing, she was proclaim'd Queen in several Counties. All which made the Privy-Council now to see their Danger, and to contrive how to free themselves: The Earl of *Arundel* hated the Duke of *Northumberland*; the Marquess of *Winchester* was desirous in shifting Sides for his Advantage; the Earl of *Pembroke's* Son had marry'd Queen *Jane's* Sister, which made him think it necessary to provide for his own Safety by a speedy Turn; and to these many others were join'd. They now pretended that it was necessary to give an Audience to the foreign Ambassadors, who would not receive it in the Tower; and the Earl of *Pembroke's* House was fix'd upon, he being least suspected. They also reported it was necessary to treat with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, for sending more Forces to the Duke of *Northumberland*, concerning which he had very earnestly writ to them. But as soon as they were got out, the Earl of *Arundel* press'd them to declare for Queen *Mary*; laying open all the Cruelties of *Northumberland*, under whose Tyranny they must resolve to be enslav'd, if they did not now shake it off. Upon this they sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and easily perswaded them to concur with them; and so they went immediately to *Cheapside*, and proclaim'd Queen *Mary* on the nineteenth Day of *July*; and from thence they repair'd to *St. Paul's*, where *Te Deum* was sung. They sent next to the Tower, requiring the Duke of *Suffolk* to quit the Government of that Place, and the Lady *Jane* to lay down the Title of Queen; to which she submitted with as much Greatness of Mind, as her Father did with Abjection of Spirit. They also sent Orders to *Northumberland* to dismiss his Forces, and to obey Queen *Mary*; and the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Pages*

Her Party increases.

She is proclaimed at London.

The End of Queen Jane's Reign. were sent to carry this joyful News to her, who still continu'd at *Framingham* Castle. And thus ended the Reign of *Queen Jane*, which continu'd no longer than nine Days. She in no manner consented either to the Receiving, or the Possessing of her imaginary Kingdoms; but having always fear'd there stood a Scaffold secretly behind the Throne, she was as well prepar'd to act her Part upon one, as she did upon the other.

Northumberland and others imprison'd. When the Duke of *Northumberland* heard of this Turn of Affairs, he resolv'd to swim with the Stream, and without staying for Orders, he discharg'd his Forces, and went to the Market-Place at *Cambridge*, and proclaim'd the Queen, throwing his own Hat up for Joy, and crying *God save Queen Mary!* But this would not secure him; for the next Morning the Earl of *Arundel* came from the Queen to arrest him; and when he was brought to him, he sunk at once, and fell prostrate at his Feet to beg his Favour, as it is usual with a Mind swell'd with Ambition, which out of measure turns insolent or abject, with the various Changes of Fortune. He, and three of his Sons, and *Sir Thomas Palmer*, who was his wicked Instrument against the Duke of *Somerset*, were all sent Prisoners to the Tower. And now all the People went to implore the Queen's Favour, and Bishop *Ridley* among the rest; but he was sent to the Tower; for she was both offended with him for his Sermon, and resolv'd to restore *Bonner* again to the See of *London*. Some of the Judges, and several Noblemen were also sent thither, among the rest the Duke of *Suffolk*. But three Days after the last was set at Liberty; for he being a weak Man, and not very dangerous to the State, was fix'd upon as the first Instance of the Queen's Clemency at her Accession to the Throne. As the Queen came towards *London* she was met on the Way by her Sister *Elizabeth*, with a thousand Horse, who came to shew their Zeal to maintain both their Titles, which in the late Contest had been so closely ally'd. She made her Entry into *London* with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity; and coming to the Tower, she gave Liberty to several considerable Persons, as the old Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been almost seven Years Prisoner; Bishop *Gardiner*, who had been five Years there; the Dutchess of *Somerset*, who had been kept there near two Years; and the Lord *Courtney*, Son to the Marquess of *Exeter*, who had been detain'd fifteen Years, ever since his Father's Attainder. So now she was peaceably settled in the Throne, without any Effusion of Blood; having broke through a Confederacy against her, which seem'd to be so strong, that if the chief Head of it had not been universally odious to the Nation, it could not have been so easily dissipated.

Queen Mary enters London.

A. D. 1553. Reg. 1. *Her former life and Behaviour.* II. *Queen Mary* was thirty seven Years of Age when she came to the Crown; being a Lady of great Virtues, and strict in her Religion even to Superstition. Her Temper was generous, but much corrupted by Melancholy, which was partly natural to her, but much encreas'd by the cross Accidents of her Life, both before and after her Advancement; so that she became sower and splenatick, and had too much of the *Spanish* Moroseness. She adher'd so resolutely to her Mother's Interests, that it was believ'd her Father once design'd to have taken her Life: Upon which her Mother wrote a very devout Letter to her, charging her to trust in God, and keep her self pure, and to obey the King in all things, except in Matters of Religion; and sent her two Books in *Latin* for her Entertainment, *St. Jerom's* Epistles, and a Book of the *Life of Christ*. The King's Displeasure was then so great, that neither the Duke of *Norfolk*, nor *Gardiner*, durst venture to intercede for her: *Crammer* was the only Man that would hazard himself, and did it so effectually as intirely to prevail with the King. But after her Mother's Death, she hearken'd to other Councils; so that upon *Anne Bolen's* Fall she made a full Submission to him, as was formerly mention'd. She also in many Letters, which she wrote both to her Father and to *Cromwell*, solemnly protested great Sorrow for her former

mer Obstinacy, and declar'd, *That she put her Soul into his Hands, and that her Conscience should be always directed by him*: And being ask'd what her Opinion was concerning Pilgrimages, Purgatory and Relicks, she answer'd, *That she had no Opinion, but such as she receiv'd from the King, who had her whole Heart in his keeping; and might imprint upon it, in these and all other Matters, whatever his inestimable Virtue, exalted Wisdom, and excellent Learning should think convenient for her*. So perfectly had she learn'd the Stile, that she knew was most acceptable to her Father. After that, she was in all Points obedient to him; and during her Brother's Reign, she only pleaded for that way of Worship, that was in use at her Father's Death.

But now being come to the Crown, notwithstanding her Promises to the *Suffolk* Gentlemen to stand by her Brother's Religion, neither that, nor her Father's could satisfy her; yet when she thought where to fix, she was distracted between two different Schemes that were presented to her. *Gardiner*, and all that had comply'd in the former Times, mov'd, That at first she should bring all Things back to the same State they had been fix'd, when her Father dy'd; and after that by easie and regular Steps she might again return to a full Obedience to the See of *Rome*. But she herself was more inclin'd to return immediately into the Bosom of the *Romish* Church; and she thought she could not any other way be legitimated, but in this she was in danger of proceeding too hastily. *Gardiner* finding that Political Maxims made no great Impression upon her, and that he was esteem'd by her as a subtle temporizing Man, address'd himself to the Emperor, who better understood Government and Mankind; and undertook, that if he would procure him to be Chancellor, he would so manage Affairs, that in a short Time he would effect all things to the Queen's Desire; and that there was no Danger but in her making too large Steps, and being so much govern'd by *Italian* Councils: For he understood that she had already sent for Cardinal *Pool*. The People had a strong Aversion to the Papal Authority, and the Nobility and Gentry were apprehensive of losing the Abby-Lands; therefore it was necessary gradually and slowly to remove those Prejudices. He also assur'd the Emperor, That he would zealously serve all his Interests, and shew'd him how necessary it was to stop the coming of Cardinal *Pool*, who stood attainted by Act of Parliament; and in this he was the more urgent, because he knew the Cardinal hated him. The Emperor upon this wrote so effectually to the Queen to depend upon *Gardiner's* Counsels, that on the thirteenth of *August* he was made Lord Chancellor, and the Conduct of Affairs put chiefly into his Hands. The old Duke of *Norfolk* was also much regarded by the Queen, who being now at liberty, alledg'd that he was never truly Attainted, and that it was no legal Act that had pass'd against him; by which Plea he recover'd his Estate, and all the Grants that had been made out of it, were declar'd void at Common Law.

He was made Lord High-Steward for the Trial of the Duke of *Northumberland*, with his Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marquess of *Northampton*. All that they pleaded for themselves lay in two Points; the one was, *Whether any thing acted by Order of Council, and the Authority of the Great Seal, could be Treason?* The other was, *Whether such as were as guilty as themselves, could sit and judge them?* The Judges answer'd, *That the Great Seal, or Privy-Council of one that was not lawful Queen, could give no Authority, nor Indemnity*: And, *That all Peers who were not convicted by Record, might legally judge them*. These Points being determin'd against them, they pleaded *Guilty*, and submitted to the Queen's Mercy; so Sentence pass'd upon them: And the next Day Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and some others, were try'd and condemn'd: But of all these, it was resolv'd, that only *Northumberland*, *Gates* and *Palmer* should suffer. Bishop *Heath* was appointed to attend on *Northumberland*, and to prepare him for Death: He then profess'd *He had always been of the old Religion in his Heart, and had comply'd*

Her present Design.

Bishop Gardiner's Contrivances.

He is made Lord Chancellor.

The Trials of Northumberland and others.

They are be-headed. ply'd against his Conscience; but whether it was true, or spoken in Hopes of Life, as it cannot be certainly known, so it shews he had but little Religion, either in his Life, or at his Death. But he was a Man of such a high Temper, that it was resolv'd to put him out of a Capacity of revenging himself upon his Enemies: So on the twenty second of *August*, he and the other two were be-headed. There past some Expostulations between him and *Gates*, each accusing the other as the Author of their Ruin; but they were seemingly reconcil'd, and profess'd they forgave one another. The Duke made a long Speech, confessing his former ill Life, and the Justice of the Sentence against him; 'He exhorted the People to stand to the Religion of their Ancestors, and to reject all Novel ties, and to drive the Preachers of them out of the Nation; and declared he had temporiz'd against his Conscience, and that he was always of the Religion of his Fore-Fathers. And thus dy'd the ambitious Duke of *Northumberland*; who was an extraordinary Man, 'till he was rais'd very high: But that transported him beyond Measure, and he was so strangely chang'd in the last Passages of his Life, that it increas'd the Jealousies of his having hasten'd King *Edward's* Death; and that the Horrors of that Guilt did so haunt him, that both the Judgment and Courage shown in the former Parts of his Life, seem'd now to have quite abandon'd him. However the Duke of *Somerset's* Blood lay heavy upon him; and it is observable, That as he suffer'd under the same Fate, and upon the very same Block, that the other did; so it was his Fortune to be laid under the same Stone, in the same Grave, where they now lye like good Friends, who living were irreconcilable Enemies.

King Edward's Funeral.

As to King *Edward's* Death, there was no strict Enquiry made after it; and all the Honour done to his Memory, was to allow him Funeral Rites. On the eighth Day of *August*, he was bury'd at *Westminster*; and the Queen had a solemn Obsequy, and Masses for him in the Tower. Bishop *Day* was appointed to preach the Funeral Sermon; in which he prais'd the King, but severely exclaim'd against the Administration of Affairs under him. It had been resolv'd to bury him according to the old Forms; but *Cranmer* oppos'd that, and prevail'd that he should be bury'd according to the Form then establish'd by Law. He himself officiated, and ended the Solemnity with a Communion; all which he perform'd with a most lively Sorrow, as having both lov'd the King beyond Expression, and looking on his Funeral as the Burial of the Reformation, and as a great Step towards his own. This soon began to appear; for in a few Days after several Advances were made towards that Work. The Queen at first, to mollifie the Proceedings, declar'd in Council, on the twelfth Day of *August*, *That tho' she was fix'd in her own Religion, yet she would not compel others to it; but would leave that to the Motions of God's Spirit,*

A Disturbance at St. Paul's.

and the Labours of good Preachers. The Day following, Doctor *Bonner* went to *St. Paul's*, where the Sermon was preach'd by *Bourn* his Chaplain; who extremely extoll'd his Patron, and violently inveigh'd against the Sufferings he had sustain'd. Upon this a Tumult was rais'd by the People, who could not bear any Reflexions upon the pious King *Edward*: Some threw Stones at him, and one darted a Dagger at the Pulpit, with such Force, that it stuck fast in the Wood. *Rogers* and *Bradford*, two eminent Preachers, were present, and so much in credit with the People, that they easily quieted them, and convey'd *Bourn* safe to his House. This was a very desirable Accident to the Romanists; and gave them a Colour to prohibit Preaching, by a publick Inhibition in the Queen's Name. In which she declar'd, 'That her Religion was the same that it had been from her Infancy, but that she would compel none of her Subjects in Matters of Religion, *till publick Order should be taken in it by common Consent.* She requir'd her People to live peaceably, and not to use the Terms of *Papist* or *Heretick*, or other reproachful Speeches; and that none should preach *without her special Licence*: She also charg'd them not to punish any on the Account of the late Rebellion.

The Queen's Inhibitions.

but as they should be authoriz'd by her. She would be sorry to be driven to execute the Severity of the Law; *but was resolv'd not to suffer Rebellious Actions to go unpunish'd.* This gave great Occasion for Censure: It shew'd what Religion she profess'd, which was worse than that of her Father: Her special Licence was an immediate Interdict upon all the Pulpits in *England*; and her threatening to proceed against such as were guilty of the late Revolt, struck a great Terror to the City of *London*; for the chief of the City were principally concern'd in it.

Now all Things began to be carry'd on with great Warmth and Violence; yet still the *Suffolk* Gentlemen imagin'd that their Services and the Queen's Promises gave them a Title to own their Religion more avowedly: But Orders were sent to the Bishop of *Norwich* to execute the Queen's Injunctions, and to see that none preach'd without a special Licence. Upon which some of those who had been most serviceable in her Necessities, came to put the Queen in mind of her positive Promise: But she sent them home with a severe Answer, *That the Members ought not to rule the Head; but they were to learn to obey, and not to govern*: And when one of them more confidently insisted upon her Promise, he was order'd to stand three Days in the Pillory, as having said Words tending to defame the Queen; which was a dismal Omen of a severe Government, when the claiming of Promises pass'd for a Crime. *Bradford* and *Rogers* were also secur'd, upon a Pretence that the Authority they shew'd in quieting the Tumult, was a Proof that they had first rais'd it. *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstal*, *Heath* and *Day* were all restor'd to their Bishopricks, and the Sentences pass'd against them in the late Reign null'd. *Gardiner* had Authority given him to grant Priests Licences to preach in any Church, as he should appoint; by which the Reformed were not only silenc'd, but their Churches and Pulpits were thrown open to such as that unreasonable Man should send among them. This caus'd the Imprisonment of many, and particularly the two Bishops of *Exeter* and *Glocester*, *Coverdale*, and *Hooper*. Images began to be set up, and the old Rites were in many Places renew'd, all which was encourag'd by the Government, tho' directly against Law. Of this Judge *Hales* was sensible, who thought his Refusing to concur with the rest for excluding the Queen gave him no common Privilege; therefore when he went his Circuit, in his Charge at *Kent* he requir'd the Justices to see to the Execution of King *Edward's* Laws, that still continu'd in Force. But upon his Return he was for this committed to the *Marshalsea*, and remov'd from Prison to Prison, where the good old Man was so terrify'd with his Enemies Designs, that his Brain was turn'd; and he first made an Attempt upon his Life with a Pen-knife, and tho' he was afterwards set at Liberty, his Disorder was so great that he drowned himself. On the other side Judge *Bromley*, tho' he had made no Scruple in declaring for the Queen's Exclusion, yet since he profess'd himself a Papist, was made Lord Chief Justice: And *Montague*, who had proceeded in it with extream Aversion, yet because he was for the Reformation, was imprison'd, depriv'd of his Lands given him by the late King, and severely punish'd: Tho' he had this Merit to plead, that he had sent his Son and a Body of Men to declare for the Queen; and had this also to recommend him to her Pity, that he had a Family of six Sons, and eleven Daughters.

During these melancholy Prospects, *Cranmer*, who for a while had kept himself quiet, was advis'd by some Friends to fly beyond Sea; but he answer'd, *That tho' he could not dissuade others from flying in such a threatening Storm, yet it was unbecoming a Man in his Station, who was so deeply concern'd in the Changes formerly made.* Therefore he prepar'd a Paper, in which he declar'd himself, with *Peter Martyr*, and some others, ready to prove the Errors of the Mass, and to defend the whole Doctrine and Service publish'd by the late King, as most conformable to the Word of God, and the Practice of the ancient Church for many Ages. This being discover'd by an Accident, the Arch-

*Her Treatment
of the Suffolk
Gentlemen.*

*And of Judge
Hales.*

*And of Judge
Montague.*

Cranmer, Latimer, and others imprisoned.

Great Numbers leave the Nation.

The Queen's Coronation.

Her Largess to her Subjects.

Arch-Bishop was cited to the Star-Chamber, to answer to it: He acknowledged it was his, and declar'd he design'd to have enlarg'd it, and affix'd it on St. *Paul's* and other Churches. He was at this Time dismiss'd; for *Gardiner*, who saw the Queen design'd to put Cardinal *Pool* in his See, now us'd all Endeavours to preserve him. Some discreetly mov'd that a small Pension might be assign'd him, and that he should be suffer'd to live privately: For the happy Sweetness of his Temper had procur'd such an universal Love from the People, that it was thought too bold a Step to proceed to Extremities with such a Man. Others said, he had been the chief Author of all the Heresie in the Nation, and that it was not decent for the Queen to shew any Favour to him, that had pronounc'd the Sentence of her Mother's Divorce. These last Counsels prevail'd most with the zealous Queen; and within a Week after, he and Bishop *Latimer*, and several other Preachers were committed to Prison. *Peter Martyr*, who had come over upon the publick Faith, had leave given him to depart the Nation; so had *John a Lasco*, and the *German* Congregation. Many of the *English* foreseeing the Storm, resolv'd to withdraw in Time; and when the Strangers were requir'd to be gone, they went under that Covert in great Numbers. But the Council understanding that about a thousand had so convey'd themselves away, gave Order that none should be suffer'd to go as Strangers, but those who had a Certificate from the Ambassador of the Princes to whom they belong'd. With those who fled beyond Sea, several eminent Preachers went; among whom were *Cox*, *Sandys*, *Grindal* and *Horn*, all highly advanc'd by Queen *Elizabeth*.

These Things began to alienate the People from the Government, therefore on the other Side, great Care was taken to mollifie and sweeten them. The Queen bestow'd the chief Offices of her Household on those who had assisted her in her Extremity; there being no Way more effectual to ingage all to adhere to the Crown, than the grateful Acknowledgment of past Services. An unusual Honour was done to *Ratcliff* Earl of *Suffex*, who had a particular Licence granted him under the Great-Seal to cover his Head in the Queen's Presence. These Things being settled, she proceeded to her Coronation; and on the last Day of *September* she rode in her open Chariot through *London* towards *Westminster*, attended with a glorious Cavalcade in this Order. First rode a great Number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Bishops, then Lords, then the Council; after whom follow'd the knights of the *Bath* in their Robes, then the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellor, and the Marquess of *Winchester* Lord High-Treasurer: Next came the Duke of *Norfolk*, and after him the Earl of *Oxford*, who bore the Sword; then the Lord Mayor in Crimson Velvet, who bore the Scepter of Gold: Then came the Queen's Chariot, follow'd by another Chariot, in which sat her Sister *Elizabeth* with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*; who were likewise follow'd by a noble Train of Ladies and Gentlewomen on Horseback. In this Order they rode through the principal Streets to *Westminster*, where in many Places were magnificent Pageants and Shews, and many rich Presents were made to the Queen. The next Day she was publicly crown'd at *Westminster*, by Bishop *Gardiner*, who with ten other Bishops, all in their Mitres, Coapes and Crofiers, perform'd that Ceremony with great Pomp and Solemnity; and Bishop *Day* preach'd the Coronation Sermon. But *Gardiner* had prepar'd a Largess of an extraordinary Nature for the Queen to distribute that Day among the People; besides a general Pardon, he caus'd a Proclamation to be publish'd, setting forth, 'That the Queen did discharge her Subjects of the two Tenths, two Fifteenths, and a Subsidy that had been granted by the last Parliament: And she also declar'd that she would both pay her Father's and her Brother's Debts; and tho' her Treasure was much exhausted, yet she esteem'd the Love of her People her best Treasure, and forgave their Taxes, in lieu of which she de-

‘fir’d only the Hearts of her Subjects, and that they would serve God sincerely, and pray earnestly for her.

Not long after, on the tenth of *October*, a Parliament met according to Summons: In many Places of the Country Men had been chosen by Force and Threats; in other Places those imploy’d by the Court by Violence hinder’d the Free-holders from coming to chuse; in many Places false Returns were made; and some zealous for the Reformation were forcibly turn’d out of the House of Commons; all which was afterwards offer’d as a Ground upon which that Parliament, and all Acts made in it, might be annull’d. There only came two of the reform’d Bishops to the House of Lords, *Taylor* and *Harley*, the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford*; the two Arch-Bishops, and three Bishops were then in Prison, and the rest staid at home. When Mass began to be said, the two reform’d Bishops went out, as some report it, but were never suffer’d to return to their Places; others say, that refusing to join in that Worship, they were violently thrust out. In the House of Commons, some of the most Forward mov’d, that King *Edward’s* Laws might be review’d; but Things were not ripe enough for that Project. The Commons sent up a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, which the Lords sent down amended in two Provise’s; and the Commons did not then insist upon their Privilege, that the Lords could make no Alterations in a Mony-Bill. The only publick Bill that was finish’d this Session, was a Repeal of all late Statutes, making any Crime Treason, that was not so by the twenty fifth of *Edward* the Third; or Felony, that was not so before King *Henry* the Eighth: Excepting from the Benefit of this Act all that were put in Prison before the End of *September* last; who were likewise excepted out of the general Pardon. The Marchioness of *Exeter*, and her Son the Earl of *Devonshire*, were restor’d to Blood by two private Acts; and then the Parliament was prorogu’d for three Days, that it might be said, the first Session under the Queen, was meerly for Acts of Grace and Mercy.

At their next Meeting, a Bill pass’d through both Houses in four Days, repealing the Divorce of the Queen’s Mother; ‘In which they declar’d the Marriage to be lawful; and that malicious Persons had possess’d the King with Scruples concerning it; and had by Corruption procur’d the Seals of Foreign Universities condemning it: Upon which *Cranmer* had pronounc’d the Sentence of Divorce, which had been confirm’d in Parliament: They therefore looking upon the Miseries that had befallen the Nation, since that Time, as Judgments from God for that Sentence, did now condemn it, and repeal the Acts confirming it. By this *Gardiner* perform’d his Promise in procuring her to be declar’d Legitimate, without mentioning the Pope’s Authority: But in the drawing of it, he shew’d that he was past all Blushing, when he procur’d such a Repeal of a Sentence, which he had so fervilely promoted; and when he particularly knew the Falshood of this Pretence, that the Foreign Universities were corrupted; as also that he had encourag’d it long before *Cranmer* engag’d in it, and sat in Court with him when Sentence was pronounc’d. By this Act the Princess *Elizabeth* was in effect illegitimated a second Time, since the Ground on which her Mother’s Marriage subsisted, was the Divorce of the first: And it was upon this Pretence, or from old Resentments, or a new Rivalry, that the Queen, who had hitherto treated her as a Sister, began now to use her more severely. The next Bill was a Repeal of all the Laws, made in King *Edward’s* Reign, concerning Religion; ‘By which, all Matters of Religion were again brought back to the same State King *Henry* had left them; and this was to take Place about two Months after, ‘till when all were at liberty to use the old or new Service, as they pleas’d. Another Act pass’d against all that should disquiet any Preacher for his Sermons, or interrupt Divine Offices; ‘by which the Queen was empower’d to restore the Service in all Particulars, as it had been before her Father made the Breach with *Rome*. Another Law was made, That if any to the

The first Parliament in this Reign.

The Queen’s Illegitimacy repeal’d.

Other Acts.

*The Lady Jane,
Cranmer, and
others attain-
ted of Treason.*

‘ Number of Twelve should meet to alter any Thing in Religion, or for any
‘ Riot, or should by any publick Notice, such as Bells and Beacons, gather
‘ the People together, and should not disperse themselves, upon Proclamation,
‘ they and their Assistants were made guilty of Felony: And if any more than
‘ two met for those Ends, they should suffer a Year’s Imprisonment. By this
all the Favour of the former Act of Repeal vanish’d, and prov’d no better than
Delusion. The Marques of *Northampton*’s second Marriage was annul’d, as
being founded upon false Surmises; and so was the Attainder of the Duke of
Norfolk set aside by this Parliament. At the same time Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*,
Guilford Dudley, and his Wife the Lady *Jane*, and two of his Brothers were
try’d for Treason: They all confess’d the Indictments, only *Cranmer* appeal’d to
the Judges, who knew with what Reluctancy he had consented to the Exclusion
of the Queen, and that he refus’d it, ’till they, whose Profession it was to
know the Law, had sign’d it. They were all attainted of Treason for levying
War against the Queen, and their Attainders were confirm’d in this Parlia-
ment. Thus was *Cranmer* legally divested of his Arch-Bishoprick; but since
he was put into it by the Pope’s Authority, it was resolv’d to degrade him by
the Forms of the Canon Law; and the Queen was willing to pardon his Trea-
son, that it might appear she did not act upon a Spirit of Revenge, but Zeal.
In Reality, she was often prevail’d upon to pardon Injuries against her self,
but was ever inexorable in Matters of Religion.

*The Queen’s
secret Designs.*

About this Time two Things began to be discover’d, which put the Parlia-
ment and Nation in much Disorder: The one was the Queen’s secret Treaty
with the Court of *Rome*, and the other her design’d Marriage with the Empe-
ror’s Son *Philip*. As to the First, when she came to the Crown, the Pope’s
Legate at *Brussels* sent over *Commendone*, afterwards a Cardinal, to try if he
could speak privately with her, and to persuade her to reconcile her Kingdom
to the Apostolick See. The Management of the Affair was left to his Discre-
tion, for the Legate would not trust his important Secret to *Gardiner*, nor any
of the other Bishops. *Commendone* came over in the Disguise of a Merchant,
and by Accident met with one of the Queen’s Servants, who had liv’d some
Years beyond Sea, and being known to him, by his Means he procur’d Access
to the Queen. She assur’d him of her firm Resolution to return to the Obedi-
ence of that See, but charg’d him to proceed with great Niceness and Pru-
dence; for if it were too early discover’d, it might disturb her Affairs, and
obstruct the Design. By him she wrote both to the Pope, and to Cardinal *Pool*,
and urg’d the sending over *Pool* with a Legantine Power: She also ask’d him,
whether the Pope might not dispence with the Cardinal to marry, since he was
only in Deacons Orders. This prov’d the Foundation of *Commendone*’s Ad-
vancement, and was a joyful Message to the Court of *Rome*; where was a pub-
lick Thanksgiving for three Days, and the Pope said Mass himself; and gave
a Largess of Indulgences, in which he was the more liberal, because they were
like to recover their former Reputation. Yet all that *Commendone* declar’d in
the Consistory, was, *That he understood from good Hands, that Queen Mary
was dispos’d to a Re-union.* Some of the stiffer Cardinals thought it below the
Pope’s Dignity to send a Legate, ’till an Embassie came first from the Queen to
desire that Favour; but the Secret being generally whisper’d among them, and
the Success insur’d, Cardinal *Pool* was appointed to go Legate, with a plenary
Authority. *Gardiner* was very apprehensive of this Man, and therefore advis’d
the Emperor to stop him in his Journey; and to touch the Emperor in the
tenderest Part, it is said that he let him know that the Queen had some In-
clinations for the Cardinal. The Emperor had now propos’d a Match with
her for his Son, tho’ he was nine Years younger than she; yet she being but thirty
seven, there was Reason sufficient to hope for Children; and the uniting *England*
to the *Spanish* Monarchy seem’d to be all that was wanting to the Ruin of the
French Kingdom. The Queen found strong Inducements to determine her to
this

*Cardinal Pool
order’d for En-
gland.*

this Proposition; for she found it would be difficult, if not impracticable, to make a full Establishment of her Religion without the Assistance of a Foreign Power.

The restoring of the Papal Power, and the Match with the Prince of *Spain*, were two Things of such uneasy Digestion, that it was not fit to adventure on both at once; therefore the Emperor urg'd the Queen to begin with her Marriage, and by that she would be enabled to carry on her other Designs. At length the Queen her self was persuaded to send to *Pool*, to advise him to stop his Journey for some Time; to whom she sent over the Acts of this Parliament, 'To let him know what Progress she was making, and to assure him she would use all convenient Expedition in the Re-union: But the Parliament had express'd so great an Aversion to the restoring the Pope's Power, and were so apprehensive of losing the Abby-Lands, that it would greatly prejudice her Affairs, if she came over before her Subjects Minds were better prepar'd. To shew her Confidence in him, she also desir'd him to send her a List of such as were most proper to be made Bishops, in Room of those remov'd. The Cardinal was very uneasy at his being stopp'd in his Journey, and wrote her a long Answer, 'In which he rejoic'd at the Acts that were pass'd, but observ'd great Defects in them: In that concerning her Mother's Marriage, there was no Mention made of the Pope's Bull of Dispensation, by which only it could be a lawful Marriage: The other for setting up the Worship, as it was in the End of her Father's Reign, was more exceptionable, for the Nation was then in a State of Schism, and so this had establish'd Schism by a Law. He declar'd that he had been very frankly dispatch'd by the Pope and the Consistory, with many favourable Instructions; but if these were so despis'd, and he still stopp'd, it might provoke his Holiness to recall his Power. He was sensible all this flow'd from the Emperor, who perhaps would advise her to follow such Political Maxims as had govern'd him; but his ill Success in the Business of the *Interim*, might well discourage others from following such Counsels: And he fear'd that carnal Policy might govern her so much, as she would fall from her Simplicity in Christ. He desir'd her to take Courage, and depend upon God; and advis'd her to go her self to the Parliament, having first prepar'd some to second her, and to declare, *That she was touch'd in Conscience with a Sense of Sin of the Schism, and that therefore she desir'd the Act of Attainder that stood against Cardinal Pool might be repeal'd, and that he might be invited to come over, and reconcile them to the Apostolick See*: And she might assure them, *That all necessary Caution should be taken to prevent the Nation's being brought under a Thralldom to the Papacy*. But the Queen was prepossess'd with *Gardiner's* Counsels, and esteem'd the Cardinal's Advice as more candid, than really prudent. *Gardiner* persuaded her that tho' he was a good and learned Man, yet he understood not the present Genius of the Nation; and *Pool* look'd upon *Gardiner* as a Man of no Conscience, and more conversant in Intrigues of State, than touch'd with any Sense of Religion: But the Emperor was convinc'd that *Gardiner's* Methods were more secure, therefore he preferr'd them to those of the other.

When the Treaty of the Queen's Marriage was publicly known, the House of Commons were much alarm'd at it; and they sent their Speaker and twenty of their Members, with an Address to her, not to marry a Stranger; in which they shew'd so much Heat and Resentment, that the Court judg'd it necessary to dissolve the Parliament. Upon this *Gardiner* let the Emperor know, *That the Jealousies rais'd upon the Account of the Match were so strong, that except very extraordinary Conditions were offer'd, it would occasion a general Rebellion*. He also wrote to him that large Sums must be sent over both to gratifie the Nobility, and enable them to carry the Elections in the next Parliament, against all Opposers. As for Conditions, the Emperor was resolv'd to grant any that should be demanded; for he concluded that if his Son were once marry'd

marry'd to the Queen, it would be easie for him to goven the Councils as he pleas'd: And for Mony there was no less than four hundred thousand Pounds order'd to be divided in the Nation, at the Discretion of *Gardiner*, and the Emperor's Ambassadors, at several Times. This Mony was borrow'd by the Emperor from some of the free Towns of *Germany*; and when they were urging him for the Re-Payment of it about a Year after, he for his Excuse alledg'd the Charge he had been at for his Son's Marriage, but that he hop'd to be re-imburs'd from *England*, which was thus bought and sold by a designing Prelate, and a corrupted Parliament. *Gardiner* did also basely make use of his Power, as Chancellor, to oblige all People to comply with him; and in his Court of Chancery no Favour or common Justice was shewn to any Persons who were not of his Interest.

A. D. 1554. Reg. 1. In the Beginning of the following Year, a noble Embassie came over from the Emperor, to agree on the Conditions of Marriage between his Son and the Queen. In the managing of this Treaty, *Gardiner* had a principal Share; for he was the Oracle of the Council-Board, as having thirty Years Experience in Affairs, and a great Knowledge of the Courts of Christendom, and of the State of *England*. In drawing the Articles of the Marriage, he had a double Design; one was, to have them so fram'd, as they might easily pass in Parliament; and the other was, to exclude the *Spaniards* from having any Share in the Government of *England*, which he design'd to hold in his own Hands. Accordingly it was agreed 'That the Government, and Gift of Places, should be entirely in Queen *Mary*; and tho' Prince *Philip* was to be call'd King, nam'd in all Writs, and his Image put on the Coin and Seals, yet the Queen's Hand alone was to give Authority to every Thing, without his: No *Spaniard* was to be capable of any Office: No change was to be made in the Law, nor was the Queen to be requir'd to go out of *England* against her Will; nor might their Issue go out of *England*, but by the Consent of the Nobility. The Queen was to have a Jointure of forty thousand Pounds a Year out of *Spain*, and twenty thousand Pounds out of the *Netherlands*: If the Queen had a Son, it was to inherit *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands* as well as *England*; and if *Philip's* present Son dy'd, it was to inherit all the *Spanish* Dominions: If the Queen had only Daughters, they were to succeed to her Crown, and have such Portions from *Spain*, as was usually given to Kings Daughters. Prince *Philip* was to have no Share in the Government after her Death: And the Queen might still keep up the League with *France*, notwithstanding this Match. These were the Conditions concluded at present, and afterwards confirm'd in Parliament; by which it appears that the *Spaniards* were resolv'd to have the Marriage upon any Terms; not doubting, but if Prince *Philip* were once in *England*, he could easily enlarge his Authority at Pleasure.

Yet all these did not satisfie the Nation, which look'd upon them as so many Baits to ensnare them into Slavery. The Severities of the *Spaniards* Government and Inquisition in their own Provinces, and the monstrous Cruelties exercis'd in the *West-Indies*, were loud in every Man's Mouth; and it was said, That *England* must now preserve it self, or for ever be in Bondage. These Things had great Influence upon many; but the chief Conspirators were the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wiat*, and Sir *Peter Carew*: The first was to raise the Mid-land Counties, the second the County of *Kent*, and the third *Cornwall*; hoping by rising in such remote Places, they might engage the Commons, who were now as much disgusted with their Queen, as they were formerly fond of her. But before the Design was ripe, the Project in the West was discover'd, upon which *Carew* fled into *France*. *Wiat* gather'd some Men about him in *Kent*, and on the twenty fifth of *January* he made Proclamation at *Maidstone*, 'That he design'd nothing but to preserve the Nation from the Yoke of Strangers; and assur'd the People that all *England* would make an Insurrection upon the same Cause. The Sheriff of *Kent* requir'd him, under

Pain of Treason, to disperse his Company, but he did not obey his Summons. One *Knevet* also rais'd a Body of Men about *Tunbridge*, and march'd towards him, but was intercepted and defeated by a Force commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was sent with two hundred Horse and six hundred *Londoners* to disperse this Insurrection: But some who came over from *Wiat* as Deserters, persuaded the *Londoners* that it was a common Cause, in which they were engag'd to maintain the Liberty of the Nation; upon which they all went over to *Wiat*, crying out, *We are all English Men!* This oblig'd the Duke of *Norfolk* to retire back to *London*; and *Wiat*, who had kept himself under the Defence of *Rocheſter* Bridge, advanc'd forwards, sending to the Duke of *Suffolk* to hasten his Designs. But that Duke, who was always of a mean Spirit, after a feeble Attempt to raise the Country, desisted and fled to a private House, where he was taken and brought Prisoner to the Tower.

Wiat's Party increas'ing, the Queen sent an Offer of Pardon to him and his Men; but that not being receiv'd, she sent some of her Council to treat with him, and he being greatly swell'd with his small Success, propos'd, 'That the Queen should come to the Tower of *London*, and put the Command of it into his Hands, 'till a new Council was establish'd about her. Upon these extravagant Proposals, there only pass'd high Words, without any Determination. Upon which the Queen attended with many Noblemen went to *Guild-Hall*, and before the Citizens gave an Account of her Message to *Wiat*, and his Answer: And as for her Marriage, she declar'd, *She had done nothing without the Advice of her Nobles; That having liv'd so long a Virgin, she was willing to continue in the same Condition, if the States of the Realm thought it proper.* *Wiat* was now four thousand strong, and march'd into *Southwark*, on the second of *February*, but could not force the Bridge of *London*: He was inform'd that the Citizens would all rise, if he should come to their Assistance; but he could not find Boats for his Passage over into *Essex*, therefore he was oblig'd to go to the Bridge of *Kingston*. On the fourth he came to *Kingston*, where the Queen had order'd the Bridge to be cut; but his Men repairing it, he cross'd the River that Night: And tho' he lost much Time in mending one of his Carriages that broke by the Way, he was at *Hide-Park* by nine a Clock next Morning, it being *Ash-Wednesday*. The Earl of *Pembroke* had gather'd a considerable Body of Men to have attack'd him, for his own Men were now in great Disorder; but they stood as Spectators, to let him throw himself into their Hands. He did not march by *Holborn*, as some advis'd, but came down to *Charing-Cross*; where the Lord *Clinton* fell in between the several Bodies of his Men, and so dispers'd them, that he had not five hundred left about him: But with those that remain'd he pass'd through the *Strand* and *Fleet-street*, to *Ludgate*, where he stopp'd, expecting to have the Gates open'd to him. Upon his Return towards *Temple-Bar*, he found himself surrounded by the Earl of *Pembroke's* Horse; and *Clarenceaux*, King at Arms, press'd *Wiat* to yield himself, *and not by drawing the Blood of so many valiant Men, forfeit all Hopes of the Queen's Mercy.* His Men seem'd to be resolute, but he in Despair yielded, and was carry'd to the Queen; who all this while shew'd great Courage, and would not go to the Tower, as many advis'd her, but went with her Women and Priests to her Devotions. Thus ended this Rebellion, which being raw and ill-form'd was as fortunate for the Ends of the Court, as if *Gardiner* had projected it; for in a weak Government, an ill digested Insurrection raises the Power of the Prince, and adds as much Spirit to his Friends as it depresses the Faction against him; and gives a Handle to some Things for which otherwise they could neither find Colour nor Instruments.

One Effect of this was, the severe Proceedings against the Lady *Jane*, and her Husband the Lord *Guilford*, who were both order'd to prepare for Death. The admirable Lady was not much disorder'd at the fatal Message; for she knew, upon the first Jealousie she must be the Sacrifice, therefore had now liv'd

The Queen's Preparations against him.

He enters London.

He yields himself to the Queen.

The Lady Jane and her Husband, order'd to die.

Her Behaviour upon it.

liv'd six Months in the continual Meditations of Death. Doctor *Fecknam*, afterwards Abbot of *Westminster*, was sent to her from the Queen, who had a long Conversation with her. But she answer'd him with that Calmness of Mind, and Clearness of Reason, that it was amazing to find so young a Person, of her Sex and Quality, look on approaching Death with so little Disorder, and talk so sensibly and judiciously of the highest Points of Religion. *Fecknam* left her without any Hopes of prevailing; but procur'd the Continuance of her Life for three Days longer, and waited on her upon the Scaffold. She wrote to her Father to moderate his Grief for her Death, which must needs have been great since his Actions occasion'd it; declaring, 'It was a mighty Matter of Joy to her, that she was near the End of her Miseries, and the Enjoyment of eternal Glory. There was one *Harding*, who had been her Father's Chaplain, and a zealous Preacher in the Reign of King *Edward*, and before his Death had animated the People to prepare against Persecution; yet now had fallen away himself. To whom she wrote a Letter in an extraordinary Strain, full of zealous Expostulations, and severe Threatnings, for his Apostacy; but it had no just Effect upon him. The Night before her Execution, she sent her *Greek Testament* she always us'd to her Sister, as the richest Present in the World; with a Letter in the same Language, in which, in the most pious and pathetic Expressions she display'd the mighty Value of the Book, and the glorious Advantages she might obtain by it. She had also compos'd a very devout Prayer for her Retirements: And these were the last Exercises of this wondrous young Lady.

Her Husband's Execution.

The dismal Morning being come, and all People melted into the tenderest Sentiments of Pity, her Husband was first led out to a Scaffold on Tower-Hill, where he suffer'd with a most Christian Meekness. He had obtain'd leave to see his beloved Spouse, and to take his last Farewel; but she declin'd that Ceremony, as a Circumstance that would more increase their Disorder, than their Consolation; declaring, *That she hop'd they would shortly meet, and be united in a happier State.* Yet she had such a Presence of Mind, as to look on him through the Window, when he pass'd to the Scaffold; and with an Heroick unmov'd Countenance saw his headless Body afterwards brought back to be interr'd in the Chappel of the Tower. There was no doubt but the Death of this innocent Lady would excite the highest Degrees of Compassion and Regret; therefore, since the World could not bear so moving a Sight, a Scaffold was erected within the Verge of the Tower, where she might satisfy the Severity of the Law, without any Danger to the State. As she was brought out, the Lieutenant of the Tower desir'd her to favour him with some Memorial of hers; upon which she ask'd for her Table-Book, and wrote three short Sentences in *Greek*, in *Latin*, and in *English* by which she asserted her Innocency, declaring, *That if her Fault deserv'd Punishment, her Youth, at least, and her Ignorance,*

And her own.

were excusable; and that God and Posterity would shew her Favour. At last the beauteous Victim having saluted the Croud as she pass'd along, and with a charming Air of Modesty desir'd their Prayers, she mounted that Throne, where she was to receive a Crown of inestimable Value. Here she kindly embrac'd Doctor *Fecknam*, saying, *God will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your Humanity to me, tho' it gave me more uneasiness than all the Torments of my approaching Death.* Then turning to the Spectators, she confess'd, *That she had sinned in assuming the Title of Queen, and that her Consent to it was unlawful, but still it was neither procur'd, nor desir'd by her.* At which she wrung her Hands in Token of her Innocency. Then she declar'd, *She was a true Christian, and hop'd for Salvation only by the Mercy of God in the Blood of Christ: Acknowledging, That she had too much neglected the Word of God, and too much lov'd her self and the World, for which she was justly punish'd from Heaven; but she bless'd God, who by this had led her to Repentance.* Having said this, she commended her self to the Divine Mercy; then caus'd

caus'd her self to be disrob'd by some of her Ladies, who with weeping Eyes and bleeding Hearts perform'd that Office, which was no more unwelcome to her than a Preparation to Sleep. Being ready for the Block, with the same unconcern'd Countenance, as she had acted the rest of her Tragedy, she loudly repeated the fifty first Psalm; then crying, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, she submitted her Neck to the Executioner; while all the People about her were cover'd with Floods of Tears.

Thus dy'd the incomparable Lady *Jane Gray*, on the twelfth Day of *February*, being about sixteen Years of Age; whose Death was as much lamented, as her Life had been admir'd. It had a most violent Operation on Judge *Morgan*, who had pronounc'd the Sentence; for soon after he fell mad, and in all his Ravings, still call'd to take away the Lady *Jane* from him. Indeed the Odium of her Death was generally cast on her Father, rather than the Queen, who seem'd to be driven to it, rather from Considerations of State, than any Resentments of her own. Her Father was soon after try'd by his Peers, condemn'd, and executed; and was the less pity'd, because by his Means his Daughter was brought to her untimely End. *Wiat* was brought to his Trial, who begg'd his Life in the most abject manner; but he was condemn'd and executed. A Slander was cast upon the Earl of *Devonshire* and the Princess *Elizabeth*, as if they had promoted the design'd Insurrection in the West; for *Wiat*, in Hopes of Life, had accus'd them, but he did them Justice at his Death; yet still they were both put in Prison about it. Fifty eight were executed in several Places, and six hundred of the Rabble were appointed to come before the Queen with Halters about their Necks, and beg their Lives, which she granted them. And thus was the Storm dissipated; only the Effusion of Blood after it was thought too liberal, and this Excess of Punishment was generally cast on *Gardiner*, who by this means became hateful to the Nation, which has been always much mov'd at Acts of Severity.

Her Father's Execution.

The Princess Elizabeth imprisoned.

III. Queen *Mary* being by the Death of one, and the Imprisonment of another, freed from all Fears of Rivalry as to the Crown, now proceeded after her own Way without Reserve. She gave a special Commission to *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tonstall*, *Day* and *Kitchin*, to proceed against the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and the Bishops of *St. David's*, *Chester* and *Bristol*, and to deprive them of their Bishopricks, for having contracted Marriage. She also authoriz'd them to summon the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Glocester* and *Hereford*, who held their Bishopricks only during their good Behaviour, and to declare their Bishopricks void. And thus were seven of the Reformed Bishops depriv'd at once, without any Form of Process, by an Act of meer arbitrary Government. Bishop *Goodrick* dy'd this Year: *Scory* Bishop of *Chichester* renounc'd his Wife and did Penance, but soon after fled beyond Sea; and *Barlow* resign'd his Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, and also fled beyond Sea. By all these Deprivations and Resignations, there were sixteen new Bishops created, in whom the Queen confided, which made no small Change in the Face of the *English* Church. Now the old Service was set up in all Places; in which *Bonner* us'd such Precipitation, that before the Royal Assent was given to the Bill for it, he began the old Services and Processions, which were perform'd after an extraordinary Manner. Great Numbers of the Clergy were summarily depriv'd for being marry'd; and of the sixteen thousand Clergymen then in the Nation, there were about twelve thousand, according to *Parker*, turn'd out upon this Account: Most of them were judg'd upon common Fame, without any Process but a Citation; and many of them then in Prison, were punish'd for Non-Appearance. Many Books were written, numerous Reflections pass'd, and great Disturbances were occasion'd. And at this Time a notorious Impostor was discover'd in *London*; one seem'd to speak out of a Wall in a strange Tone: Which caus'd great Numbers to flock about the House, where they heard several things utter'd relating

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Reg. 2.

Vast Severities against the Reformed Clergy.

An Impostor in London.

to Religion and the State. It was found to be one *Elizabeth Crofts*, who by a Whistle spoke through a Hole in the Wall; for which she was oblig'd to do publick Penance in St. *Paul's*.

The second
Parliament in
this Reign.

On the second Day of *April* a new Parliament met, which was the second ^{Barre} in this Reign; but the most considerable Members were before corrupted by *Gardiner*, who gave them Pensions, some two hundred, and others a hundred Pound a Year for their Voices. The first Act that pass'd was Declaratory, 'That all the Prerogatives and Limitations, which by Law belong'd to the Kings of *England*, were the same, whether the Crown fell into the Hands of a Male or Female. The real Meaning of this was little known; some fear'd there was a pernicious Design in it, and that it being declar'd that she had all the Authority of any of her Progenitors, it might be inferr'd that she by this could pretend to a Right of Conquest, and like *William* the Conqueror, seize on the Estates of the *English*. But it was so conceiv'd, that the Queen was put under the same Limitations, as well as acknowledg'd to have the same Prerogatives, with her Predecessors. The Secret of this Act was afterwards discover'd: A projecting Man, who had serv'd *Cromwell*, and had been deeply engag'd in the Lady *Jane's* Affair, and the late Insurrection, by making a timely Application to the Emperor's Ambassador, obtain'd his Pardon; and for Amends he offer'd a Project to the Ambassador, that the Queen should declare, that she succeeded to the Crown by the Common-Law, but was not bound by the Statute-Law, which only oblig'd Kings and not Queens, by which she might pretend to be a Conqueror, and rule at Pleasure; and by that might restore both Religion and the Abby-Lands, without any Restraint. This was brought to the Queen by the Ambassador, who begg'd of her to keep it very secret. She dislik'd the Paper, yet she sent for *Gardiner*, and charg'd him to give her his Opinion of it sincerely, *as he would answer to God for it at the great Day*. He read it carefully, and told her, *It was a most pernicious Contrivance*, and begg'd of her *not to hearken to such Plat-Forms, which might be brought her by base Sycophants*: Upon that she burnt the Paper, and order'd the Ambassador to bring her no more of such Projects. This gave *Gardiner* sensible Apprehensions of the Mischiefs that *Spanish* Counsels might bring upon the Nation, and therefore he procur'd the fore-mention'd Act to be made, by which the Queen was as much bound by the Statute-Law as her Predecessors.

The Articles
of the Queen's
design'd Mar-
riage confirm'd.

He also procur'd an Act to be pass'd, ratifying the Articles of the Marriage of the Queen, with very strong Clauses, for keeping the Government intirely in the Queen's Hands; so that Prince *Philip* might not take it upon him, as *Henry VII.* had done, when he marry'd the Heir of the House of *York*: For as that King set up a Title in his own Name, and kept the Government in his own Hands; so the *Spaniards* began now to derive a Descent from *John of Gaunt*, Father to *Henry IV.* which caus'd *Gardiner* to be the more cautious in this Matter. And it must be acknowledg'd, that the preserving of the Nation out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*, was almost only owing to his Care and Wisdom. In this Parliament several other Bills were prepar'd against the *Lollards*, and for the six Articles, but none of them pass'd; nor nothing material was enacted besides a Confirmation of former Attainders, and the Restoration of the Bishoprick of *Durham*: So the Parliament was dissolv'd on the twenty fifth Day of *May*.

The Parlia-
ment dissolv'd.

A publick Dis-
putation at Ox-
ford.

During this Parliament, the Convocation sat; and that they might remove the Objections that some made, that the chief of the Reformers were kept in Prison, while the Cause was debating in the last Meeting, they sent a Committee of their ablest Men to *Oxford*, to dispute with *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, who were also sent thither. When *Cranmer* was brought before them, they exhorted him to return to the Unity of the Church, and fell into a long Dispute; in which *Weston* the Prolocutor often call'd him an *Unlearned and Impudent Man*: But he carry'd himself with that Gravity and Mildness, that

it drew Tears from the Eyes of many. Yet the whole Action was carry'd with such indecent Hissing and Insulting, and ended with such Shouts of Triumph against *Cranmer*, that it was visible there was nothing intended, but to abuse the Ignorant People; and make them imagine he was utterly defeated. *Ridley* was brought out the next Day, who began with deep Protestations of his Sincerity, and that nothing but the Force of Truth had caus'd him to change those Opinions in which he had been first educated. Yet the Dispute was carry'd on with the same Insultings, that had been us'd the Day before; and in Conclusion the Prolocutor bid the Assembly cry out with him, *Truth has the Victory!* *Latimer* was brought out the third Day, who told them he was fourscore Years of Age, and had his Memory impair'd; and tho' he could not dispute with the Accuracy of some Men, yet his Faith was firmly founded on the Word of God. They seem'd more to laugh than to answer him; and during the whole Debates, the Noise and Disorder was such, that it look'd more like a Country Game, than a Dispute among Divines. At length the Committee of Convocation condemn'd them all, as obstinate Hereticks, and declar'd them to be no Members of the Church: They appeal'd from their Sentence to the Judgment of God, and express'd mighty Joy at the Hopes they had of glorifying God by Dying in his Cause. *Cranmer* sent a Petition to the Council, complaining of the Disorder of these Disputes, which were so manag'd, that the World might be abus'd with the Name of a Disputation: But this was not deliver'd, for the Design was to make the Nation believe, That the Champions of the Reformation were publicly baffled. It was also resolv'd to carry some of the Prisoners to *Cambridge*, and in the same Manner to erect new Trophies in that University, as they had done at *Oxford*. Upon which, three of the imprison'd Bishops, and seven Divines, sign'd a Paper, by which they declar'd, 'They would ingage in no Dispute, but in Writing; unless it were in the Presence of the Queen, or the Council, or before either of the Houses of Parliament. For it was visible, the Design of Disputing was not to find out the Truth; nor could they expect any fair Dealing, where their Enemies were to be their Judges, who would not suffer them to speak their Minds freely; and after so long an Imprisonment their Books and Papers being detain'd from them, they could not be furnish'd to answer many Things objected against them. Then they added a short Account of their Persuasions in the chief Points of Controversie, which they would be ready to defend on fair and equal Terms; and concluded with a Charge to all the People, 'Not to rebel against the Queen, but to obey all her Commands, that were not contrary to the Law of God.

*The reformed
Divines remon-
strate.*

Not long after, on the twentieth of *July*, Prince *Philip* with a numerous Fleet arriv'd at *Southampton*; and at his first Landing, he drew his Sword, and carry'd it for some Time naked in his Hand; which was interpreted as an Omen, that he design'd to rule by his Sword, but his Friends said, it signify'd, *That he would draw his Sword for the Defence of the Nation.* The Mayor of *Southampton* brought him the Keys of the Town, which he took from him, and return'd them, without the least Indication of his being pleas'd with this Respect shewn only to their Sovereign Prince; which being contrary to the Genius of the *English* Nation, which is always oblig'd at the gracious Smiles of their Kings, was thought a Sign of vast Pride and Moroseness. The Queen met him with a noble Train at *Winchester*, where Bishop *Gardiner* marry'd them with great Solemnity on the twenty fifth of *July*; he being then in the twenty seventh, and the Queen in the thirty eighth Year of her Age. Here the Emperor by his Ambassador resign'd to him his Titular Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples*: So that they were proclaim'd with a pompous Enumeration of all their Titles; at which Time they shew'd themselves publickly with two Swords born before them, in regard of their distinct Capacities. From *Winchester* they remov'd to *Basing*, and so to *Wind-*

Reg. 2.
Phil. 1.

*The Arrival
of Prince Phi-
lip.*

*He is marry'd
to the Queen.*

for, where on the fifth of *August*, he was solemnly install'd Knight of the *Gar-ter*. On the twelfth of the same Month, he made a magnificent Entry through the principal Streets of *London*, with all the Poms usual at a Coronation. The Triumphs of which Entertainment had continu'd longer, if the Court had not put on Mourning for the old Duke of *Norfolk*, who dy'd at *Framingham* Castle in *September*, to the great Sorrow of the Queen, who intirely lov'd him:

The Duke of
Norfolk dies.

King Philip
preserves the
Princess Eli-
zabeth.

King *Philip's* fullen Gravity was very unacceptable to the *English*; who ever lov'd a Medium between the Stiffness of the *Spaniard*, and the Gaity of the *French*; but if they were not pleas'd with his Temper, they were extreamly in love with his Bounty and Wealth: For he brought over a vast Treasure with him, twenty Carts loaden with Bullion, and ninty nine Horses and two Carts loaden with coin'd Gold and Silver; the greatest Part of which was distributed among those who had sold their Country and Religion. At his Arrival at *London*, he procur'd the Pardon of many Prisoners, and among others, of *Holgate* Arch-Bishop of *York*; but his most popular Act was his Interposing for the Preservation of the Princess *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonshire*. *Gardiner* was much fix'd against them, and thought the Work but half finish'd, while the Princess liv'd: *Wiat* had accus'd them both, in hopes of saving his own Life; but when that did not preserve him, he publicly vindicated them on the Scaffold. The Earl of *Devonshire*, to be freed from all Jealousie, went beyond Sea, and dy'd a Year after in *Italy*, as some say, of Poison, being the eleventh and last Earl of that noble Family. King *Philip* at first took care to preserve the Princess, upon a generous Account, pitying her Innocence, and hoping by such a publick Act of Favour, to recommend himself to the Nation; but afterwards Interest fortify'd those good and wise Inclinations; for when he had lost Hopes of Issue from the Queen, he consider'd that the Queen of *Scotland*, soon after marry'd to the *Dauphine*, was next in Succession to *Elizabeth*; so that if she were removed, the Crown of *England* might become an Accession to that of *France*. Therefore he took particular Care to preserve her, and probably with Hopes to have prevail'd so far upon her, by these good Offices, that if her Sister should die without Children, she might be induc'd to marry him. But this was the only Act that was really grateful and acceptable to the Nation; for he affected such an extravagant State, and was so fullen and silent, that it was not easie for any to come within the Court, and there was no Access to him without demanding it with almost as much Formality as Ambassadors us'd to Foreign Princes: And indeed his Carriage was such, that the Acting him and his *Spaniards* was one of the great Diversions of Queen *Elizabeth's* Court. This and other Matters caus'd a general Discontent to spread through most Places of the Kingdom; only *Gardiner* was well satisfy'd, since the Conduct of Affairs was put so intirely into his Hands. Many malicious Reports were spread of the Queen, particularly in *Norfolk*; where it was reported that she was with Child before the King came over; which sensibly touch'd the Queen, but after strict Examinations, the Rumour vanish'd into Air.

The third Par-
liament in this
Reign.

On the eleventh Day of *November*, the Queen's third Parliament met; and in the Writ of Summons, the Queen's Title of *Supream Head of the Church* was omitted; tho' hitherto she had not only us'd the Name, but exercis'd the Power to the highest Degree. Cardinal *Pool* was now permitted to come so near as *Flanders*; and the Temper of the Parliament being soon found favourable to the Work he was projecting, the Queen sent two Lords, *Paget* and *Hastings*, to conduct him into *England*. At the opening of the Parliament, both King and Queen rod in State to *Westminster*, each having a Sword of State, and a Cap of Maintenance carry'd before them. The first Bill that pass'd, was a Repeal of *Pool's* Attainder, which was read by the Commons three Times in one Day; and the Bill was perfected, without making a Session by

by a short Prorogation. He came over, and enter'd privately into *London*; for the Pope's Authority not being yet acknowledg'd, he could not be receiv'd as Legate. His Instructions were full and ample, besides the Authority commonly lodg'd with Legates; which consists in a Power to overthrow and dispense with almost all the Rules and Canons of the Church. He made his first Speech to the King and Queen, and then to the Parliament, in the Name of the common Pastor, lovingly inviting them to return to the Sheepfold of the Church. As he was delivering his plausible Speech, the Queen felt an unusual Emotion of Joy within her, which she judg'd to be a Child quickning in her Womb; which Belief being heighten'd by the flattering Court Ladies, the Council order'd Bishop *Bonner* to sing *Te Deum* at *St. Paul's*, which was succeeded with all the usual Marks of Exultation. Both Houses agreed upon an Address to the King and Queen, 'That they would intercede with the Legate, to reconcile them to the See of *Rome*; offering to repeal all the Laws they had made against the Pope's Authority, in Token of their Repentance. Upon this the Cardinal came to the Parliament; where in a long Speech he first thanked them for repealing his Attainder, 'in Recompence of which, he came now to reconcile them to the Body of the Church: Then he insisted upon the Conversion of the *Britains* and *Saxons* to the Faith, on the Obedience they had paid to the Apostolick See, and the numerous Favours granted to the Crown by the same See, of which none was more Eminent than the Title of *Defender of the Faith*. The Ruin of the *Greek* Church, the Distractions of *Germany*, and the Confusions they had suffer'd, since their Departure from the Unity of the Church, might convince them of the Necessity of intirely preserving that Bond. In conclusion, he gave them and the whole Nation a Plenary Absolution, which all present receiv'd upon their Knees; and the rest of the Day was spent in singing *Te Deum*, and the Night in Bonfires.

Cardinal Pool
comes into
England.

Who in Parli-
ament recon-
ciles the Na-
tion to the See
of Rome,

Shortly after the famous Act pass'd, repealing all Laws made against the Pope's Authority, only it met with a small Impediment, by Reason of a proviso, which the House of Lords inserted for some Lands, which the Lord *Wentworth* had of the See of *London*. This was so much oppos'd by the Commons, that after the Bill had been offer'd to the Royal Assent, it was boldly cut out of the Parchment by *Gardiner*, who said, *Now I truly do the Office of a CHANCELLOR*; alluding to the Word *Cancelling*, from whence he would have the Word *CHANCELLOR* deriv'd. 'The Bill enumerated and repeal'd all Acts made since the twentieth of *Henry VIII.* but all Foundations of Bishopricks and Cathedrals, all Marriages, tho' contrary to the Laws of the Church, all Institutions, all Judicial Processes, and the Settlements made, either of Church or Abby-Lands, were confirm'd. The Convocation had join'd their Intercession with the Cardinal, that he would confirm the Right of the present Possessors of those Lands: Upon which he did confirm them, but with a heavy Charge, requiring those who had any of the Churches Goods, to remember the Judgments of God upon such Detainers; and that at least, they would take Care that such as serv'd the Cures should be sufficiently maintain'd: All which was put into the Act, and confirm'd by it; and it was declar'd that all Suits concerning those Lands were to be try'd in the Civil Courts; and that it should be a *Premunire*, if any disturb'd the Possessors, by the Pretence of Ecclesiastical Power. It was also declar'd, That the Title of *Supream Head of the Church*, did never of Right belong to the Crown, and enacted that it should be left out of all Writs for the future. All Exemptions granted to Monasteries, and now continu'd in Lay-Hands, were taken away; and all Churches were made subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, excepting only the Privileges of the Universities, *Westminster*, *Windfor* and the Tower of *London*. The Statute of *Mortmain* was repeal'd for twenty Years to come; and all Things were brought back to the State in which they were, in the twentieth Year of *Henry VIII.* The lower House of Convocation gave Occasion to many Clauses in this Act, relating to the Restoration of Tithes,

The Act for re-
pealing all
Laws against
that See.

the burning of Heretical Books, to Pluralities and Non-Residence, to Simonical Pactions, the Payments of First-Fruits and Tenths, and the Limitation of *Premunires*. By another Bill all former Acts against *Lollards* were reviv'd. The Commons offer'd another Bill for voiding of all Leafes made by marry'd Priests, but it was laid aside by the Lords; and thus were the Pensioners and aspiring Men in the House of Commons, either labouring to redeem former Faults, or hoping to merit great Rewards by the Forwardness of their Zeal. By another Bill several Things were made Treason; and it was declar'd, 'That if the Queen dy'd before the King, and left any Children, the King should have the Government in his Hands, 'till they were of Age; and during that Time, the Conspiracying his Death was made Treason, but none were to be try'd for Words, 'but within six Months after they were spoken. Another Act pass'd, declaring it Treason, for any to pray for the Queen's Death, unless they repented of it, and then they were to suffer Corporal Punishment at the Judges Discretion. A severe Act was also pass'd against all that spread lying Reports of the King, the Queen, the Peers, Judges, or great Officers: Some were to lose their Hands, others their Ears, and the rest were to be fin'd according to the Degree of their Offence.

Other Acts.
The Parliament dissolv'd.

All the Bills being finish'd, this remarkable Parliament was dissolv'd upon the sixteenth Day of *January*, to the great Satisfaction of Bishop *Gardiner*, who had now perform'd all he had undertaken to the Queen or Emperor; and his Reputation was much rais'd for bringing about so vast a Change in so small a Time, and with so little Opposition. Ambassadors were sent to *Rome* to give Notice of the happy Restoration of *England* to that See; and a solemn Procession was appointed of many Bishops and Priests, where *Bonner* carry'd the Host to thank God for reconciling the Nation to St. *Peter's* Chair: And this having been done upon St. *Andrew's* Day, that was appointed to be an Anniversary, and was call'd, *The Feast of the Reconciliation*.

A. D.

IV. The Queen and her Favourites, having now obtain'd their main Cause,

1555.

Reg. 2.

Phil. 1.

Consultations about Proceeding against Hereticks.

A Persecution begun.

they took it into Consideration in what Methods they ought to proceed against the Hereticks. *Pool* was an Enemy to severe Proceedings, he thought that a Churchman ought to have the Tenderness of a Father, and the Care of a Shepherd, whose Duty it is to reduce and not devour the stray Sheep: He had observ'd that Cruelty rather inflam'd than cur'd that Distemper; therefore he thought the better Way was to begin with an effectual Reformation of the Manners of the Clergy. *Gardiner* on the other side, being of an abject and cruel Temper himself, thought that the strict Execution of the Laws against *Lollards* would be most serviceable to the Church; tho' he confess'd that a Reformation of the Clergy was a good Thing, but then he thought the present Times would not bear it. The Queen was for joining both these Councils together, and design'd to proceed at the same Time, both against scandalous Churchmen, and Hereticks: So that in a short Time the Persecution began, in the latter End of the Month of *January*. *Rogers*, a learned Man, who had been Prebendary of St. *Paul's*, was the first Victim, who would not fly from Persecution, tho' he was strongly induc'd by a Wife and Family of ten Children. Both he and Bishop *Hooper* were brought before *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstall*, and three other Bishops. They demanded of them whether they would submit to the Church or not? but they answer'd, *That they look'd upon the Church of Rome, as Antichristian*. Upon which *Gardiner* charg'd them with reproaching the Queen; but *Rogers* declar'd, *That he honour'd the Queen, and expected no Ill at her Hands, but as she was excited by them*. This caus'd *Gardiner* and the other Bishops to declare, *That they were so far from exciting the Queen in this Matter; that she had commanded them to act as they did*; and this was confirm'd by two Privy-Counsellors then present. In Conclusion, after a little Time allow'd them, they declar'd them obstinate Hereticks, and so degraded them from their

their Functions. *Rogers* was not permitted to see his Wife nor his Children; yet so little did his terrible Sentence of Burning fright him, that the Morning of his Execution, he was found in a quiet and calm Sleep. He was carry'd from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, on the fourth of *February*, where a Pardon was offer'd him at the Stake, if he would recant; but he refus'd it upon those Terms, and answer'd, *He would not exchange a short Fire for everlasting Burnings*, declaring, *That he resign'd up his Life with Joy, as a Testimony of the Doctrine he had preach'd.* As for *Hooper*, he was sent to *Glocester*, his former Bishoprick, at which he greatly rejoic'd, for he hop'd by his Death to confirm many in that Place. He discours'd with several whom he had formerly known, and some of them melted into Tears, which much affected the Bishop, who said, *All he had suffer'd in his Imprisonment had not mov'd him so much.* On the ninth of *February* he was brought to the Stake, where a Pardon was also offer'd him, but to no Effect. While he was burning a great Wind blew and hinder'd the Flame from rising so high as to choak him, or destroy his Vitals; so that he was near three Quarters of an Hour in exquisite Torment: But he still continu'd calling on God, and at last cry'd out, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* *Sanders*, Minister of *Coventry*, and *Taylor* Minister of *Hadley* in *Suffolk*, were at the same Time condemn'd, and sent to be burnt at the Places where they had serv'd: The former was first committed for Preaching without a Licence, after the Queen's Prohibition; and the latter for opposing some Priests, who violently broke into the Church, and said Mass in it.

Rogers the first Martyr.

Hooper's sufferings.

Gardiner was now in hopes that these four Executions being made in several Parts of *England*, would have struck such a general Terror into the whole Party, that there would have been little Occasion for further Severities: But when he saw six more apprehended on the same Account, and that the Spirits of those call'd Hereticks, were now rather inflam'd than depress'd, he resolv'd to concern himself no farther in those Trials; and turn'd over that Judicious Task to *Bonner*, whose Temper was so cruel and brutal, that he cheerfully undertook it, tho' the Nation stood amaz'd at these Proceedings. He had for some Months kept one *Tomkins* a Weaver in his House, who was found to doubt of the *Real Presence*; for which he us'd several Cruelties to him, as the tearing out the Hair of his Beard, and the holding a Candle to his Hand, 'till the Veins and Sinews bust asunder: And these not prevailing to make a Change, he was at last burnt in *Smithfield*. One *Hunter*, an Apprentice, not above nineteen Years of Age, was condemn'd and burnt on the same Account; whom *Bonner* was so much concern'd to preserve, that he offer'd him forty Pounds to change his Faith; so mercenary did he imagine were the Consciences of some Men. Two Gentlemen, *Causton*, and *Higbed*, one *Laurence* a Priest, and two meaner Persons, were burnt near their own Houses in *Essex*. The Method in these and in all other Proceedings, during the rest of this Reign, was summary, and *ex officio*: Upon Complaint made, Persons were imprison'd, and Articles were offer'd to them, which they were requir'd to answer; and if their Answers were judg'd Heretical, they were burnt without any further Objections, or Proofs against them. *Ferrar*, who had been Bishop of *St. David's*, was treated in the same Manner, by his Successor *Morgan*; and tho' he appeal'd to Cardinal *Pool*, it had no other Effect, but stopping his Execution three Weeks. *Rawlins White*, a poor Fisherman, was condemn'd by the Bishop of *Landaffe*, and afterwards burnt. *Marth*, a Priest, was burnt at *Chester*; and to the ordinary Cruelty of Burning, they added a new Invention of pouring melted Pitch on his Head. One *Flower*, a rash and inconsiderate Man, wounded a Priest, while he was officiating at *Westminster*; for which he was condemn'd as a Heretick, and burnt: But the Fact was disapprov'd by all the Reformed, and he became a sincere Penitent for it, before he dy'd. After this, for the Space of a few Weeks, there was a Stop put to these Severities, which gave the most terrible Apprehensions to the Nation.

Bonner's cruel Proceedings.

The usual Way of Prosecution.

The

The Queen
restores the
Church-Lands.

The Queen, to testify her real Zeal, about this Time sent for her Treasurer, and some other Officers of her Revenue, and told them, That she thought her self bound in Conscience to restore all the Lands of the Church, that were then in her Hands: And if it should be objected, that the Crown was poor, and that she could not maintain her Dignity without them, she declar'd, *That she valu'd the Salvation of her Soul more than ten Kingdoms, and thank'd God that her Husband was of the same Mind.* She thought they were unlawfully acquir'd, and that they could not be held without Sin, therefore she resolv'd they should be dispos'd as Cardinal *Pool* should think fit. To this she was much excited by a Bull of Excommunication against such as detain'd Church-Lands, issu'd out by Pope *Julius* this Year. That Pope dy'd shortly after, and was succeeded by *Marcellus*; who turn'd his Thoughts wholly to the Reformation of Abuses, of which he was so sensible, that he once cry'd out, *That he did not see how any could be sav'd who sat in that Chair!* Which had such Effects upon him, that he dy'd within twenty two Days after his Election. Upon his Death, the Queen endeavour'd for the Promotion of Cardinal *Pool*, but without his Knowledge or Approbation: But at *Rome* they were so apprehensive of another reforming Pope, that they hasten'd their Election, and set up *Caraffa*, call'd *Paul* the Fourth, who was the most ambitious and insolent Pope, that had reign'd for many Years. Upon the Day of his Election, the *English* Ambassadors enter'd *Rome* in great State with a Train of a hundred and forty Horse of their own Attendance; but the Pope would not admit them to an Audience, 'till they had accepted of a Grant of the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland* from himself; to which they fervilely submitted. Their publick Audience was given with great Solemnity, in which the Pope declar'd, *That in Token of his pardoning the Nation, he had added to the Crown the Title of the Kingdom of Ireland, by that Supream Power which God had given him to destroy, or erect Kingdoms at his Pleasure.* But in private Discourses, he so much complain'd of the unpardonable Sin of Detaining the Abby-Lands, and was so positive in the Restitution of them, that it extremely mortify'd the Lord *Mountacute*, who was one of the Ambassadors, and whose Estate chiefly consisted in those Lands.

The Pride of
of Pope Paul
the Fourth.

The Queen's
Delivery in
vain expected.

In *England* the Court was now in mighty Expectations of the Queen's Delivery; and in *May*, the Envoys were nam'd that were to carry the good News to the neighbouring Courts. In the Beginning of *June* she was believ'd to be in Labour, and the Report flew all over *London* that she had brought forth a Son. The Priests had settled all their Hopes on that, so that *Te Deum* was sung in all Parts; and one more officious than the rest, made a Sermon about it, and describ'd all the Lineaments of their young Prince. But they soon found they were abus'd; and that it was either an Abortion, or a Timpany, or some other Distemper; or, as some have been ready to judge, a notorious Imposture, but defeated by the Vigilance of King *Philip*. However it was, from this Time all Hopes of Issue ceas'd, which much encreas'd the Sourness and Severity of her Temper; and King *Philip*, being so much younger than her, out of Aversion or Repentment, never esteem'd her, but in a few Months left her and the Nation. He found it was impossible to get *England* into his Possession without Children, therefore he gave over all Designs about it; and having liv'd with her about fifteen Months, he thought it necessary to take more Care of his Hereditary, than his Matrimonial Crown, and for the future consider'd *England* rather as a sure Ally, than an additional Power. Not long after his Great Father, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, resign'd all his Dominions to him; which Resignation drew the wondring Eyes of all *Europe* upon it. This mighty Prince had enjoy'd his Hereditary Dominions forty Years, and the Empire thirty six: He had indur'd vast Fatigues, by the numerous Journeys he had made; nine into *Germany*, six into *Spain*, seven into *Italy*, four through *France*: He was ten Times in the *Netherlands*, made two Expeditions into *Africa*

King Philip
leaves her.

He becomes
King of Spain
by his Father's
Resignation.

Africa, was twice in *England*, and had cross'd the Sea eleven Times. He had unusual Success in his Wars; he had taken a Pope, a King of *France*, and some *German* Princes, Prisoners; and had a prodigious Accession of Wealth and Empire from the *West-Indies*. But now being much afflicted with the Gout, his Fortune chang'd, and several Designs blasted, he declar'd, *That there ought to be an Interval between the Affairs of the World, and the Hour of Death*; he resign'd all his Dominions with a Greatness of Mind, much superior to his Conquests. He liv'd a retir'd religious Life, with a hundred thousand Crowns Pension; and at the end of two Years dy'd, having given the World a great Instance of a Mind surfeited with Human Glory, that sought for Quiet in a private Cell, which in vain it had search'd after in Camps and Palaces.

In *England* Orders were sent to the Justices to look narrowly to the Preachers of Heresie, and to have secret Spies in every Parish, for giving them Information of all Peoples Behaviour. This was thought to rise from *Spanish* Counsels, which became very odious to the People, who grew so averse to these cruel Proceedings, that *Bonner* himself finding their Temper, slack'd his Hand, and burnt none for five Weeks. Upon which the Queen wrote to him, and requir'd him *to perform the Office of a good Pastor, and either to reclaim the Hereticks, or proceed against them according to Law*. This Admonition prov'd very agreeable to his cruel Disposition; and immediately new Fires were kindled. *Cardmaker*, once a Prebendary of *Bath*, and *Warne* a Tradesman, Great Numbers burnt in several Parts of the Nation. were burnt in *Smithfield*. Seven were burnt in several Parts of *Essex*, who were condemn'd by *Bonner*, and sent down to suffer near the Places of their Abode. The Council wrote to the chief Men of the County, to gather many together, and assist at those dismal Spectacles; and when they heard that some had come of their own accord to the Burnings at *Colchester*, they desir'd the Lord *Rich* to give their Thanks to those Persons for their Zeal; so industriously did they study to cherish a Spirit of Cruelty among the People. *Bradford*, who had generously sav'd *Bourne* the Preacher at *St. Paul's*, was notwithstanding condemn'd; and after many Methods us'd by the chief of the *Popish* Party to make him recant, he suffer'd at *Smithfield* with great Joy and a noble Constancy, together with a young Apprentice, whom he much encourag'd in his Sufferings. *Thorn-ton*, *Harpfield* and others, rais'd a Persecution at *Canterbury*, tho' Cardinal *Pool* was averse to such Proceedings; but he durst not now discover so much, for the Pope had an inveterate Hatred to him, and was resolv'd to recal him upon the first Occasion, and for that End he enter'd into a Correspondence with *Gardiner*, who now hop'd to have been made a Cardinal, and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*: And upon those Hopes, he still preserv'd *Cranmer*; for tho' he now stood condemn'd for Heresie, yet the See was not accounted void, till he was formally degraded. Some declar'd it was most proper to begin with him, who had been the chief Promoter of Heresie in *England*: But *Gardiner* said, it was better to try if it were possible to shake him, and it would be a mighty Blow to the whole Party, if he could be prevail'd on to forsake it; whereas if he suffer'd Burning with the same Resolution that others express'd, it would much raise the Spirits of his Followers. The See of *Canterbury* was now only sequester'd in *Pool's* Hands, and he fearing to fall under the Pope's Rage, was forc'd to suffer the cruel Prebendaries of that Church to act as they pleas'd: So they burnt two Priests, and two Lay-men at *Canterbury*, and sent a Man and a Woman to be burnt in other Places in *Kent*. Two that belong'd to the Dioceses of *Winchester* and *Chichester* were condemn'd by *Bonner*, and were burnt near the Places of their Abode. These suffer'd in *July*. In *August* seven were burnt in several Places; six more were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*, and four were burnt elsewhere. In *September* five were burnt at *Canterbury*, and seven in other Places. In *October*, two were burnt at *Ely*, by *Shaxton's* Means, who now compleated his Apostacy by his Cruelty.

Thus

*The Sufferings
of Bishop Rid-
ley and Lati-
mer at Oxford.*

Thus did the Persecution rage in several Places, to the great Terror and Detestation of the People; but the most memorable Sufferers this Year were the two famous Bishops *Ridley* and *Latimer*. Three Bishops, *Lincoln*, *Glocester* and *Bristol* were sent to *Oxford* with a Commission from Cardinal *Pool* to proceed against them. *Ridley* said, *he paid great Respect to Pool, for his Royal Extract and his Abilities, but as he was the Pope's Legate, he would show no Reverence to him, nor be uncover'd before any that acted by his Authority.* After a long Discourse, and several Arguments, and a Night's Consideration granted them, they were condemn'd as obstinate Hereticks, and deliver'd to the secular Arm, and the Writs were sent down for their Burning. The Night before the Execution, *Ridley* was very joyful, and invited the Mayor and his Wife *to be at his Wedding next Day*: At which, when the Mayor's Wife melted into Tears, he said, *He perceiv'd she did not love him, but told her, Tho' his Breakfast would be sharp, he was sure his Supper would be sweet; and was glad to hear that his Sister would come and see him die;* and continu'd in such Composure of Mind, that they were all amaz'd at it. As they were led out to Execution, they earnestly cast their Eyes up to *Cranmer's* Window in the Prison, hoping to have seen him; but he was then engag'd with some Friars: Yet he look'd after them with the utmost Tendernefs, and kneeling down pray'd earnestly, That God would now strengthen their Faith and Patience in their last painful Passage. When they came to the Stake before *Baliol* College, they imbrac'd each other with great Affection, and *Ridley* said, *Be of good Courage, Brother, for God will assuage the Flame, or enable us to abide it.* *Smith* preach'd the Sermon, and compar'd their Dying in this Manner, to that of *Judas*, who hang'd himself. *Ridley* desir'd leave to answer some Points in his Sermon; but it was told him, *That he was not to be suffer'd to speak, except he design'd to recant*: So he turn'd himself to God, when he saw Men so unreasonable to him. He sent a Petition to the Queen in Behalf of the Tenants of the Bishoprick of *London*, from whom he had taken Fines, for which they had renew'd their Leases; and pray'd that either their Leases might be confirm'd, or their Fines restor'd out of those Goods which had been seiz'd when he was first imprison'd. Then they both pray'd, and fitted themselves for the Stake; *Latimer* crying to *Ridley*, *Be of good Comfort, we shall this Day light such a Candle in England, as by God's Grace shall never be extinguish'd.* Being thus prepar'd, and Gun-powder hang'd about their Bodies, the Wood was fired, which soon put *Latimer* out of his Pain; but *Ridley* had a more lingring Torment: For they threw on so much Wood, that it was long before the Flame broke through it, and his Legs were almost consum'd, before his Vitals were affected. Thus triumphantly did these two excellent Bishops end their Days and their Ministry: *Ridley* was esteem'd one of the Ablest of all that promoted the Reformation, both for Piety, Learning and Solidity of Judgment: The other, who was eighty Years of Age, was regarded as a truly Primitive Bishop, who seem'd to have more of the Simplicity of the first Ages, than the Politeness or Learning of the latter Times.

It was particularly observ'd that *Gardiner* was very impatient to have these Bishops burnt, and he staid long for Dinner that Day, 'till he understood that the Fire was actually kindled. When the Messengers arriv'd at four in the Afternoon, he went cheerfully to dine: But at Dinner he was struck with a remarkable Illness, which turn'd to a terrible Suppression of Urine, and held him many Days 'till he dy'd on the twelfth of *November*. He went twice to the Parliament, which was open'd the twenty first of *October*, but after that was confin'd to his House: He express'd great Sorrow and Remorse for his former Life, and often cry'd out, *I have err'd like St. Peter, but not repented as he did!* Thus dy'd this remarkable Man, who was believ'd to be of noble Extraction, tho' basely born; for his true Father was suppos'd to be *Richard Woodvill*, Brother to *Edward* the Fourth's Queen, who was Grand-Mother

Bishop Gardiner's Death and Character.

to *Henry* the Eighth. He was a Man well skill'd in the Canon and Civil Laws, and moderately in Divinity; he had a good Stile in *Latin*, and understood *Greek* well; but his great Strength lay in a profound Dissimulation, a Quickness of Apprehension, a nice Prospect of Affairs, an artificial Concealment of his Mind, and a subtle Way of Insinuating himself into the Credit and Affections of other Persons. He had certainly brought about great Designs; and now when a Cardinal's Hat was just falling upon his Head, Heaven stopp'd him in his Carreer, and all his Ambitious Projects fell with him. Only the Consequences of his Cruelty did not cease; for three Persons were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury* in *November*; and the famous *Philpot* was burnt in *Smithfield* in *December*. In all, there were sixty seven burnt this Year, of whom four were Bishops, and thirteen Priests.

A new Parliament was now assembled, by which it appear'd Mens Minds were much alienated from the Clergy, and also from the Queen, whose Desire was to restore them to great Wealth and Power. It was propos'd to give the Queen a Subsidy, and two Fifteenths: Which was the first Aid that the Queen had ask'd, tho' she was now in the third Year of her Reign; and what was desir'd, was no more than she might have exacted at her first coming to the Crown. Therefore since she had forgiven so much at her Coronation, it seem'd unreasonable to deny it at this Time; yet still great Oppositions were made against it: Many said the Queen was impoverishing the Crown, and giving away the Abby-Lands, and therefore she ought to be supply'd from the Clergy, and not press upon the Laity: But it was answer'd, That the Convocation had given her six Shillings in the Pound, but that would not answer her present Necessities, upon which the Debate became violent; but to prevent further Heats, the Queen sent a Message declaring she would accept the Subsidy without the Fifteenths, and upon that it was granted. The Queen sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him She could not with a good Conscience exact the *Tenths* and *First-Fruits* of the Clergy, since they were given to her Father to support his unlawful Dignity of being the *Supream Head of the Church*: She also thought, That all Tithes and Improvements were the Patrimony of the Church, and therefore was resolv'd to resign such of them as were in her own Hands. The former Part, as to *Tenths* and *First-Fruits*, The Queen gives up the Tenths and First Fruits. easily pass'd in the House, but great Opposition was made to the latter Part of her Motion; for it was thought to be a Step towards taking all Improvements out of the Hands of the Laity; yet upon a Division of the House, it was carry'd by sixty seven Voices. A Bill was brought in against the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, and several Reformers, who had gone beyond Sea to enjoy their Consciences, requiring them to return under severe Penalties: The Lords pass'd it, but the Commons threw it out; for they now began to repent of the severe Laws they had formerly made, and were resolv'd to add no more. They also rejected another Bill, for incapacitating some to be Justices of the Peace, who were blam'd for their Remissness in prosecuting Hereticks. An Act was brought in for debarring one *Bennet Smith*, who hired some Assassins to commit a most execrable Murder, from the Benefit of the Clergy, which by Common Law would have sav'd him. In this Parliament there was such a Heat in the House of Commons, that Sir *Anthony Kingston*, an active Member, boldly took the Keys of the House from the Serjeant; but when the Parliament was dissolv'd, on the ninth of *September*, he was for that sent to the Tower, but soon after releas'd. The Parliament dissolv'd. The next Year he and six others were accus'd of a Design to rob the Exchequer; for which they were all hang'd besides himself, who dy'd before his Trial. In the Convocation, Cardinal *Pool* made some laudable Attempts to reform the ill Lives and Practices of the Clergy, in which he was oppos'd by Pope *Paul*, who endeavour'd to have set up an Inquisition in *England*; and the Cardinal has been much commended for refusing at this Time

all Incouragement in *England* to the new Order of *Jesuits*, who were making great Pretensions to gain Possession of the Abby-Lands.

A. D.

1556.

Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

Phil. $\frac{2}{3}$.

Cranmer's
Sufferings.

In the Beginning of the following Year, the great Victim *Cranmer* was offer'd up to the Zeal and Rage of the *Romish* Party. Towards the effecting of this, in *September* last, *Brooks* Bishop of *Glocester* came down to *Oxford*, with Authority from Cardinal *Pool*, to judge him; with *Brooks* two Delegates, *Martin* and *Scory*, were sent to assist him in the King and Queen's Name. When he was brought before them in *St. Mary's Church*, he pay'd the Respect that was due to those who sate in the King and Queen's Name, but would shew none to *Brooks*, *Since he sate there by an Authority deriv'd from the Pope, which he would never acknowledge.* After that he learnedly discours'd against the Power and Usurpations of the See of *Rome*. *Brooks* and the two Delegates objected many Things against him, as to his former Actions; to all which he gave distinct and modest Answers. After much Discourse had pass'd on both Sides, *Brooks* requir'd him to appear before the Pope within eighty Days, and answer to such Things as should be objected against him. He said, *He would go most willingly, with the King and Queen's Consent, which he could not possibly do, if he was still detain'd Prisoner.* But the Pope not expecting his coming, in less than twenty Days, by Letters to the King and Queen, commanded that he should receive Condemnation, and be deliver'd to the Secular Arm. Therefore in *February*, this Year, new Powers were granted by the Pope to *Bonner* and *Thirleby*, who were sent to *Oxford* publickly to degrade him from all Things relating to his Function. In Derision he was cloath'd with all the Pontifical Robes made of Canvas; which were taken from him, according to the Ceremonies of Degradation, in which *Bonner* proceeded with all the Insolence and Scorn that could arise from a Mind fill'd with Revenge; but *Thirleby* perform'd his Part in the Ceremony, with great Expressions of Sorrow, and many Tears. In all this *Cranmer* seem'd very little concern'd: He declar'd, *It was a gross Piece of Injustice to condemn him for not going to Rome, when he was shut up in Prison; but he was not sorry to be thus cut off, with all this Pageantry, from any Relation to that Church:* He deny'd the Pope had any Authority over him, so appeal'd from this Sentence to a free General Council.

He is degraded.

But now numerous Engines were employ'd, to persuade him to recant: Both *English* and *Spanish* Divines had many Conferences with him; he was remov'd from Prison to the Dean's Lodgings at *Christ-Church*; he was put in hopes of Life, of Preferments and all other Favours; and all the Arguments that could be invented were us'd to procure him to sign a Paper they had prepar'd for him. In Conclusion, as *St. Peter* himself had with Curses deny'd his Master, so he who resisted almost three Years, was at last overcome; and human Infirmary, the Fears of Death, and Hopes given him, prevail'd with him to sign a Recantation of all former Opinions, concluding it with a Protestation, *That he had done it freely, only for the Discharge of his Conscience.* This was the most unfortunate Blemish of his whole Life, which was immediately Printed, to the wonderful Surprize and Dejection of all his Party. But this did not satisfy the furious Queen, who was resolv'd still to make him a Sacrifice to all her Resentments: She said, *That his Repentance was good for his Soul; but since he had been the chief Diffacer of Heresie over the Nation, it was necessary to make him a publick Example.* Therefore a Writ was sent down to burn him; and after some Stop had been made in the Execution of it, new Orders came out for doing it suddenly. This was kept from *Cranmer's* Knowledge; for they design'd to have carry'd him to the Stake without giving him any Notice, and so hop'd to make him die in a despairing Condition. Yet having some Suspicion of their Design, he wrote a long Paper, containing a Confession of his Faith, such as had been dictated purely by his Conscience, and not his Fears.

He recants.

The twenty first of *March* being fix'd for his Execution, he was brought to *St. Mary's Church*, and set in a conspicuous Seat erected for that Purpose; where *Cole* Provost of *Eaton*, preach'd the Sermon, 'In which he exhorted him to persist in the Faith, of which he had lately publish'd a Confession, and even to Death it self, which was the Will of the Magistrate to inflict on him this Day; since the Divine Vengeance for the Execution of *More* and *Fisher*, under King *Henry*, could not otherwise be expiated. And since his Conversion was the immediate Hand of Heaven, nothing could be more acceptable to God and all good Men, than a publick Declaration of the Reality of it. It is no wonder that he was thrown into the utmost Consternation at such an unexpected Denunciation: But recollecting himself, and rousing his former Courage, he boldly stood up, and made an excellent Speech to the People, 'In which having premis'd many Things concerning Reformation of Life and Morals, he exactly declar'd the principal Heads of his Faith and Doctrine, affirming, 'That the Kingdom of *Anti-Christ* was contain'd and establish'd in the Power of the Pope; and finally representing how hainously he had offended God by renouncing the Truth, he declar'd this surprizing Resolution, *That the same Right Hand that had so impiously err'd in subscribing his Recantation, should be the first Sufferer in the Flames.* This caus'd a vast Confusion in the Assembly; and some calling to him to dissemble no more, he cry'd out, *That he ever lov'd Simplicity, and excepting that Instance, he never dissimled in his Life.* Upon which, without suffering him to proceed, with great Clamours and Revilings, they immediately hurry'd him to the Place of Execution, which was the same where *Ridley* and *Latimer* had suffer'd. Here he stood, the most melancholy and piercing Spectacle in the World; the Primate of all *England*, lately flourishing in the highest Honours and Authority with Princes, venerable for his Person and Age, his Piety and Learning, and innumerable Excellencies of Mind, now by the Malice of the *Romanists*, dress'd in a ridiculous old Habit, baited with Scurrility and opprobrious Jest, and drag'd to a most inhuman and tormenting Death. When the Fire was kindled, he stretch'd out his Right Hand into the Flame, and with an amazing Steadiness held it 'till it was consum'd; sometimes saying *That unworthy Hand!* and often crying, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*, 'till he quite expir'd in the Torment. Tho' his Body was consum'd to Ashes, his Heart was found intire and untouch'd; which remarkable Accident was much observ'd, and if it had happen'd to one of the contrary Party, it would have caus'd his Canonization.

He recovers
again.

He is burnt at
Oxford.

Thus dy'd the famous *Thomas Cranmer*, in the sixty seventh Year of his Age, and the twenty third of his Primacy: A Person rais'd up by God for mighty Services, and truly fitted for them by his Primitive Humility, his indefatigable Industry, and his inviolable Friendship. His last Fall was nobly expiated by a patient Martyrdom; and those who compar'd ancient and modern Times, did not only liken him to *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose* and *Austin*, the Glories of the Church in the fourth and fifth Centuries, but to the more immediate Followers of the Apostles, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, and *Cyprian*. No Man had pass'd through more numerous Difficulties for above twenty Years than himself, which has given Occasion to many to charge him with too much Obsequiousness and Compliance, in which perhaps he cannot be strictly vindicated, no more than his burning of *Joan of Kent* and *Van Parre* for Heretical Opinions, for which some think his own Death was a Judgment upon him. But this must be confess'd for him, and the other chief Reformers, that they were really Men, and had Mixtures of Fear and Human Infirmities with their other excellent Qualities: And indeed *Cranmer* was in all other Points such an extraordinary Person, that perhaps it was fit there should be some Ingredients in his Temper, to lessen the Veneration, which his uncommon Worth might have rais'd too high, if it had not been for those Feeblenesses, which upon some Occasions appear'd in him. On the Day after *Cranmer's* Execution,

His Character.

Pool made
Arc. - Bishop
of Canterbury.

Cardinal *Pool* was consecrated Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; which gave Occasion to many to apply the Words of *Elijah* to him, *Thou hast kill'd, and taken Possession*. Three Days after, on the Feast of *Annunciation*, attended by many of the Nobility to *Bow-Church*, he receiv'd the Pall with great Pomp and Solemnity.

Great Num-
bers burnt this
Year.

This Year prov'd as black and dismal as the last by the Numbers that were sacrific'd in Flames to the *Romish* Cruelty. In *January*, five Men and two Women were burnt at one Stake in *Smithfield*; and one Man and four Women were burnt at *Canterbury*. In *March* two Women were burnt at *Ipswich*, and three Men at *Salisbury*. In *April* six *Essex* Men were burnt in *Smithfield*; a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Rocheſter*, and another at *Canterbury*; and six who were sent from *Colcheſter*, were condemn'd by *Bonner*, without giving them more than the Afternoon to conſider of a Recantation: For he was now ſo harden'd in his Cruelty, that he grew weary of keeping his Priſoners, and uſing of Perſuaſions; ſo he ſent them back to *Colcheſter*, where they were burnt. He alſo condemn'd both a blind Man and an aged Cripple, and they were both burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford*. In *May*, three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*; and ſoon after two more at *Gloceſter*, one of them being blind. Three were burnt at *Beccles* in *Suffolk*; five were burnt at *Lewes*, and one at *Leiceſter*. But in *June*, *Bonner* gave the moſt ſignal Inſtance of his Cruelty that *England* had yet ſeen; for eleven Men and two Women were burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford*: The Horror of which Action ſeem'd to have ſome Operation on him, for he burnt none 'till *April* in the next Year. In *June* three were burnt at *St. Edmund's Bury*, and three afterwards at *Newbury*. This Cruelty was not confin'd to *England*, but it extended as far as the adjacent Iſlands: For in *Guernſey*, a Mother and her two Daughters were burnt at the ſame Stake: One of them was a marry'd Woman and big with Child; the Violence of the Fire burſting her Belly, the Child fell out into the Flame, which was ſnatch'd out by one more merciful than the reſt; but the other barbarous Spectators threw it back into the Fire. Two were after this burnt at *Greeneſtead*, and a blind Woman at *Darby*; four were burnt at *Briſtoll*, and as many at *Mayfield* in *Suffex*, and one at *Nottingham*. So that eighty five were martyr'd this Year, without any Regard had to Age or Sex, to young or old, to Lame or Blind; which rais'd ſuch an extream Averſion in the Nation to that Religion, that it is no Wonder, if the Apprehenſions of ſo dreadful a Yoke, broke out into moſt violent and convulſive Symptoms. Yet by theſe Means the Reformation was ſo far from being extinguiſh'd, that it daily ſpread more and more, and mightily quicken'd the Zeal of thoſe who profeſs'd it. They had frequent Meetings, and ſeveral Teachers that inſtructed them; and their Friends that went beyond Sea, and ſettled in *Strasburg*, *Frankfort*, *Emden*, and ſome other Places in *Germany*, took care to ſend over many uſeful Books for their Comfort and Inſtruction.

Which quick-
ens the Minds
of the Reform-
ers.

A. D.

1557.

Reg. 4.

Phil. 1.

New Proceſſes
for Perſecuti-
on.

Nor was the Rage and Fury of theſe Times exercis'd only on the Living; for the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paul Phagiſius*, who had been long bury'd, were dug up, formally arraign'd for Heretic, and with much ſavage Ceremony publickly burnt in the Market-Place at *Cambridge*. *Peter Martyr's* Wife, who dy'd at *Oxford*, was likewiſe rak'd out of her Grave, and ignominiouſly bury'd in a Dunghil. But the Juſtices of Peace were generally ſo ſlack in their Proſecution of Hereticks, that it ſeem'd neceſſary to find out other Inſtruments; ſo the dreadful Courts of *Inquiſition* were deſign'd to be ſet up in *England*. As a Step towards it, a Commiſſion was given to *Bonner* and twenty more, moſt of them Laymen, to ſearch all over *England* for Perſons ſuſpected of Heretic, and to proceed againſt them by Pretentments or any other poliſtick Ways. Many other Commiſſions, ſubaltern to theirs, were iſſu'd out for ſeveral Counties and Dioceſes; which was look'd upon as ſuch an Advance towards an *Inquiſition*, that all concluded it would ſhortly follow. The

Bur.

Burnings were carry'd on furiously in some Places, but coldly in most Parts, for the Detestation of such Cruelties became almost universal. However, without naming Particulars, seventy nine were burnt this Year, in several Parts of the Nation, besides Imprisonments and other Punishments and Severeties. But all this Cruelty did not satisfy the Popish Clergy, they complain'd that the Magistrates were remiss; and negligently perform'd their Duties; upon which sharp Letters were written to several Towns, from the Council-Board; and zealous Men were recommended to be chosen Mayors, in many Corporations. Arch-Bishop *Pool* was for milder Methods, and was ready to accept of any Acknowledgment from the prosecuted Persons, by which he might on the one Hand preserve their Lives, and yet not be expos'd to the Rage of the Pope, as a Favourer of Hereticks on the other.

Many more
Burnings.

In this Year a horrible Murder of one *Argol* and his Son was committed By the Lord *Stourton*, and some of his Servants; who when they had butcher'd them after a most barbarous Manner, bury'd them fifteen Foot deep in the Ground. The Lord *Stourton* was a zealous Papist, and protested against all the Acts that had pass'd in King *Edward's* Reign; yet the Queen not only refus'd to pardon him, but would not so much as change the infamous Death of Hanging into a Beheading. She was resolv'd to shew no Favour, but only allow'd this Distinction, that the Lord might be hang'd in a silken Rope, while his Servants had common Halters. This was highly extoll'd as a worthy Instance of the Queen's Impartial Justice; and it was said, 'That since she left her Friends to the Law, her Enemies had no Reason to complain of the Execution of it upon them.'

The Lord
Stourton
hang'd.

V. As this Reign had been furious and calamitous at home, so at length it began to show it self feeble and dishonourable abroad; all which had its first Rise from the vast Pride and Insolence of the Pope, who the last Year broke the Truce between *France* and *Spain*. He was highly offended at the House of *Austria*, and principally at *Ferdinand's* assuming the Title of *Emperor*, without his particular Consent: He was wont to say, *That all Kingdoms were subject to him: That he would suffer no Prince to be too familiar with him; and that he would set the World on Fire, rather than submit to act below his Dignity.* It was believ'd that he design'd to advance one of his Nephews to the Crown of *Naples*, in order to which he had sent another into *France*, to absolve the King from the Truce which he had sworn, promising to create what Cardinals that King should nominate, if he would make War upon *Spain*; tho' to the Queen of *England's* Ambassadors, and all others at *Rome*, he declar'd, That he would mediate a Peace between the Crowns, for a Truce did not sufficiently secure the Quiet of *Europe*. The *French* King was too easily persuaded by the Intigation of the Pope, and the House of *Guise*, to break his Faith, and begin the War. The Pope began it in *Italy*, and made some Levies among the *Grisons*, that were Hereticks; but he said, *He esteem'd them as Angels, and was confident that God would convert them.* It gave great Scandal to the World to see the Pope himself exciting so perfidious a Breach of Truce; and no less Wonder, to see a great Monarch of fifty six Years of Age retire to a Monastery, whilst the same Year a Man bred a Monk, and fourscore Years old, set *Europe* in a Flame. King *Philip* had a great Desire to ingage *England* in this War; and the Queen had Reason to complain of the kind Reception given to many that fled from *England* into *France*, and it was believ'd that the *French* secretly supply'd and encourag'd them to embroil her Affairs. One *Stafford* had this Year gather'd many of them together, and landing in *Yorkshire*, he surpriz'd the Castle of *Scarborough*, and publish'd a Manifesto against the Queen, declaring, 'That by bringing in Strangers to govern the Nation, she had forfeited her Right to the Crown: But few came in to him; so that he and his Accomplishes were compell'd to surrender, and four of them were hang'd. At the same Time

A Breach be-
tween France
and Spain.

England joins
against France.

The Battel of
St. Quintin.

Time Doctor *Wotton*, the *English* Ambassador in *France*, discover'd that the Constable had a Design to take *Calais*: For he had sent his own Nephew to him, whom he secretly instructed, and who pretended he was sent from a great Party in that Town, who were resolv'd to deliver it up; at which the Constable was transported, and enter'd into a long Discourse with him of the Methods of taking it. Yet all this made no just Impressions upon the Queen: All her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were against her engaging; for they saw the War abroad would oblig'd them to slacken their Severities at home. Upon which King *Philip*, after he had been absent about two Years, found it necessary to come over in Person, and persua'de her to it. Having stay'd about six Weeks he prevail'd with her; and after a Proclamation of War, she sent over eight thousand Men to his Assistance, who joining the *Spaniards*, compos'd an Army of fifty thousand, which immediately fate down before *St. Quintin*, in *Picardy*. The Constable of *France* advanc'd with a great Force to raise the Siege; but when the two Armies were in view, the *French* by a Mistake in the Word of Command, fell into Disorder; upon which the *Spaniards* charg'd them with such Advantage and Success, that the whole Army was defeated. Two thousand five hundred were kill'd on the Spot, and many were taken Prisoners, among whom was the Constable himself; and the *Spaniards* only lost fifty Men. Had King *Philip* follow'd his Blow, and march'd directly to *Paris*, he had found all *France* in a great Consternation; but he fate still before *St. Quintin*, which held out 'till the Terror of this Defeat was almost over. The Constable here lost his Reputation, as well as his Liberty; and all esteem'd it as a Judgment from Heaven upon the *French* King, for the plain Breach of his Faith.

The Pope in-
rag'd.

Upon this the *French* Troops were call'd out of *Italy*, which immediately expos'd the Pope to the *Spaniards*, and threw him into extravagant Fits of Rage and Passion; and particularly he exclaim'd against *Pool*, for suffering the Queen to join with the Enemies of the Apostolick See: And having made a general Decree, recalling all his Legates and Nuntio's in the *Spanish* Dominions, among the rest he recall'd *Pool's* Legantine Power; which neither the Intercessions of the Queen's Ambassadors, nor the other Cardinals, could prevail with him to alter. He further requir'd *Pool* to come to *Rome*, and answer to some Complaints made against him, for the Favour he shew'd to Heretics; and he also made the Queen's Confessor, Friar *Peyto*, a Cardinal, and declar'd him his Legate for *England*, and wrote to the Queen to receive him in that Capacity. But the Queen order'd the Bulls and Briefs that were sent over, to be laid up without opening them, according to the Method formerly practis'd, when unacceptable Bulls were brought to Court; and she sent a Message to *Peyto* not to come into *England*, otherwise she would sue him, and all that acknowledg'd him, in a *Premunire*. Cardinal *Pool* laid aside the Ensigns of a Legate, and sent over *Ormaneto* with so submissive a Message, that the Pope was much mollify'd; and *Peyto* dying, and a Treaty of Peace between King *Philip* and the Pope following, this Storm went over, and publick and solemn Rejoicings were made in *England*.

But the Effects of it did not yet cease; for the War being proclaim'd between *England* and *France*, the *French* sent to the *Scotch* Queen-Regent to ingage *Scotland* in the War with *England*: All that favour'd the Reformation were for the War; but the Clergy so oppos'd it, that the Majority of the Convention declar'd on the same Side. The Queen-Regent upon this thought to draw them unexpectedly into the War, and sent *D' Oisell* to besiege *Warke* Castle in *England*; but the *Scotch* Lords highly exclaim'd against it, and requir'd him to desist, otherwise they would declare him an Enemy to the Nation: So that after some slight Skirmishes on the Borders, the Contest was ended on both Sides. Upon this the Queen-Regent wrote to *France*, urging the Conclusion of the Marriage between the *Dauphine* and the Queen of *Scotland*; and a Message was sent from the Court, desiring the *Scots* to send over Commissioners to treat about

about the Articles of the Marriage, and some of every State were dispatch'd for settling that Affair. There was at this Time a great want of Money in the Exchequer of *England*; and the Coldness and Uneasiness of the last Parliament made the Council unwilling to call a new one. It was try'd what Sums could be rais'd by Loans, upon Privy-Seals, and the like Methods; but these so little answer'd Expectations, that at length a new Parliament was summon'd to meet in *January* next. Yet in the mean Space, the Council continually receiv'd Advices of the ill Condition of the Garrisons of *Calais*, and the neighbouring Places, and that the *French* had an absolute Design upon them: But either they believ'd there was no Danger during the Winter, or that the want of Money was so great, that no reasonable Care was taken for their Security.

England in a low Condition.

This sufficiently appear'd in the Beginning of the next Year, which was too much noted for the Loss of all the *English* Dominions in *France*. For the Duke of *Guise*, being desirous of doing some great Action, while the Constable was a Prisoner, suddenly fate down before *Calais*, on the first of *January*. The Lord *Wentworth* had then the Command of it; but the Garrison consisted only of five hundred Men, and there were not above two hundred of the Townsmen that could be serviceable in a Siege: And tho' King *Philip* had offer'd to put Men into it, yet the *English* were so infatuated with Jealousies, that they left it in so naked a Condition, that the Governor could perform little to preserve it. So that the two Forts about it, of which one call'd *Newnambridge* commanded the Avenues by Land, and the other call'd the *Risbank* commanded the Harbour, were taken with small Opposition; for the Lord *Wentworth* could not spare Men enough to defend them. After this the *French* drew the Water out of the Ditches, and having prepar'd Inventions to pass without sticking in the Mire, they made the Assault, and carry'd the Castle by Storm, which was thought impregnable. After such Success, the Town could make no considerable Resistance, so it was unfortunately surrender'd, and the Governour with fifty Officers made Prisoners of War. Thus in a Week's Time, and in the Winter, was this strong and important Place lost by the *English*, which had been gloriously obtain'd by King *Edward* III. and held by the *English* above two hundred and ten Years, to the great Curb of *France*, being accounted the Key of that Nation. From this Place the Duke of *Guise* march'd to besiege *Guines*, which had a better Garrison of eleven hundred Men, but they were much dishearten'd by the Loss of *Calais*: They retir'd into the Castle, and abandon'd the Town to the *French*; but yet they once beat them out of it. The *French*, after a long Battery, gave the Assault, and forc'd them to Capitulate; and the Soldiers, as at *Calais*, had liberty to march away, but the Officers were made Prisoners of War. The Garrison in *Hammes*, that lay in a Marsh thought inaccessible, seeing themselves cut off from the Sea, abandon'd the Place before the *French* summon'd them. And thus were the *English* dishonourably driven out of the Continent of *France*, without retaining one Foot of Land; which *Mezeray* says was the Fruit of that Alliance their Queen had made with *Spain*; upon which the Pope pleasantly said, *That the Loss of Calais was the Dower of that Princess.*

A. D.
1558.
Reg. 5.
Phil. 4.

The Loss of Calais.

Guines.

and Hammes.

The mighty Discontents that this Loss gave the *English*, were such, that the Queen could never hope to surmount them; and it sunk so deeply into her Mind, that it did not a little hasten her Death. Both Sides took Occasion to draw Arguments from this great Misfortune: The Reformers said, It was a Judgment upon the Nation, for the Contempt of the true Religion, and the late Cruelties practis'd against it: The Papists said, That the Hereticks had found such Shelter and Connivance there, that it was no wonder the Place was lost. King *Philip* offer'd his Assistance to go and retake the Place, before the Fortifications were repair'd, if the *English* would send over a Force answerable to such an Undertaking: But they, upon an Estimate made of the Expence of this, and of a War for the ensuing Year, found it would amount

Great Discontents in England.

amount to above half a Million of Money ; and as the Treasury was exhausted, and could not furnish such a Sum, so they had no Reason to expect a liberal Supply from a provok'd People. The Bishops fear'd that the Continuance of War would render it necessary to proceed more gently against Heretics, and thought it better to be quiet with the Loss of *Calais* than run that Hazard : They seem'd confident that within a Year, they should be able to purge the Kingdom from all Heresie ; and therefore mov'd that Preparations might be made for a War to begin the Year after this.

The fifth Parliament in this Reign.

A new Parliament was open'd on the twentieth of *January* ; for which the Abbot of *Westminster*, and the Prior of *St. John of Jerusalem* had their Writs, and sat in it. The Lords desir'd a Conference with the Commons, concerning the Safety of the Nation, which was found so weak, that a Subsidy, a Tenth, and a Fifteenth were given by the Laity ; and the Clergy gave eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in four Years. The Abbot of *Westminster* mov'd, that the Privileges of Sanctuary might be again restor'd to his House ; but that was soon laid aside. The Procurers of wilful Murder were now deny'd the Benefit of the Clergy ; but great Opposition was made to that Act in the House of Lords. A Bill was also brought in, confirming all the Letters Patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant for the future. This related to the Foundations of Religious Houses, which the Queen had already made ; for besides the Abby of *Westminster*, she had founded a House for the *Franciscans* at *Greenwich*, two for the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* in *London*, one for the *Carthusians* at *Skeen*, and a Nunnery at *Sion*. One *Coxley* oppos'd this Act, and insinuated, *That the Confirmation of all Grants might give the Queen a Colour to dispose of the Crown from the right Inheritors.* At which the House express'd great Dislike, and show'd *That they would not have it so much as imagin'd, that the Princess Elizabeth should ever be excluded.* He had a publick Reprimand, for speaking so much to the Queen's Dishonour : So the Parliament in *March* was prorogu'd to *November* next.

The Sufferings of the Prince's Elizabeth.

Shortly after a Proposition of Marriage was privately made by the King of *Sweden* to the Princess *Elizabeth* ; but she declar'd, she could not suffer a change in her Condition, so the Motion became ineffectual. It seems her Aversion to a marry'd State was very great, otherwise her present Condition was neither so easie, nor so secure, but that she had Reason to desire to be out of her Keeper's Power ; and to apprehend that her Danger increas'd, as the Queen's Health was impair'd : For many of the Bishops, fearing she would overthrow that Building, which they had cemented with so much Blood, were now offering cruel Counsels against her. To mention some of the Sufferings of this admirable Lady ; she had been first sent for upon the Breaking out of *Wiat's* Rebellion ; and th' she then lay sick in Bed, she was forc'd to go to Court. There she was at first confin'd to her Lodgings, and was afterwards carry'd to the Tower, and ignominiously led into it by the Traitor's-Gate, where she was strictly guarded : Her Servants were all put from her, and none had Access to her, but such as were Spies upon her : Nor was she suffer'd to walk on the Leads, or have the ordinary Comforts of Air ; and a Boy of four Years old was severely threaten'd, for his carrying Flowers to her. Some were put to the Rack to extort Confessions from them ; but none accus'd her but *Wiat*, and he retracted all he had said upon the Scaffold. When it appear'd that nothing could be prov'd against her, she was sent down to *Woodstock* ; where she was kept under severe Guards, and very roughly treated by Sir *Henry Benefield*, whom she usually call'd *Her Jaylor*. But King *Philip* so far mollify'd the Queen by degrees, that he prevail'd with her to bring her to Court, and to admit her into her Presence. *Gardiner* and many others dealt very subtilly with her, to confess her Offences, and ask the Queen's Pardon ; but she always stood firmly to her Innocence, as well as her Religion, declaring, *She had not offended the Queen, so much as in Thought.* When she was brought before the Queen

Queen late at Night, she with Tears upon her Knees renew'd the same Protestations to her, and begg'd *That she would entertain a good Opinion of her.* The Queen, tho' she urg'd her much to acknowledge some Guilt, yet seem'd satisfy'd with what she said, and parted with her in good Terms; of which King *Philip* had some Apprehensions, for he had convey'd himself into a secret Corner of the Room, to prevent a further Breach, in case the Queen should be too much incens'd. Shortly after, her Guards were discharg'd, and she suffer'd to retire into the Country; but she had always so many Spies about her, that to avoid all Suspicion, she concern'd her self in no sort of Business, but gave her self wholly to Study; in which she arriv'd to a mighty Perfection. And thus she pass'd the greatest Part of this Reign, under continual Apprehensions of Death; which perhaps was a necessary Preparation for that exalted State to which she was soon advanc'd, and which she held in the longest Course of Prosperity and Glory, that ever was attain'd by any of her Sex.

Still the Popish Bishops continu'd their Cruelties; and *Cuthbert Simpson*, More Burnings and other Cruelties. one in Deacon's Orders, having been taken at the Meeting at *Islington*, was rack'd with the extreamest Severity, to make him confess all the Friends he had in *London*: But nothing was discover'd from him; so in *March* he and two others were burnt in *Smithfield*. Several Books being printed beyond Sea, and secretly convey'd into *England*, a Proclamation of a very strange Nature was set out, 'That if any receiv'd any of these Books, and did not immediately burn them, without either reading them, or shewing them to any other Person, they were to be presently executed by Martial Law. Several others were burnt this Year, to the Number of thirty nine; and all that were burnt during the whole Reign, according to *Fox*, were two hundred and eighty four, tho' *Grindall*, who liv'd in that Time, writes, That in two Years Time eight hundred suffer'd at the Stake. Many more were thrown into Prison, where sixty of them dy'd miserably; others, after much cruel Usage by Whips and Tortures from *Bonner's* own Hands, were prevail'd on to abjure; but carry'd in their Minds a mortal Aversion to that Cruelty which had tempted them to such Apostacy.

As to the War with *France*, this Year the Lord *Clinton* was sent with a Fleet of a hundred and twenty Sail, and seven thousand Land-men, who landed near *Brest*, with a Design to have seiz'd on that Port, but was repell'd with the Loss of six hundred Men; so that after an inglorious and expensive Expedition, he return'd to *England*. The *English* had lost their Hearts and Bravery, and began to believe that Heaven was against them; and extraordinary Many Calamities in England. Accidents increas'd these direful Apprehensions: A vast Storm of Thunder caus'd an unusual Terror in *Nottinghamshire*; the River *Trent* swell'd prodigiously, and with a violent Wind did great Damage: Hail-stones of uncommon Bigness fell in other Places; and which was more terrible, a contagious intermitting Feaver, not unlike the Plague, so rag'd through the Nation, that three Parts of four were infected with it, and in many Counties there were not Men sufficient to reap the Harvest. All these melancholy Symptoms concurr'd to increase the People's Aversion to the Government, which soon dispos'd the Queen to hearken to Overtures of Peace. This was projected between the Bishop of *Arras*, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who were the chief Favourites of the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*: The Cardinal of *Lorraine* was most earnest in it, because the Constable who was the Head of the Faction against the House of *Guise*, was suspected to favour the Reformation, and his three Nephews, the *Coligny's*, were known to incline to it. The King of *France* was the more inclinable to a Treaty, because he had receiv'd a second Blow this Year. The Marthal *de Thermes* being surrounded by the Count of *Egmont* near *Graveling*, where the *French* Army being engag'd by the Count, The Battel of Graveling. and gall'd by the *English* Ordnance from their Ships lying near the Land, was defeated; five thousand kill'd, and the Marthal and other chief Officers

taken Prisoners. The *French* King thought the Expulsion of the *English* out of *France* a Compensation both for that, and his Loss at St. *Quintin*; so that both Princes reckoning their own Advantages, they were dispos'd to a Treaty, which was open'd at *Cambray*, but not finish'd in this Reign. Bishop *Godwin* observes that all Persons concern'd in this unjust War, and Breach of Faith, were punish'd by Heaven; and particularly Queen *Mary*, by the Loss of *Calais*, and the other Places, at a Time when nothing but contrary Winds hinder'd her Fleet from affording them Relief.

The Dauphine
marry'd to the
Queen of Scot-
land.

After a Determination of many Years continuance, in this *April* the *Dauphine* was marry'd to the Queen of *Scotland*; which Marriage was adorn'd by an *Epithalamium* wrote by *Buchanan*, esteem'd one of the most perfect Pieces of *Latin* Poetry. The Deputies sent from *Scotland* were desir'd to offer the *Dauphine* the Crown of *Scotland*, in the Right of his Wife; but they declar'd, That exceeded the Bounds of their Commission, so they only promis'd to represent the Matter to the States of *Scotland*; but could not conceal the Aversion they had to the Proposal. Shortly after four of the seven that were sent over dy'd, and the fifth narrowly escap'd; it being generally suspected that they were poison'd. When the rest return'd to *Scotland*, an Assembly of the States was call'd, in which it was agreed to allow the *Dauphine* the Title of King, but with this Proviso, 'That he should have no Power' over them, and that it was only a bare Title which they offer'd him. This was appointed to be carry'd to him by the Earl of *Argile*, and the Prior of St. *Andrew's*, who had been the most warm Agents for the *French* Interest, in Hopes of the Queen-Regent's Protection, against the Rage of the Bishops, in Matters of Religion.

The Parliam-
ent meets.

In *England*, a new Session of Parliament met on the fifth of *November*; and the Queen being ill, sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and laid before him the feeble Condition of the Nation, and the Necessity of putting it in a Posture of Defence: But the Commons were so disgusted at the general Conduct of Affairs, that they could come to no Resolution: Therefore on the fourteenth of that Month, twelve of the chief Lords of both Estates, came down to the House of Commons, and desir'd them to grant a Subsidy to defend the Nation, both against the *French* and *Scots*; but still the Commons came to no Resolution, 'till the Queen's Death three Days after put an End to the

The Queen's
last Sickness,

Parliament. Her former false Conception, her Husband's Neglect her Despair of Issue, and her melancholy Apprehensions, which receiv'd a Surcharge from the Loss of *Calais*, brought her into an ill Habit of Body, which turn'd to an incurable Dropsie. When some of her Visitants endeavour'd to divert her sorrowful Thoughts, she told them, *They were Strangers to her Distemper, but if they would dissect her after her Death, they would find Calais next her Heart.* She endeavour'd to have set aside her Sister *Elizabeth*, and brought in the Queen of *Scotland* to the Crown; but she was hinder'd from proceeding in it as a Matter impracticable. Thus on the seventeenth Day of *November* she ended her unfortunate Life, in the forty third Year of her Age, after a short and miserable Reign of five Years, four Months, and eleven Days. At the same Time, as if one Star had rul'd both their Nativities, her Cardinal *Pool* was also expiring in the fifty ninth Year of his Age, being a Person of Learning, Humility, Prudence and Temper; who had certainly the best Notions of any of his Party then in *England*, so that if his Projects had been follow'd, Popery would probably have been fix'd in the Nation. But God design'd another Establishment; and the Queen, whose Temper and Principles were fierce and severe, prefer'd the bloody Counsels of *Gardiner* and *Bonner* to those wiser and more rational Methods he often propos'd. And tho' his Zeal for the Church of *Rome* still continu'd, yet his Eyes were open'd in many Things: His being Legate at *Trent*, and his Retirement at *Viterbo*, had both enlighten'd and compos'd his Mind; which being join'd to his Probity and sweet Disposition, produc'd extraordinary Effects in him.

and Death.

As

As to the Character of the Queen, we need not say much after her History; Her Character. only as to her Person, as she was not very amiable, so she was without any Deformity; nor did she want Parts or Understanding, but had the Advantages of Learning, and a good Understanding in the *Latin* Tongue. She was a Woman of a strict and severe Life, who allow'd her self few of the Diversions belonging to Courts; was constant at her Devotions, and violently addicted to the Interests and Humours of the *Romish* Priests. She had great Resentments of her Usage in her Father's and Brother's Reign, which easily induc'd her to take her Revenge, tho' she colour'd it with her Zeal against Heresie. She much endeavour'd to expiate and restore the Sacrileges of the two last Reigns; besides which laudable Intention, a froward sort of Virtue, and a melancholy Piety, are the best Things that can be said of her. Her former Dissemblings, her publick Breach of Faith to the *Suffolk* Gentlemen and others, and her barbarous Cruelties to those call'd *Hereticks*, are inexcusable Blemishes in her Character; and God thought fit to punish her with a barren Womb, and an untimely Death, and the World with a blasted Name, which has made an indelible Impression of Horror upon the Nation. To conclude, her Death was as little lamented, as of any that had worn the Crown, excepting by the Popish Clergy; and had it not been for the two worthy Foundations of *Trinity* and *St. John's* Colleges in *Oxford*, there had been scarce any Thing in this Reign to have made it memorable, besides the Calamities and Misfortunes of it.

S E C T. II.

The Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

Containing 44 Years, 4 Months, and 6 Days.

I. **T**HE short and furious Storm that had rag'd within the Nation, being happily dispell'd by the Decease of *Queen Mary*, a glorious Sun-shine suddenly succeeded; which did not only illuminate the *English* Hemisphere, but gradually display'd its reviving Beams both to neighbouring and remote Regions. All which proceeded from the renown'd Princess *Elizabeth*, who without Opposition mounted the Throne of *England* by the Providence of Heaven, by Virtue of her Birth-Right, and the Act of Succession made in the thirty fifth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth. *Queen Mary's* Death was conceal'd for a few Hours, 'till about nine in the Morning, the Lord Chancellor *Heath* with a melancholy Countenance imparted the News to the House of Lords; which, as it struck the Bishops with no small Fear, so those Counsellors who had been severe to her Sister, were very apprehensive of the Treatment they might receive. Yet they all agreed to proclaim her Queen; and by the Zeal shewn for her Accession to the Crown, design'd to ballance the Errors to which they had been formerly driven, more in Compliance to the Sovereign's Resentments, than any real Prejudice to her Person. They immediately sent for the House of Commons, to whom the Lord Chancellor signify'd the Queen's Decease; *which, he said, would have been a much more sensible Affliction, if they had not such a Successor, who was the next and indisputed Heir to the Crown, ELIZABETH, of whose Right and Title none could make any Question; therefore the Lords were unanimously resolv'd to proclaim her Queen.* This was immediately resounded and eccho'd with innumerable repeated Acclamations, *God save Queen Elizabeth! Long and happily may she Reign!* They first proclaim'd her at *Westminster*, and then in *London*, Elizabeth proclaimed Queen.

A. D.

1558.

Reg. 1.

Queen Mary's Death declar'd.

London, in Conjunction with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; which was accompany'd with such unusual Transports of Joy, as gave the melancholy Priests just Cause to fear a new Revolution in Religious Affairs; and tho' the Queen's Death most sensibly afflicted them, yet the Joy in this Change was so great and universal, that a sad Look was thought Criminal, and the Priests were forc'd to vent their Grievs in private Corners, and the most secret Recesses.

Her Person and Character.

This admirable Princess was now twenty five Years of Age, excelling in all the Perfections of her Sex, whether of Body or Mind. Her Person was graceful, her Mien noble, her Shape fine, and her Stature and Gait, both agreeable and majestick. Her Face had not all the Regularities of a finish'd Beauty; yet her Complexion was perfectly fair, her Eyes lively and sparkling, and her whole Countenance carry'd something so bright and dazling, as cover'd all smaller Defects. In every Thing she said or did, there was an Air of Majesty, that naturally struck more Awe than Love; but still at her Pleasure she could assume such powerful Charms, as few were able to resist; and there was such a happy mixture of Greatness and Sweetness, that all Persons admir'd her. Her Mind was heroical and magnanimous, her Understanding was pregnant and penetrating, enlarg'd and polish'd by all the Advantages of a most refin'd Education. She wrote Letters in *English* and *Italian*, when she was not full four Years of Age; and before she was seventeen she became perfect in the *Greek*, *Latin*, *French* and *Italian* Tongues, and not unacquainted with the rest of the *European* Languages. From whence she proceeded by her indefatigable Industry to an extraordinary Knowledge in Philosophy, Rhetorick, History and Divinity; not forgetting Poetry, Musick, and other Ornaments of Conversation. Of all that she read or learn'd, she made the best and truest Use; and being of a quick Apprehension, and a strong Memory, she drew from the Annals of all Nations, the Actions of the greatest Men, with all their Fights and Conquests. She would frequently set before her the Monuments of her Predecessors, the illustrious Triumphs and Victories obtain'd by the *English* at *Cressy*, *Poitiers*, *Agincourt* and *Vernevil*; and was wont to say, *These Victories were more owing to the Assistance of Heaven, than the Arms of Men*. Being thus nobly accomplish'd, train'd up to the most exalted Piety, and taught by her late Afflictions the profoundest Humility, she became truly worthy of the *English* Crown; which she receiv'd at a Time when the Nation was most low and afflicted, doubly imbroil'd with the *French* and *Scotch* War, overcharg'd with the Debts of *Henry* the Eighth, and *Edward* the Sixth, the Treasury exhausted, the *English* Dominions in *France* lost, the People distracted with different Opinions in Religion, and she her self destitute of all potent Friends, and foreign Alliance.

The present State of the Nation.

She was at *Hatfield* when she receiv'd the News of her Sister's Death, and that she her self was proclaim'd Queen; upon which, 'tis said she fell down upon her Knees, and after a short Silence broke out in the Words of the *Psalmist*, '*It is the Lord's Doing, and wonderful in our Eyes!*' Which Words in *Latin* she afterwards took for her *Motto* in some of her Gold Coins. She soon remov'd from thence to *London*; and on the nineteenth of *November* she was met at *High-Gate* by all the Bishops; whom she receiv'd with great Sweetness, excepting *Bonner*, who being polluted with so much Blood, she thought that common Civility to him would give some Countenance to his Crimes. She was receiv'd into the City with such numerous Throngs as was almost incredible, and surrounded with the loudest Acclamations of over-flowing Joy. When she arriv'd at the Tower, upon her first Entrance she devoutly kneel'd down and offer'd up her Thanks to God, *Who had thus bounteously chang'd her former Prison into a present Palace*. She soon clear'd all Men's Apprehensions as to those Hardships she had formerly sustain'd, and shew'd that she had absolutely forgot from whom she had receiv'd them; not excepting *Benefield* himself, who had been the chief Instrument of her Sufferings. She gave immediate Notice

The Queen enters London.

Notice of her Sister's Death, and her own Succession, to all Foreign Princes; and wrote particular Acknowledgments to King *Philip*, for the kind Offices he had done. Among the rest she wrote to Sir *Edward Karn*, who was her Sister's Ambassador at *Rome*: But the haughty Pope in his usual Stile told him, *That England was a Fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high Presumption in her, to assume the Crown without his Consent, especially since she was Illegitimate: But if she would renounce her Pretensions, and refer her self wholly to him, she might expect all the Favour that could consist with the Dignity of the Apostolick See.* The Queen hearing this, with no small Resentment, recall'd *Karn's* Power; but he being a zealous Papist, continu'd still at *Rome*. King *Philip* sent her a kinder Message, and propos'd a Marriage with her; undertaking to procure a Dispensation from *Rome*. But the Queen, as she continu'd her whole Life averse to that State, so she knew how unacceptable a Foreigner, especially a *Spaniard*, would be to her People; and she had made it the steady Maxim of her Reign, from which she never would deviate, 'To rule in their Affections, as well as over their Persons. Neither could she hearken to the Pope's Dispensation: For if two Sisters might marry the same Person, then two Brothers might likewise marry the same Woman; which would overthrow all the Arguments for her Father's Divorce with Queen *Catharine*. upon which depended the Validity of her Mother's Marriage, and her own Legitimation. Yet tho' she firmly resolv'd not to marry King *Philip*, she thought, that during the Treaty of *Cambray*, it was not fit to put him out of all Hopes: Upon which he sent to *Rome* for a Dispensation; but the *French* sent to oppose it, and set up a Pretension for the young Queen of *Scotland*, as the righteous Heir to the Crown of *England*.

She writes to Foreign Princes.

King Philip proposes a Marriage with her in vain.

The wise Queen continu'd to imploy most of her Sister's Privy-Counsellors, as the Lord Chancellor *Heath*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, and others, who had before so often turn'd in Matters of Religion, that it was very probable they would be complying at this Time. But still to ballance these she added several others of the Reformed Religion; the most celebrated of whom were Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, both of extraordinary Abilities. She order'd all who were imprison'd upon the Account of Religion to be set at Liberty: Upon which one who us'd to take an innocent Liberty with her, said, *The four Evangelists still continu'd Prisoners, and that the People much long'd to see them freed:* To which she as pleasantly answer'd, *She would talk with them her self, and know how they stood affected.* Some propos'd the annulling of all Queen *Mary's* Parliaments, because Force was us'd in the Election of the First, and the Writs for another were not legal, because the Title of *Supream Head* was omitted in the Summons; but this was thought too bold an Attempt and Precedent to annul Parliaments upon Errors in Writs, or particular Disorders. The Queen desir'd that all the Changes to be made, might be so carefully manag'd as to breed as little Division among her People, as was possible; and she was not pleas'd with the Title of *Supream Head*, as importing too sublime an Authority. She lov'd Magnificence in Religion, as she affected it in all other Affairs; which made her inclinable to preserve some former Ornaments, and even Images in Churches; and that the Popish Party might have the less Cause of Offence, she design'd to have the Manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament defin'd in general Terms, that it might comprehend all Sides. A Scheme was form'd of the Method, in which it was most advisable for the Queen to proceed, and put into *Cecil's* Hands. By this, 'It was judg'd necessary to do nothing 'till a Parliament was call'd: The Queen had reason to expect all the Disturbance the Pope could give her, who would certainly excite the *French* and *Scots*, and perhaps the *Irish*, against her. The Clergy, and those imploy'd in the late Reign, would oppose it, and use all Methods to inflame the Nation; and the greatest Part of the People lov'd the Pomp of the old Ceremonies. It was therefore propos'd, That the Queen on any Terms should

The Queen's wise Management.

Her Designs as to Religion.

A Scheme propos'd.

‘ should make Peace with *France*, and incourage the Party in *Scotland*, that de-
 ‘ fir’d a Reformation. The Clergy were generally hated for their Cruelty, and
 ‘ it would be easie to bring them within the Statute of *Premunire*: Care was
 ‘ also to be taken to expose the former Counsellors for their ill Conduct in the
 ‘ last Reign, and by that Means to diminish their Reputation. It was likewise
 ‘ propos’d to examine well the Commissions for the Peace and Militia, and to
 ‘ inspect the Universities; and some Learned Men were to be order’d, to confi-
 ‘ der what Alterations were fit to be made, and by what Steps they should
 ‘ proceed.

Queen Mary's
Funeral.

Doctor Parker
advanc'd.

By this Time the Exiles that had fled beyond Sea, return'd home; and these
 with some other zealous Persons began in many Places to break down Images,
 and set up King *Edward's* Service again. Upon this the Queen order'd, That
 the Litany, and other Parts of the Service should be perform'd in *English*, and
 that no Elevation should be us'd in the Mass; but requir'd her Subjects by Pro-
 clamation, to avoid all Innovations, and use no other Forms, but what she re-
 tain'd in her Chappel, 'till it should be otherwise appointed in Parliament. On
 the fifth of *December* she order'd her Sister's Obsequies to be celebrated with
 great Magnificence at *Westminster*: *White* Bishop of *Winchester*, who preach'd
 the Sermon, not only extoll'd her Government, but severely reflected upon the
 present State of Affairs; for which he was for some Time confin'd to his House.
 And many Sees being vacant, one of the first Things that came under Consul-
 tation, was the finding proper Men to supply them. Doctor *Parker* was se-
 lected, as the fittest for the Metropolitan See of *Canterbury*: He had been Chap-
 lain to Queen *Anne Bolen*, and had been imploy'd in instructing the Queen
 in the chief Points of Religion, when she was young: He was well known to
 Sir *Nicholas Bacon*; and both he and *Cecil* gave so high a Character of him,
 that it meeting with the Queen's particular Esteem, it was resolv'd to advance
 him. But as soon as he knew it; he us'd all possible Arguments against it both
 from the Weakness of his Body, and his Unworthiness of so high a Charge.
 He desir'd rather to be put into some small Benefice of twenty Nobles a Year,
 so far was he from aspiring to Wealth or Honour; and as *Cranmer* before him,
 he continu'd for many Months so averse to it, that it was hard to overcome
 him. And it was thought no small Honour to the Reformation, that the two
 chief Instruments that promoted it, *Cranmer* and *Parker*, gave such Eviden-
 ces of a Primitive Spirit, in being so unwillingly advanc'd.

A. D. In the Beginning of the new Year, the Queen thought fit to make some new
 1552. Promotions: Particularly Sir *William Parre* was created Marquess of *Nor-*
 Reg. 1. *thampton*; *Edward Scymour* was made Vicount *Beauchamp*, and Earl of *Hart-*
 New Promoti- *ford*; the Lord *Thomas Howard* was made Vicount of *Bindon*; Sir *Oliver*
 ons. *Saint John*, Lord *Saint John of Bletso*; and Sir *Henry Carew*, Lord *Carew*
 of *Huntsden*. They were all averse to the Popish Religion; and as the Queen
 was not prodigal in any Thing, so she was most sparing in Distributions of
 Honour, by which she advanc'd it to the highest Esteem with all Men. The
 Seals were taken from Arch-Bishop *Heath*, who could not join in the Queen's
 Sir Nicholas Designs, and given to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who was declar'd *Lord-Keeper*,
 Bacon made and had all the Dignity and Authority of the Chancellor's Office, without the
 Lord-Keeper. Title; which, was perhaps an Effect of his great Modesty, that adorn'd his other
 great and noble Qualities. As he was eminent in himself, so he was happy in
 being Father to the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, one of the chief Glories in the
English Nation.

These Acts of Grace and Favour being thus dispatch'd, on the twelfth Day
 of *January* the Queen went to the Tower, in order to make a triumphant
 Passage through *London* to her Palace at *Westminster*, before the Solemnity of
 her Coronation. As she mounted her Royal Chariot at the Tower, with the
 profoundest Marks of Devotion, she bless'd the all-powerful God, *Who had*
sav'd her, like the Prophet Daniel, out of the Mouths of the Lions, and pre-
serv'd

serv'd her to see that joyful Day. As she pass'd through the City in great Splendor, she was all the Way entertain'd with the most joyful Acclamations that could proceed from dilated Spirits; which she continually return'd with the most charming Smiles, and often saying *God bless you, my People!* which was always accompany'd with such a modest Affability, and obliging Gracefulness, that it drew Tears of Joy from the Eyes of many, and infinite Prayers and Thanksgivings from the Hearts of all. But nothing more endear'd her to the Spectators than her Behaviour as she pass'd under one of the Triumphal Arches; where a rich Bible was let down to her, as from Heaven, by a Child representing *Truth*: She with great Reverence kiss'd both her Hands, and receiving it with another Kiss, laid it next her Heart; professing, *She was better pleas'd with that single Gift, than all the magnificent Presents she had that Day receiv'd from the City.* On the next Morning, with the like Splendor and Magnificence, she was attended to the Abby-Church at *Westminster*, where she was solemnly crown'd, according to the Order of the *Roman Pontifical*, by *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*; with so much Satisfaction to the People, that afterwards, without any Command, and by an universal Consent, they every Year celebrated her Coronation-Day with a Religious Joy. Yet none of the Bishops, besides *Carlisle*, would join in the Solemnity; for they saw the Alterations she was daily making; and tho' many of them had often chang'd, yet they resolv'd now to keep firmer to what they had lately profess'd, and for which they had shed so much Blood. Yet no Objection could be made to her Piety and Devotion, which was constant and remarkable both in private and publick, and she most attentively heard all Sermons preach'd before her: But still she preferr'd the publick Prayers, and often us'd the Saying she had read of her Predecessor *Henry the Third*, *That she had rather converse with God in Prayer, than hear others speak eloquently of him.*

Her Coronation.

Abroad, the Treaty of *Cambray* was still negotiated by the *English, Spanish* and *French* Commissioners; in which the greatest Obstacle was the Restitution of *Calais*; and King *Philip* for a long time insist'd so positively on that Article, that he refus'd to make Peace upon any other Terms. *England* had lost it by a War, in which they engag'd on his Account, so that in Honour he was oblig'd to see it restor'd; but when the Hopes of marrying the Queen vanish'd, and he found she was making Changes in Religion, he became more regardless of her Interests, and told the *English* Commissioners, that unless they would enter into a League for continuing the War six Years longer, he must submit to the necessity of his own Affairs, and conclude a Peace. Upon which the Queen hearken'd to Propositions sent from *France*; but much complain'd of the Queen of *Scotland's* assuming the Title and Arms of *England*: It was answer'd, That since she had born the Title and Arms of *France*, she had no Reason to contend upon that Account. She saw she could not now make War with *France* alone, and knew that *Philip* had made a separate Peace; and she had no Desire to begin her Reign with a War, that would probably be unsuccessful, and certainly so burdensome to her Subjects Purse, as might indanger the Loss of their Affections. And certainly in respect of her Sex, and want of Treasure, Peace at this Time was more eligible than the justest War, to her, who was wont to say, *It was more glorious to establish a Peace with Wisdom, than to finish a War with the most gallant Armies.* The Loss of *Calais* was no Reproach to her, but fell wholly on her Sister's Memory; therefore she resolv'd to make a Peace with *France*, upon the best Terms that could be obtain'd. So at length it was agreed, 'That the *French* should hold *Calais* eight Years, at which Time it should either be restor'd, or five hundred thousand Pounds paid in lieu of it to the Queen of *England*: Yet if, during that Space, she made War, either in *France* or *Scotland*, she was to forfeit her Right to that Town: *Aymouth* in *Scotland* was to be demolish'd, and all Differences on the Borders there, were to be determin'd by some deputed on both Sides.

The Treaty of Cambray.

A Peace made with France and Scotland.

This

This being adjusted, a general Peace between the Crowns of *England, France, Spain and Scotland* was concluded; to the Dissatisfaction of many of the *English*, who made great Complaints against particular Persons in the last Reign.

The wise Queen having happily for her own Designs made Peace both with *France* and *Scotland*, was now more at Liberty to settle her Affairs at home.

The first Parliament in this Reign.

She had call'd a Parliament, which was open'd on the twenty fifth Day of *January*; at which the Lord *Bacon* made a long Speech, both concerning Matters of Religion and the State of the Nation, 'He desir'd they would examine 'the former Religion without Heat or partial Affection; that all Reproaches 'might be forborn, and Extreame avoided; and that Particulars might be so 'establish'd, as all might agree in an Uniformity in Divine Worship. He laid 'open the Errors of the former Reign, and aggravated the Loss of *Calais*; but 'still shew'd that it could not be easily recover'd. He made a noble Encomium 'upon the Queen, but when he shew'd under what Necessities she lay, he declar'd, *She would desire no Supply, but what they should freely and chearfully offer.* After some Debates about the Title of *Supream Head*, that was wanting in the Queen's Writs, and came to no Effect; the first Bill that was brought to try the Temper of the Parliament, was for the Restitution of the *Tenths* and *First-Fruits* to the Crown; against which all the Bishops protested. But that was all the Opposition that was made to it; 'By which, not only that Tax 'and Imposition was again laid on the Clergy, but also all the Impropriated 'Benefices, which *Mary* had surrender'd, were restor'd to the Crown. After

The Queen desired to marry.

Her Answer.

this the Commons made a modest and handsome Address to the Queen, 'Desiring her to chuse such a Husband, as might make both her self and the Nation happy. She receiv'd the Proposal kindly, 'Since they had neither limited her to Time, nor Nation; but declar'd, That as hitherto she had liv'd 'with great Satisfaction in a single State, and had refus'd the Propositions that 'had been made to her, both in her Brother's and Sister's Reign, so she had no 'Inclination to change her Course of Life: If ever she did, she would take care, 'that it should be to the Good and Satisfaction of her People. She thought 'she was marry'd to the Nation at her Coronation, by the Ring she then receiv'd, and look'd upon her People as her dear Children; and she would be 'highly satisfy'd, if her Tombstone might tell Posterity, *HERE LYES A QUEEN WHO REIGN'D SO LONG, AND LIV'D AND DY'D A VIRGIN.* This Matter was soon dropt, and an acceptable Bill for the Recognition of her Title to the Crown was brought in: It was not thought necessary to repeal the Sentence of her Mother's Divorce, for it was declar'd, *That the Crown purg'd all Defects*; and it was thought needless to look back into a Matter, which could not be done without casting some Reproach on

Her Title to the Crown acknowledged.

her Father: So it was in general Words Enacted, 'That they did assuredly believe and declare, That by the Laws of God and the Realm, she was their lawful Queen, and was rightly and lineally descended to the Throne. This was thought a wiser Way, than if they had examin'd the Sentence of Divorce that pass'd upon the Confession of a Pre-contract; which must have reviv'd the Remembrance of Things that ought to be forgotten; which was also thought the true Reason why in all her Reign no Apology was printed for her Mother. Other Bills were brought in, and one pass'd, 'That reviv'd all Acts made against the Pope's 'Power, in King *Henry's* Reign, and repeal'd those made by Queen *Mary*:

Her Supremacy asserted.

'They enacted an Oath for acknowledging the Queen *Supream Governor in all Causes, and over all Persons*; and the Refuters of it were to be turn'd out 'of all Offices either Ecclesiastical or Civil, and to be under a Disability during Life: If any should advance the Authority of a Foreign Power, the first 'Offence was Fine or Imprisonment, the second a *Premunire*, and the third 'Treason: The Queen was also impower'd to give Commissions, for Judging 'and Reforming Ecclesiastical Matters, under certain Limitations. From this last was the Court, call'd the *High Commission Court*, founded; which in reality

ality was nothing, but the distributing that Authority into many Hands, which was in one Person in King *Henry's* Reign.

During these Parliamentary Proceedings, great Complaints were made of Seditious Sermons, preach'd by the Popish Clergy; upon which the Queen follow'd her Sister's Precedent, and forbad all Preaching without a Royal Licence obtain'd: She likewise sent an Order to the Convocation, requiring that Body to make no Canons, under the Pains of a *Premunire*. Yet the lower House insisting still upon several Points, a publick and solemn Conference was appointed by the Queen, to be held between the *Romish* Bishops and the Protestant Divines. This was first propos'd to Arch-Bishop *Heath*, who was still a Privy-Counsellor; and after some Consultation with his Brethren, he accepted of it. Nine of each Side were appointed formally to dispute upon these three Points; Worship in an unknown Tongue; the Power that every particular Church had to alter Rites and Ceremonies; and concerning the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass: All which were to be given in Writing. The last Day of *March* was the first Day of the Conference, which was held in *Westminster-Abby*, in the Presence of the Privy-Council, and both Houses of Parliament, and vast Numbers of People who were gather'd together at so unusual a Sight. The Applauses of the Assembly were so much on the Protestants Side, that after the first Day, the other Party obstinately refus'd to proceed according to the Form first agreed; and the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln* said, The Faith of the Church ought not to be examin'd, but in a Synod of Divines; That it gave too great Incouragement to Hereticks to dispute with them; and that the Queen and Council ought to be Excommunicated, for suffering them to argue against the Catholick Faith before an unlearned Multitude. Upon this they were sent to the Tower, and the Lord-Keeper dismiss'd the Assembly with this Sentence to all the Bishops, *Since you are not willing that we should hear you, you shall very shortly hear from us.*

*A publick
Conference about
Religion.*

This being over, the Parliament was now in a better Disposition to pass the Bill for the *Uniformity* of the Service of the Church: The Book of Common-Prayer was now revis'd, and the most considerable Alteration, that the express Declaration made against the corporal Presence, in the second Book set out by King *Edward*, was now left out; that none might be driven out of the Communion of the Church upon that Account; therefore the Matter was left undetermin'd, as a speculative Point, in which the People were at their Liberty. The Book of Ordination was not specially mention'd in the Act, which occasion'd *Bonner* afterwards to question the Legality of Ordinations made by it; but it had been made a Part of the Common-Prayer-Book in the fifth Year of King *Edward*, and the whole Book, then set out, was now confirm'd: So that by a special Act made some Years after this, it was declar'd, That that Office was understood to be a Part of it. Great Oppositions, and many Speeches were made in the House of Lords against this famous Act of *Uniformity*; but at length it pass'd with the Dissent and Protestations of eight Spiritual and nine Temporal Lords, and has continu'd in Force to this Day. Another Act pass'd with greater and juster Opposition, 'That the Queen might reserve 'some Lands belonging to Bishopricks to her self, as they became void, giving 'in lieu of them Impropriated Tithes to the Value of them: This was most oppos'd in the House of Commons, who reasonably apprehended, That under this Pretence, new Spoils might be made of Church-Lands; so that upon a Division of the House, ninety were against it, but a hundred and thirty three being for it, it pass'd. Another Act pass'd with the like Opposition, 'By 'which all Religious Houses founded by Queen *Mary*, were suppress'd, and 'united to the Crown. A private Act pass'd, declaring the Deprivation of 'the Popish Bishops in King *Edward's* Reign valid in Law, and all the Leases 'made by their Successors legal. At last a Subsidy, two Tenths and

*The Act of
Uniformity
pass'd.*

Other Acts.

two Fifteens were given, with the Tonnage and Poundage for the Queen's Life, and to the Parliament was dissolv'd on the eighth of *May*.

The Number
of the Church-
men that were
turn'd out.

Shortly after, in order to put the Laws in Execution, a general Visitation was appointed, and a High Commission Court set up; by which Means the establish'd Liturgy in the vulgar Tongue, was soon brought into all Churches; Images were remov'd without Tumult, and the Oath of Supremacy offer'd to the Popish Bishops, and all other Ecclesiastical Persons, which had been taken by most of them in the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth. As many as refus'd the Oath, were according to Law, turn'd out of all their Preferments; and of the nine thousand four hundred Benefices, then nam'd in *England*, fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Arch-Deacons, fifteen Heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors, was the whole Number of those that were depriv'd. But it was strongly believ'd, that the greatest Part comply'd against their Consciences, and would have been ready for another Turn, if the Queen had dy'd, while that Race of Incumbants liv'd, and the next Successor had been of another Religion. All the Bishops were at first under Confinement, but they were soon after set at Liberty; only *Bonner*, *White* and *Watson*, were detain'd Prisoners. Many grievous Complaints were brought against *Bonner*, for the illegal Cruelties he had exercis'd, and the Tortures he had put to his Prisoners; but the Queen resolv'd not to stain the Beginning of her Reign with Blood; and the Reformed Divines were not for revenging themselves, but for leaving all to the Justice of Heaven. *Heath* liv'd privately at his own House, where he was sometimes visited by the Queen: *Pates*, *Scot* and *Goldwell*, had leave to go beyond Sea. A few Gentlemen, and all the Nuns went likewise out of *England*; and so mild and gentle was the Queen, that she deny'd that Liberty to none that asked it.

Doctor Parker
made Arch-
Bishop of Can-
terbury.

The Queen proceeded next to fill up the vacant Bishopricks, and began with *Canterbury*; in which Affair Doctor *Parker* stood out for many Months, and he would not undertake so high a Charge, 'till his Friends had us'd all sorts of Arguments both Threatning and Persuasive, to induce him to comply. Upon the sending of the *Conge d'eslire*, he was elected by the Chapter of *Canterbury*; and shortly after the Queen issu'd out a Warrant for his Consecration, and after that a second, directed to *Kitchin* Bishop of *Landaffe*, the only complying Bishop in Possession, and to *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*, three Bishops depriv'd in the last Reign, and to *Bale* Bishop of *Ossory*, and two suffragan Bishops besides. Accordingly, on the seventeenth Day of *December*, by four of these, he was consecrated in the Chappel at *Lambeth*, according to the Book of Ordination, set out under King *Edward*, only the Ceremony of the Pastoral Staff was omitted; All which is apparent, not only from the Testimony of the Earl of *Nottingham* who saw it, but from the Records of the Crown, the Registers of the Sec of *Canterbury*, and the original Instrument describing all the Particulars of his Consecration, still preserv'd in *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*. And this incontestably confutes the scandalous Fable of the *Nag's-Head* Ordination, and all other improbable Stories, afterwards invented by the Enemies of the establish'd Church of *England*. After this Arch-Bishop *Parker* proceeded regularly to consecrate many other Bishops; as *Grindall*, for the See of *London*; *Cox*, for *Ely*; *Horn*, for *Winchester*; *Merrick*, for *Bangor*; *Young*, for *St. David's*; *Bullingham*, for *Lincoln*; the famous *Jewell*, for *Salisbury*; *Davis*, for *St. Asaph*; *Guest*, for *Rochester*; *Berkeley*, for *Bath* and *Wells*; *Bentham*, for *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; *Alley*, for *Exeter*; and *Parre*, for *Peterborough*. *Barlow* and *Scory*, formerly depriv'd, were put into the Sees of *Chichester* and *Hereford*: And the Sees of *York* and *Durham* were kept vacant a Year, upon some Hopes that *Heath* and *Tonstall* should have conform'd; but after that, *Young* was translated from *St. David's* to *York*, and *Pilkington* advanc'd to *Durham*. In all these, and many other Advancements, when a Man was recommended to the Queen, as worthy of

Many new Bi-
shops Consecra-
ted.

Prefer-

Preferment, she usually ask'd, *If there were not others to be found, of more Learning and Piety, to whom she might recommend the Care of the Church.*

Thus did this excellent Queen not only restore Peace to the Nation, but in the Compass of a Year recover the Reformation of Religion; while all Christendom stood amaz'd to see it effected with so little Commotion. And all Things were carry'd with such a general Temper and Moderation, that for ten Years there was no Disturbances about Religion, nor any severe Punishment of *Roman* Catholicks. By means of this Change and Establishment, as the Politicians observ'd, *England* became the most free of all Kingdoms in Christendom, and the Scepter deliver'd from the foreign Servitude of *Rome*; the Nation grew more wealthy than in former Ages, when infinite Sums were annually exported to *Rome* for *First-Fruits, Indulgences, Pardons, Appeals, Dispensations, Palls*, and other things, to the strange Impoverishment of the Republick. And thus having recover'd the almost Shipwrack'd Vessel to a safe Port, the Queen was able by the Blessing of God both to settle her Religion, and to lay the Foundations of a lasting Peace at home and abroad.

The Happiness of England.

II. While *England* was thus settled, and happy at home, *Scotland* was distracted, and began to suffer great Convulsions; all arising from the Factions within its own Bowels, and the Severity and Provocations of the Queen-Dowager, who was Regent of the Kingdom, and wholly in the Interest of *France*. The real Queen of *Scotland*, now seventeen Years of Age, was still in *France*, and this Year her Husband the *Dauphine* succeeded to the Crown, under the Name of *Francis* the Second. He being govern'd by the Counsel of the *Guises*, who bore the chief Sway in *France*, join'd with the Queen-Regent in all her violent Proceedings in *Scotland*. Vast Disturbances were rais'd, and innumerable Outrages committed in all Parts, upon the Account of Religion and Reformation: And at length the People made such a general Insurrection, that the Queen-Regent was compell'd to retire to *Dunbar* Castle. She was once willing to refer the whole Matter to a Parliament; but two thousand Men coming over from *France*, and Assurances being sent her of a greater Force to follow, she assum'd new Courage, went and fortify'd *Leith*, and broke her Agreement with the People, which she had more than once done before, upon a Pretence, *That Princes were not strictly to be charg'd with their Promises, especially when made to Hereticks.* Upon which the Lords alledg'd, 'That in their Queen's 'Minority, the Government was chiefly in the States, and that the Regent 'was only the chief Administrator, and accountable to them: Therefore they resolv'd to depose her from her Regency. They objected many Male-Administrations, as her Beginning a War in the Kingdom, and bringing in Foreigners to subdue it, her embasing the Coin, Governing without the Consent of the Nobility, and breaking her Faith and Promises to them; upon which they declar'd, That she was fallen from her Regency, and suspended her Power till the next Parliament. The Lords, now call'd *The Lords of the Congregation*, retir'd from *Edenburgh* to *Sterlin*; upon which the *French* came to *Edenburgh*, and set up the Mass in the Churches which had been laid aside; and soon after a new Supply came from *France*, commanded by the Marquis of *Elbeuse*, one of the Queen-Regent's Brothers, so that now there were four thousand *French* in *Scotland*. By means of this Foreign Force, the whole Nation came to be united against the Queen-Regent, and to look on her as a common Enemy.

A. D.
1552.
Reg. 2.

The Troubles of Scotland.

The Queen-Regent depos'd

The *Scots*, who had been hitherto animated, and secretly supply'd with Money and Ammunition from *England*, were now forc'd more openly to beg the Queen's Assistance, which occasion'd several Debates in the Council, and many things were alledg'd to induce the Queen to join in this Affair. Particularly she had been highly provok'd by the young Queen of *Scotland*, who together with her Husband the *French* King had assum'd and usurp'd the Arms of *England*; which laid the Foundations of such a Jealousie

The Scots beg Aid of the Queen of England.

as nothing but Death could extinguish. Besides it was thought highly impolitick to suffer the *French* to remain in *Scotland*, whose Designs were known to be deep and subtle, and their Ambition boundless: Infomuch that it was become a Proverb in these Days, '*That France could neither be poor nor peaceable for three Years together*: And Queen *Elizabeth* frequently us'd that Saying of *Valentinian*, '*Chuse the French for your Friends, but not for your Neighbours*. It was therefore finally resolv'd, That it was just, honest and necessary, immediately to drive the *French* out of *Scotland*.

A. D. 1560. Reg. 2. The Duke of *Norfolk* was sent to *Berwick* for this Purpose, and to treat with the Lords of the Congregation, now headed by the Duke of *Chattellherault*. On the twenty seventh of *February*, they agreed upon these Conditions, '*That the Scots should be perpetual Allies to the Queen of England*; and '*that after the French were driven out of Scotland, they should continue their Obedience to their own natural Queen*. Upon which two thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot, under the Lord *Gray*, were sent to assist the *Scots*, who after some Offers to the *French*, invested *Leith*. During that Siege, there were considerable Losses on both Sides, but those on the *English* Side were more easily supply'd from the neighbouring Parts, than the other. And this so affected the *French*, that they offer'd to restore *Calais* to the Queen of *England*, if she would withdraw her Forces from *Scotland*: She gave them a quick Answer, '*That she did not value that Fish-Town, so much as she did the Quiet and Security of all Britain*. But she offer'd to mediate a Peace between them and the *Scots*; but before that could be effected, the Queen-Regent dy'd, having first ask'd Pardon of several of the *Scotch* Lords for the Injuries she had done them. However, not long after, a Peace was concluded between *England, France and Scotland*: '*An Oblivion was granted for all that was past*; '*the French and English were to be sent out of Scotland*; the Queen of *Scotland* was to quit the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*: During the Queen's Absence, the Kingdom was to be govern'd by a Council of Twelve, all Natives; of whom the Queen was to nominate Seven, and the States Five: All other Matters were referr'd to a Parliament. Thus both *English* and *French* remov'd out of *Scotland*, and a Parliament met in *August*; in which all those Acts that favour'd the old Way of Worship were repeal'd; and the Lands and Revenues of the Church were spoil'd after an unheard of Manner. However these Articles were rejected with Scorn by the King of *France*, so that the *Scots* began to apprehend a new War; but shortly after, the Death of that King, after a Reign of seventeen Months, deliver'd them from all their Fears: And the *Scotch* Queen, having no longer the Support of so great a Crown, was afterwards oblig'd to return home, and govern in such a Manner, as that Nation thought fit to allow. Thus did the Queen of *England* separate *Scotland* from its ancient Dependance on *France*, and so united it to her own Interests, that she was not only secure on that Side of her Dominions, but rais'd so great an Interest in *Scotland*, that Affairs there were generally govern'd according to the Directions she sent. This Peace was accounted advantageous for all *Britain*, the ancient Liberty of *Scotland* retain'd, and the Dignity of *England* preserv'd, which from that Time fear'd nothing from *Scotland*: So that the *English* joyfully acknowledg'd their Queen to be the Founder of their Security, and the *Scotch* Protestants the Defender of their Liberty.

The Treaty of
Edenburgh.

The Queen's
Influence over
Scotland.

The many
Matches offer'd
to her.

She, like a true Mother of her Country, was all the while so intent upon the publick Welfare, that she left no Room in her Thoughts for the Addresses of the most potent Princes. For besides those of King *Philip*, formerly mention'd, the Emperor *Ferdinand* recommended his younger Son *Charles*, Duke of *Austria*, to her for a Husband. And when this succeeded not, *John* Duke of *Finland*, second Son to *Gustavus* King of *Swedeland*, was sent by his Father to solicit for his eldest Brother *Ericus*; who was honourably receiv'd, but the Match rejected. Then *Adolphus* Duke of *Holstein*, Uncle to *Frederick* King

King of *Denmark*, came into *England*, with great Hopes of Success; but the Queen bestow'd upon him the Honour of the Garter, and an annual Pension, but not her own Person. Likewise *James* Earl of *Arran* was recommended to her by the Protestants of *Scotland*; but neither the Man nor the Motion prov'd acceptable. Of inferior Fortunes, there were some at home that pleas'd themselves with the Hopes of obtaining her: First, Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman of a noble Family, but most commended for his polite Studies, and sweet Demeanor: Then *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, exceeding rich, but now in his declining Age: Then *Robert Dudley*, youngest Son to the Earl of *Northumberland*, of excellent Features, and in the Flower of his Age, afterwards one of her chief Favourites. Neither these, nor any other could ever prevail upon this Maiden Queen; tho' she was daily tempted to change her Resolution by all the alluring Pleasures of a Court, which shew'd it self in Interludes, Banquets and Balls, and surrounded with all things that might provoke the most cool and languishing Desires. Her Juvenile Age, and the Intemperance which ever attends a publick Court, gave occasion to some injurious Reports; but she easily wash'd off that slanderous Infamy, one of the most raging Crimes of of this Age, by the incredible Continence and Chastity of her whole Life, all natural Inclinations being over-rul'd by her Modesty and Prudence. Her *Maids of Honour* always took a wonderful Pleasure in her Manners, her Discourses and Conversation, and wholly apply'd themselves to imitate her, borrowing from her the most illustrious Examples of Modesty and Chastity. But all in vain.

As this Queen was courted in Marriage by many temporal Princes, so she was courted in a different Manner by Pope *Pius* the Fourth, who being sensible of the Errors of his arrogant Predecessor, declar'd *He would humble himself even to Heresie it self, in regard that whatsoever was done to gain Souls to Christ, did become that See.* Accordingly he wrote a most loving Letter to her, kindly exhorting her to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church: And it is said, he made her great Offers, if she would hearken to his Counsel; particularly, That he would recall the Sentence pronounc'd against her Mother's Marriage, confirm the Book of Common-Prayer in *English*, and permit her People to use the Sacrament in both Kinds. But the Queen, according to her fix'd *Motto*, *Semper Eadem*, persisted constant in her Resolution, to maintain that Religion, which in her Conscience she was perswaded to be most agreeable to the Word of God, and most consonant to the Primitive Church. Likewise in the following Year, when the Pope sent the Abbot *Martiningo* as far as *Flanders*, the Queen sent her Commands to him not to cross the Sea but at his Peril: And tho' the Emperor and the King of *Spain* did earnestly intreat that he might be heard, yet she stood her Ground, and reply'd, *That she could not treat with the Bishop of Rome, whose Authority was totally excluded out of England by Act of Parliament.* This Answer she return'd to give them some Satisfaction, but to the Pope's *Nuncio*, she only gave a direct Denial: For she well perceiv'd this Remedy did not tend to the healing of the Wounds of the Church, but to the making them incurable; and the Event justify'd her Conduct. The Pope's Endeavours to gain her to his Interest.

The Queen being now more secure, that the Church might continue uncorrupted, she set forth two remarkable Proclamations: By one she commanded the *Anabaptists*, and such Heterodox People, who had flock'd from Foreign Countries to the Sea-Coasts of *England*, to depart the Realm within twenty Days, upon Pain of Imprisonment and Loss of Goods. By the other she restrain'd a Sacrilegious Kind of People, who under Colour of abolishing Superstition, began to pull down ancient Monuments, to deface the Epitaphs and Escutcheons of the noblest Families, and other venerable Remains of Antiquity, and to take the Bells and Lead from the Churches. She also converted the famous Abby of *Westminster* into a Collegiate-Church; instituting a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a School-master, an Usher, forty Scholars, with several Officers, Her Care of the Church.

*She regulates
the Coin.*

Officers, to the great Advantage of Religion and Learning. And then to the great Advancement of her Glory, she began gradually to call in the Brafs Monny, and restore the Coin to its current and sterling Purity, and to repair the Honour of the Kingdom, by preventing the Frauds of those who adulterated the Coin both at Home and Abroad. All which she happily perform'd within a few Months without Commotion; First, by prohibiting the Melting down any Monny, whether Brafs or Sterling; then by reducing Base Monny to its just Value; and lastly by purchasing all that was bad with her own Monny, provided it was brought into the Mint at a fix'd Time. So that to Queen *Elizabeth* is to be ascrib'd the Happiness of having better and purer Monny in *England* than had been us'd for two hundred Years before; a great and memorable Act which neither King *Edward* could, nor Queen *Mary* durst undertake.

A. D.

1561.

Reg. $\frac{3}{4}$.

*The Queen of
Scots desires a
safe Conduct
from England.*

*She arrives in
Scotland.*

*A Disagree-
ment between
the Queens.*

These things happily accomplish'd, the Queen sent the Earl of *Bedford* into *France*, to condole the Death of King *Francis*, and congratulate his Successor *Charles* the Ninth, who was then but eleven Years of Age. The Earl, together with *Throgmorton* the Queen's Agent, often solicited the Widow Queen of *Scotland* to confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*: But her Answer was always the same, *That she neither could, nor would do it without the Advice of the Nobility of Scotland*. Upon which Queen *Elizabeth*, suspecting that this Answer was only to amuse her, while some dangerous Design was practising against her, sent Sir *Thomas Randolph* into *Scotland*, to persuade the Lords of that Country to enter into a League of mutual Amity with her, and other Protestant Princes; and likewise to use all just Methods to hinder their Queen from contracting a second Marriage with a Foreign Prince; for which many convincing Reasons were alledg'd. In the mean Time the Queen of *Scotland*, designing to return into her own Country, sent *D'Oisely*, a *French* Lord, to desire Queen *Elizabeth*, That with a safe Conduct she herself might pass by Sea into *Scotland*, and *D'Oisely* pass through *England*. But the incens'd Queen, in the Presence of a great Multitude, deny'd both the one and the other, unless she would confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, declaring, *If she perform'd that, she should find all the Kindness of a Queen, a Kinswoman, and a Neighbour, whether she went by Sea or Land*. The Queen of *Scotland* was sensibly affected with this Answer, and vehemently expostulated the Matter with *Throgmorton*, as tho' she condescended too much in desiring the Favour, which she rather esteem'd as a Piece of Justice. And now resolving to run all Hazards, she set Sail from *Calais*, and by the Benefit of a Fog, pass'd by the *English* Fleet, which was thought to have stood ready to intercept her, and safely arriv'd in *Scotland*; where contrary to Expectation, she us'd all possible Clemency to her Subjects, made no Changes in Religion tho' tumultuously set up, but began to govern the Kingdom by wise and excellent Laws. Soon after she sent Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, offering all Observance and Readiness to enter into a League with her, *provided she might by Parliament be declar'd Heir apparent to the Crown of England, in Case she dy'd without Issue*. This was a great Surprize to Queen *Elizabeth*, who expected nothing less than the Confirmation of the Treaty; so that the Substance of her Answer was, *That for her Amity she wish'd her well, but as to her Proposal, she was not yet weary of her Life*. Yet to show her Respect she entertain'd her Uncles, the Dukes *D'Aumarl*, and *D'Elbeuse*, and the other *French* Lords that brought her home, and return'd through *England*, with great Splendor and Magnificence. These two Queens had indeed both great Spirits, and Wisdom, but there arose such unhappy Jealousies of State between them, that it kept them further asunder in Love than in Blood, and was the Cause of many unkind Passages between them: In all which, tho' the Queen of *Scotland* was almost equal to the Queen of *England* in the Abilities of her Mind, yet in the Favours of Fortune she was much her inferior.

And

And now the wise and provident Princess, tho' she found her Treasure exhausted, to secure her self and People, began to furnish her Armory with all necessary Provisions for War, expending great Sums for Arms in *Germany*, and casting great Numbers of Iron and Brass Pieces of Cannon; which last was happily favour'd by a Discovery of a plentiful Mine of Brass at *Keswick* in *Cumberland*, sufficient to supply *England* and Foreign Nations. She likewise caus'd the first making of Gun-powder in *England*, that she might not be oblig'd to beg or purchase it of her Neighbours. She increas'd also the Garrison of *Berwick*, advanc'd their Pay, and fortify'd the Town with several new Works, which were finish'd in a short Time. She sent discreet and worthy Men to rebuild the strong Castles within twenty Miles of the Borders of *Scotland*, and erected another upon the Banks of *Medway*, for the advantage of her Fleet; which she so well furnish'd and improv'd, as did not only exceed what had been seen by *Britain*, but Strangers worthily stil'd her, *The Restorer of the Naval Glory, and the Queen of the North-Sea*. The wealthier Inhabitants of the Sea-Coasts did likewise follow the Queen's Example, in building Ships of War with all imaginable Chearfulness, insomuch that the Queen's Fleet, in Conjunction with her Subject's Shipping, was able to furnish twenty thousand fighting Men for Sea Service. Moreover the Noblemen and Commons were in all Places as industrious in providing themselves Arms; so that every Nobleman's House was a compleat Armory. Frequent Musters were observ'd, and the young Men were train'd up to the Arts of War, and exercis'd in Mock-Campaigns: And the Country People, when Licence was granted for the Transportation of Corn, began to follow their Husbandry with a double Diligence, and great Advantage. For the good of the publick, she increas'd the Salary of the Judges, and first allow'd them Provision for their respective Circuits: And tho' in many Cases she was a little sparing, yet she was never to learn where, when and how far to extend her Bounty; being really an equal Friend to Thrift, and Benefactor to Merit. In the midst of these Cares and Concerns, the tall and beautiful Spire of *St. Paul's Cathedral*, five hundred and twenty Foot in Height, was burnt down by Lightning from Heaven, as it was then believ'd; for which Reason it was for near seventy Years reckoned among the ordinary *Epoches*, or Accounts of Time, in the common Almanacks; 'till an old Plumber at his Death confess'd that it happen'd through his Negligence, in leaving a Pan of Coals in the Steeple when he went to Dinner.

Queen Elizabeth's Military Care of the Nation.

The Strength of her Fleets.

St. Paul's Steeple burnt down.

While *England* was happy under the Government of a Masculine Queen, *France* became miserable under that of a Minor King. Violent Dissentions were rais'd among the Peers, who were soon form'd into two Factions, both using the glorious Pretext of Religion: Of the one, the Duke of *Guise*, a Papist, was Head, of the other the Prince of *Conde*, a Protestant; and the Professors of his Religion were most grievously afflicted, which by Degrees caus'd a War to break out, that was carry'd on for thirty Years together. Queen *Elizabeth* soon began to apprehend that *England* might feel the Heat of the neighbouring Flames: For she understood that the *Guises*, to allure the King of *Navarre*, had made a private Offer to him of that Kingdom, and the Queen of *Scotland* for his Wife, together with the Kingdom of *England* in Dowry; and all this by the Wealth of *Spain*, and the Authority of the Pope, who should dissolve the Marriage of *Navarre* with his Wife, as being an Heretick, and depose the Queen of *England* for the same Reason. Upon which she sent over Sir *Henry Sidney*, a Person of approv'd Abilities, to sound the Bottom of this Affair, and to persuade the Heads of each Party to an Accommodation. But Matters were gone too far to admit of any Remedy of that Kind; whereupon he return'd out of *France*, and was immediately sent to the Queen of *Scotland*, to defer the Interview which she had desir'd with the Queen in *England*, 'till the following Year, or 'till the Wars in *France* were ended. All this was agreed; and Queen *Elizabeth*, after mature Deliberation, took into her Protection the *French King's* Subjects

A. D.

1562.

Reg. 4.

The Troubles of France.

The Queen
assists the
French Prote-
stants.

Haure-de-
Grace put into
her Hands.

Several great
Persons con-
demn'd, yet
sav'd.

Subjects in *Normandy*, and made a Compact with the Prince of *Conde*, *Rohan*, *Coligny* and others, 'That she would pay them a hundred thousand Angels, 'and send them six thousand Men, of which one half should defend *Dieppe* and ' *Roan*; and that they should deliver into her Hands *Haure-de-Grace*, which ' should be held by three thousand *English* Soldiers, in the *French* King's Name, 'till *Calais* should be restor'd. On the same Day that this Compact was made, she by a publick Writing declar'd the Reasons of her Proceedings; and in the Month of *September*, one Part of the *English* Army, under Sir *Adrian Poynings*, arriv'd at *Haure-de-Grace* or *Newhaven*, to the great Joy of the Inhabitants, and the other Part at *Dieppe*. After the Arrival of the Earl of *Warwick*, General of the whole Army, they made some little Excursions into the neighbouring Parts of the Country; to prevent which the *Rhinegrave* came and encamp'd near them. Nevertheless several slight Skirmishes pass'd between the *French* and the *English*; and the Mariners of the Fleet in the mean Time scour'd the Seas, and almost every Day brought in rich Prizes.

At home, several great Persons were this Year call'd in Question: *Margaret* Countess of *Lenox*, Niece to King *Henry* the Eighth, and her Husband the Earl of *Lenox*, for keeping secret Correspondence with the Queen of *Scotland*, were deliver'd Prisoners to Sir *Richard Sackville*, Master of the Rolls, and detain'd for some Time. Also *Arthur Pool* and his Brother, Great Grand-Children to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth, *Anthony Fortescue*, who had marry'd their Sister, and others, were arraign'd, for Conspiring to withdraw themselves to the Duke of *Guise* in *France*; and from thence to return with an Army into *Wales*, to proclaim the *Scotch* Queen Sovereign of *England*, and *Arthur Pool* Duke of *Clarence*. All which they confess'd at the Bar, and were thereupon condemn'd to die; but their Lives were generously spar'd by the Queen, in regard they were of the Royal Blood. But the Lady *Catharine Gray*, Sister to Queen *Jane*, met with less kind Usage in the case of a smaller Fault: She having formerly been marry'd to the Earl of *Pembroke's* eldest Son, and soon after legally divorc'd from him, afterwards she was found with Child by *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hartford*, who being at that Time in *France*, was immediately order'd to return: And being examin'd before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and affirming that they were lawfully marry'd, but not being able within a limited Time to produce Witnesses of their Marriage, they were both committed to the Tower, where the Lady was deliver'd of a Son. Afterwards, by Connivance or Corruption of their Keepers, being sometimes permitted to come together, she was again with Child by him; which so provok'd the Queen, that Sir *Edward Warner*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was turn'd out of his Place, and the Earl was fin'd five thousand Pounds in the Star-Chamber, and kept in Prison nine Years after: Tho' in pleading of his Cause, one *John Hales* argu'd, They were lawful Man and Wife, by Virtue of their own bare Consent, without any Ecclesiastical Ceremony. The unhappy Lady, afterwards with Grief falling into a mortal Sickness, humbly desir'd the Queen's Pardon, for having marry'd without her Knowledge, and recommending her Children to her Clemency, dy'd in the Tower.

A. D.

1563.

Reg. 5.

The second Par-
liament in this
Reign.

The Practices of the Papists, and the Dangers threatening both the Queen and Kingdom, occasion'd her to call a new Parliament, which met on the twelfth of *January*, and particularly pass'd an Act for the Preservation of the Queen's Majesty and the Realm, and for avoiding the future Inconveniences and Dishonours, arising from the usurp'd Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*: In which it was made High-Treason for any to assert Thrice by Writing, ' Word or Deed, the Authority of any foreign Prince, Prelate or State, in Spi- ' ritual Matters, in *England*, or any other of the Queen's Dominions; or re- ' fuse the Oath of Supremacy to the Queen in Matters Spiritual, or over Ec- ' clesiastical Persons, after it had been twice tender'd; yet so as that they should ' not

beheaded at *York*. And now as these two great Men were fatally taken off by violent Means, so three others this Year were remov'd by a natural Death. First, *William Powlet*, the old Marquess of *Winchester*, Lord High-Treasurer of *England*; who notwithstanding his continual Adherence to the Popish Religion, was by the wise Queen continu'd in his Place to the last, being then ninety seven Years of Age, and having seen a hundred and three Persons of the Issue of his own Body. Next dy'd *Edward* Earl of *Darby*, with whom the Glory of the *English* Hospitality seem'd to fall asleep, as *Camden* observes. Lastly Sir *William Peter*, a great Benefactor to *Exeter* College in *Oxford*, who from an honest Parentage rais'd himself to be Privy-Counsellor and Secretary to four crown'd Heads, *Henry* the eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. The Lord Treasurer's Place was fill'd up by Sir *William Cecil*, whom the Queen the last Year had created Lord *Burleigh*; with Commendations answerable to his extraordinary Worth and Abilities.

The Earl of Northumberland beheaded.

A few Days after the Death of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *De la Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Doctor *Wilson*, and *Thomas Bromley*, were sent to the Queen of *Scotland* to expostulate with her as to her Proceedings; 'That she 'had usurp'd the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, and had refus'd 'to renounce the same, contrary to the Treaty of *Edinburgh*: That she had 'endeavour'd the Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, without acquainting his 'Sovereign, and had us'd all forcible Means to free him out of Prison: That 'she had rais'd the Rebellion in the North, and reliev'd the Rebels both in 'Scotland and the *Netherlands*; and had implor'd Aids from the Pope, the 'King of *Spain*, and others: That she had conspir'd with certain *English* Men 'to free her out of Prison, and proclaim her Queen of *England*: Lastly, That 'she had procur'd the Pope's Bull against Queen *Elizabeth*, and suffer'd her self 'publickly to be stil'd Queen of *England* in Foreign Countries. All which Accusations she either absolutely deny'd, or plausibly extenuated; and tho' she declar'd her self to be a free Queen, and not subject to any Creature upon Earth, yet she was content, and requested that she might make her Personal Answer in the next Parliament.

Expostulations with the Queen of the Scots.

About the same Time *Charles* the *French* King, in all Appearance, fixing his Thoughts upon the *Netherland* War, concluded a Peace, and enter'd into a League with Queen *Elizabeth*; which was to remain firm, not only during their own two Lives, but also between their Successors, if the said Successor should signifie to the Survivor within a Year, that he accepted it, otherwise to be at Liberty. It was likewise agreed what Aid by Sea and Land, they should each of them afford to the other upon Occasion. And for the Ratification of this League, the Earl of *Lincoln* Admiral of *England* was sent into *France*, accompany'd with the Lords *Dacres*, *Rich*, *Talbot*, *Sands*, and others. The *French* King likewise sent the Duke of *Montmorency* and *Paul Foix* into *England*, with a splendid Retinue; that the Queen in the Presence of them, and the ordinary Ambassador, might swear to the League, which she did at *Westminster*, on the seventeenth of *May*; the Day after which she honour'd *Montmorency* with the Order of the *Garter*. This Duke, while he stay'd in *England*, interceded in his Master's Name, That all Favour, not really dangerous, might be shewn to the Queen of *Scotland*; and then again reviv'd and promoted the Queen's Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*: But finding great Obstacles, by Reason of the Diversity of Religion, he without further Expectation return'd into *France*, where his Master began to grow cold and remiss as to the *Scotch* Queen, because she inclin'd more to the *Spaniard* than to him. Shortly after the Queen-Mother of *France* commanded the *French* Ambassador in *England* to propose a Marriage between Queen *Elizabeth*, and her youngest Son *Francis* Duke of *Alençon*, which he did at *Kenelworth*: But the Queen modestly excus'd her self, upon the Difference of Religion and Inequality of Age, he being but seventeen, and she thirty eight; yet she promis'd to

A League with France..

A Match propos'd between the Queen and the Duke of Alençon.

*The Massacre
of Paris.*

consider of it, so that *Alençon* prosecuted his Suit with Vigour by the Mediation of *Flerie*. But at the same Time greater Preparations were made for a Marriage between *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Margaret* the French King's Sister; to which great Solemnity, with profound Dissimulation, the Queen of *Navarre* and the Heads of all the Protestants were allur'd, with Promises that there should be a Renovation of Love, and a perpetual Peace establish'd. The Earl of *Leicester* likewise and the Lord *Burleigh* were invited out of *England*, and the Sons of the Elector Palatine out of *Germany*, under the Colour of Respect and Honour; but in Reality, that they and the rest might be insnar'd, and that the Protestant Religion at one Blow might be exterminated, or receive a mortal Wound. For upon the Celebration of the Marriage, there immediately follow'd the infamous and execrable *Massacre of Paris*, and the terrible Slaughter of the Protestants throughout all the Cities of *France*. But to put a Colour of Equity upon the Fact, Edicts and Proclamations were set forth, importing, That the Protestants had conspir'd against the King, and all the Royal Family; and in Memory of it Medals were struck, as of an Action fortunate and honourable. But the King of *France*, notwithstanding all his Shews of Piety, did not escape the Divine Vengeance; for before two Years were expir'd he was seiz'd with unnatural Distempers, and strange Irruptions of Blood, and afterwards with long and grievous Torments ended his Life.

*The Queen's
Care of the Pub-
lick.*

The Queen, who had enjoy'd a perfect Health, fell sick of the Small-Pox at *Hampton-Court*, but fully recover'd before her Illness was known abroad, and immediately proceeded to the Care of the Government; commanded *Portsmouth* to be new and strongly fortify'd, increas'd the Number of the Ships; made Musters of the Train-Bands in every County, and caus'd the Youth to be taught the Exercise of Arms, and all this in a time of profound Peace. And having formerly borrow'd Money of her Subjects, she now repaid it with such Thanks, as won her no less Love, than if she had given it; and at this Time she gain'd further Love by issuing out two Proclamations; by one of which she commanded the Nobility to observe the Laws against keeping many *Retainers*; by the other, she restrain'd *Informers*, who under Colour of discovering Crown Lands conceal'd by private Persons, sacrilegiously seiz'd upon the Lands of Churches and Alms-Houses, piously endow'd by the Queen's Ancestors. What still added to her Honour and Esteem was the performing two Acts of Justice much desir'd; by one she satisfy'd the Merchants out of the detain'd Goods belonging to the *Dutch*, restor'd the rest to the Duke of *Alva*, and made a full Agreement with the Merchants of *Genoa*, for the Money formerly intercepted: By the other she discharg'd *England* of the Debts which her Father and Brother had contracted with Foreigners, which were much increas'd by annual Interest, and likewise caus'd the Charters of *London*, which had been so often renew'd, to be now restor'd, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Citizens. In *Ireland* were some Commotions, occasion'd by the too rigorous Conduct of Sir *Edward Fitton* Governor of *Cownaught*, for which the Queen remov'd him from that Post, and made him Treasurer of *Ireland*. In *Leinster* also the *O-Moors*, a seditious kind of People, made an Insurrection; but being proclaim'd Traitors, they return'd to their Duties at the Persuasion of the Earl of *Kildare*.

A. D.

VII.

While *England* was generally at Peace within it self, and free from Foreign Disturbances, the *Netherlands* felt all the Troubles of intestine Convulsions, and the Miseries of Tyrannical Proceedings. The King of *Spain*, by his Ambassador, had complain'd to Queen *Elizabeth*, that the *Netherland* Rebels were harbour'd and entertain'd in *England*, contrary to the Articles of the League: Whereupon the Queen issu'd out a severe Proclamation, commanding all the *Dutch*, suspected of Rebellion, immediately to leave the Nation; which yet turn'd little to the Advantage of the Duke of *Alva* or the King of *Spain*.

1573.

Reg. 15.

Great Troubles
in the Nether-
lands.

Spain. For upon this, Count *Vander-Mark*, and other *Dutch* going out of *England*, soon surpriz'd the *Brill*, and then *Flushing*; and drawing other Towns to revolt, in a short Time they in a manner excluded the Duke of *Alva* from the Sea; which was judg'd a great Error in that active Governor. Shortly after many Military Men in *England*, having no Imployment at home, went over to the *Netherlands*, some to the Duke of *Alva*, but the far greater Number to the Prince of *Orange*, who headed the contrary Party, who in Time caus'd himself to be declar'd Stadtholder to the King of *Spain*. The first who went over was *Thomas Morgan*, who carry'd three hundred *English* to *Flushing*; and then by his Procurement follow'd nine Companies more under the Conduct of *Humphry Gilbert*; and afterwards it became the Nursery of all the *English* Soldiers. After these Misfortunes, the Duke of *Alva*, contrary to his Inclinations, began to show more Kindness towards the *English*, so that in the Month of *January* this Year, the Trade which had been forbidden in the Year 1568, was now allow'd again between the *Dutch* and the *English* for two Years. But all that this Duke could do, did not hinder him from being recall'd from his Government; and *Zuniga*, a Man of a more peaceable Disposition, was sent in his Room. Thus were the Foundations of the Liberties of the *United Provinces* in the *Netherlands*, laid in the Blood of its Inhabitants; and at first as zealously promoted by the Popish Subjects, to preserve their Civil Privileges, as by the Protestants to secure their Lives and Fortunes from the Fury of the *Spaniards*.

Many English go thither.

The Duke of Alva remov'd.

In *France*, the last Year, in *November*, a Daughter was born to the *French* King, to whom he requested Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-Mother; who accordingly sent the Earl of *Worcester* into *France* with a Font of Massie Gold, to stand as her Deputy at the Solemnity. Upon this, and the Queen's Promises to observe the League strictly, the *French* King and the Queen-Mother began more tenderly to affect her, and the Duke of *Alençon* writ several Love-Letters to her, while the *French* King and his Mother passionately interceded for the Marriage. At this Time the Queen, upon many Considerations, began to think it proper for her to marry; but the Courtiers, for their own Interest, us'd as many to dissuade her from it. At length the Queen-Mother of *France* became extreamly importunate, That her Son *Alençon* might have leave to come and visit her; and the being weary'd with continual Letters and Messages, gave her Consent; but with this Precaution, *That he should not take it for any Dishonour to him, if he return'd without obtaining his Suit*. But as soon as she understood that his Brother *Henry* was elected King of *Poland*, and that the King of *France* was dangerously sick, she gave Intimation to *Alençon*, *That he should not too much hasten his Passage into England; but should first procure a Peace in France, and declare by some memorable Action his Affection towards the Protestants, by which he might become a more welcome Guest in England*. Upon this, a Peace was concluded in *France*, and in some Places the Protestants were allow'd to exercise their Religion: And then again the *French* King and the Queen-Mother us'd all their Endeavours to promote the Marriage; and withal, they requested of Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* took his Voyage into *Poland* by Sea, he might have publick Security to sail through the *British* Ocean. To this last Request, she not only consented with all Readiness, but also offer'd him a particular Fleet to conduct him. In the mean Time, *Alençon* fell sick of the Measles, which his Mother signify'd to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Gondy*, with an Excuse for his not coming to *England* as he had determin'd. The Count found the Queen at *Canterbury*, who receiv'd him with great Honour; and Archbishop *Parker* gave as noble an Entertainment to them both, as had been given to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and King *Henry* the Eighth, at the same Palace in the Year 1519.

The Duke of Alençon prosecutes his Suit.

In *Scotland*, since the Death of the Earl of *Marre*, there had been no Regent; but now chiefly by the Procurement of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earl of *Morton*

The Affairs of Scotland.

Morton was made Regent; who by the Authority of a Parliamentary Assembly, Enacted many profitable Laws, for the Defence of Religion against Papists and Hereticks, in the Name of the King: But the Protection and Keeping of the King's Person, was confirm'd to the young Earl of *Marre*, as a Right belonging to that Family; yet upon these Conditions, That no Papists nor Factious Persons should be admitted to his Presence. In the mean Time the *French* King sent his Ambassador to corrupt the Earls of *Atholl* and *Huntley*, with large Promises, to oppose the Regent; while Queen *Elizabeth* as much labour'd to defend him, and insisted upon the Popish Cruelties in the late *Massacre of Paris*. But tho' by the Management of *Killigrew*, she had drawn Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Huntley*, and the most Eminent of their Party to acknowledge the Regent upon indifferent Conditions; yet the Lord *Grange*, Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle, the Lord *Humes*, Bishop *Lidington* and others, would by no means admit of the Regent's Government, but by *Lidington's* Advice, held out that Castle in the Name of the Queen of *Scotland*, relying upon the Strength of the Place, and the Promises of the *French* and *Spaniards*. When no Persuasions could prevail upon these Men, Queen *Elizabeth* suffer'd her self to be intreated by the Regent, to send Forces, Guns and Ammunition, for attacking the Castle, upon Condition that ten Hostages should be sent into *England*, to be Security for returning all the Men and Ammunition, not lost by the common Hazard of War. The Conditions being settled, *William Drury*, Marshal of the Garrison at *Berwick*, with some great Ordnance, and fifteen hundred Soldiers, and several brave Volunteers, enter'd into *Scotland*, and invested the Castle, which after thirty three days Siege was deliver'd up to the Regent for the King's Use, with all the Persons that were in it. The Lord *Grange* and his Brother, with one or two more, were hang'd; tho' extraordinary Offers were made to save the Life of the first: The Lord *Humes* and the rest were spar'd, through the gracious Intercession of Queen *Elizabeth*; *Lidington* was sent to *Leith*, where he dy'd, not without Suspicion of Poison; a Man of an excellent Wit, and great Understanding, but too variable in his Temper. And now from this Time *Scotland* began to breath, after long Civil Wars; and the Commanders, as well as Soldiers of both Parties, betook themselves to *Sweden*, *France* and the *Netherlands*, where they reap'd more Laurels than they did in their own Country. As for the famous Bishop of *Ross*, he was set at Liberty, but commanded immediately to depart out of *England*; and being beyond Sea, he still continu'd to sollicite the Cause of his Mistress, the Queen of *Scotland*, with most of the Potentates of Christendom; from whom he met with many Promises, but no effectual Performances.

They are settled by Queen Elizabeth's Power.

In *Ireland*, many particular Insurrections were made this Year by the *O-Conors*, and the *O-Moors*, but more especially by *Mac Phelim* and his Adherents, who burnt *Carickfergus*, and committed many Outrages. Against these the valiant *Walter* Earl of *Essex* offer'd his Service to the Queen; and with great Expence to himself, went over with several brave Adventurers. But meeting with many unexpected Difficulties, for which the Earl of *Leicester* has been much condemn'd, after the wasting of a Year's Time and much Treasure, with no answerable Success, he obtain'd leave to return home to *England*. Here all Things were still in a quiet Condition, only the Queen and the Ecclesiastical State were much tormented with the new Sect call'd *Puritans*, who under a Pretence of greater Purity in Doctrine and Discipline, endeavour'd to eradicate Things that were well establish'd, to make way for their own Novelties; therefore the Queen, to prevent a Schism in the Church, commanded the Law concerning Uniformity of Publick Prayers, to be in all Places put into Execution. It was thought the more necessary to restrain all new Opinions and Notions, by reason of one *Peter Burchet* of the *Middle-Temple*, who taught that it was lawful to kill any that oppos'd the Truth of the Gospel; and

The Earl of Essex goes into Ireland.

The Queen strict against Puritans.

and so strictly pursu'd that Principle by his Practice, that it brought upon him the Guilt of Murder, for which he suffer'd Death, according to Law.

The Duke of *Alençon*, the most importunate of all the Queen's Suitors, by Letters and *Maveifeir* the *French* Ambassador, now reviv'd his Amours, and begg'd leave he might come into *England* and prosecute them in Person; and the Queen having an Esteem for him, and at present some Inclinations to marry, she granted him a safe Conduct, with Demonstrations of great Respect for his Person. But before her Answer came to him, it was suspected by the Queen Mother, That he and the King of *Navarre* would remove her from the Government, and therefore they had Keepers set over them, and were committed to Custody: For the *Guises* had suggested that *Alençon* held intimate Correspondence with Admiral *Coligny*, the Head of the Protestants in *France*. But *Thomas Wilkes*, *Dale's* Secretary, came privately to them both, and comforted them in the Queen of *England's* Name, promising she would omit no Opportunity to relieve them: For which the subtle Queen Mother made such Complaints to Queen *Elizabeth*, that *Wilkes* was compell'd to go into *France* and beg Pardon for his Fault; tho' twenty five Years after, he receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood from *Navarre*, when he was King of *France*. Queen *Elizabeth* sent *Thomas Randolph* into *France* to the Queen-Mother, that if it were possible he might gain Reconciliation for *Alençon* her Son, and for the King of *Navarre*: But before he landed in *France*, King *Charles* dy'd in great Torment, as was hinted before; whose Funeral Obsequies were solemnly perform'd in *St. Paul's Cathedral* in *London*. Now *Henry* the Third succeeding to the Crown of *France*, Queen *Elizabeth* sent the Lord *North* to congratulate his Return out of *Poland* to his own Inheritance, and desir'd him to restore *Alençon* into Favour, but the Ambassador effected nothing material; for *France*, push'd on by its own fatal Destiny, ran desperately into a Civil War. Nevertheless, the new King and his Mother sent *Le Garde* into *England*, again to promote the Marriage with the Queen, and to divert the young Duke from War and Faction at home.

A. D.
1574.
Reg. $\frac{16}{17}$.
*Alençon re-
vives his Suit.*

*The King of
France dies.*

In these Times, *Camden* observes, That an extraordinary Excess in Apparel had spread it self over all *England*, and the Habit of the Country, by a peculiar Vice incident to an imitating Nation, grew into such Disesteem, that Men by their New-fashion'd Garments, and gaudy Attire, discover'd the Deformity and Weakness of their Minds, while they shin'd in their Silks laced or imbroider'd with Silver and Gold. The Queen observing, that to maintain this Excess, large Sums were yearly exported to buy Silks and other Foreign Ornaments, to the impoverishing of the Republick; and that many of the Nobility that might be serviceable to the State, and others of noble Extract, not only wasted their Estates, but also ran so much into Debt, as to be tempted to raise Commotions in the Nation; she therefore commanded them by Proclamation, That all Persons should within fourteen Days conform themselves in Apparel to a certain prescrib'd Fashion, lest they incurr'd the Severity of the Laws made under *Henry* the Eighth and Queen *Mary*: And she began the Example her self in her own Court. But still through the Untowardness of the Times, both the Proclamation and the Laws by several steps gave way to the Pride of the People; which also began to be attended with luxurious Banquets, and Prodigality in Buildings. For at this Time more large and magnificent Buildings were erected, than in any other Age before, to the great Ornament of the Kingdom, but as our Author says, to as great Decay of the glorious Hospitality of the Nation.

*Excess in Ap-
parel restrain'd.*

The Consideration of some of these Matters was one Occasion of the Meeting of a new Session of Parliament, upon the eighth Day of *February*; which was the very same Parliament that last broke up in the Year 1572, and is not mention'd by *Camden*, and the common Historians, either for the Shortness of the Sessions, or the small Importance of the Acts. Here one Subsidy, two Fifteenths and Tenth were granted the Queen, without any Opposition; and the

A. D.
1575.
Reg. $\frac{17}{18}$.
*The second
Session of the
fourth Parlia-
ment of this
House Reign.*

The Lord Keeper's Speech.

House of Commons again desir'd, That her Majesty would make the Nation happy in her Marriage. To which she answer'd by the Mouth of the Lord-Keeper Bacon, *That tho' in her own private Thoughts she was no ways dispos'd towards Matrimony, yet for their Sakes, she would surmount her Aversion; when all things should concur agreeable to the Majesty of her Person, the Dignity of the State, and the Advantage of Religion.* This Speech was the last made by this great Man in Parliament, in which, in the Presence of both Houses, he among other Things declar'd, *That her Majesty's Affections were so great to her People, that if the Virtues of all the Princes in Europe were united in her Person, she would gladly employ them to their Good; and she wish'd that the Benefits they receiv'd from her were Treble in Number, and Quadruple in Greatness and Goodness.* Then as to the Aids they had granted, *She esteem'd their Readiness to give, and the Heartiness of their Love, more than ten Subsidies; and she was ready to return all back to them, with the same Alacrity it was granted, if the Necessities of the Realm, and their Security would permit it.* After this Speech, this Parliament was Prorogu'd on the fifteenth Day of March from Time to Time, during five Years, 'till the Year 1580.

The Earl of Essex in Ireland.

Notwithstanding the Queen of Scotland was still a Prisoner, all was calm and quiet in England for this Year; only a Difference arose between Sir John Forster Governor of Berwick, and John Carmichill Warden of Liddesdale in Scotland. In composing of which, the Regent himself having displeas'd the Queen of England, was oblig'd to come unarm'd before the Earl of Huntington the English Commissioner at Bordenrod; and thus the Matter was compos'd, and the Regent ever continu'd constant in observing the Queen's Pleasure, and to his great Commendation restrain'd the Free-Booters of the Borders, to the Peace and Prosperity of both Kingdoms. In Ireland, the Earl of Essex having resign'd up his Command in Ulster to the Lord Deputy, as unable to prosecute his Designs with the small Number allow'd him, he was commanded to re-assume it; but he had scarce march'd against Turlogh, but he receiv'd other Orders to finish the War, and make as honourable a Peace as he could. Which being soon effected, he march'd against the Hebredian Scots, who had seiz'd upon Clandeboy, and drove them into the retiring Places; and by the skilful Conduct of Norris attempted the Isle of Rathlin, put four hundred of the Inhabitants to the Sword, forc'd the Castle, and garrison'd it with English. But in the midst of his Victories and Successes, he was again, contrary to Expectation, commanded to resign his Authority; only as an ordinary Captain he had the Command of three hundred Men given him, and by the wicked Contrivances of the Earl of Leicester was ever cross'd in his good and honourable Designs.

The Affairs of the Netherlands.

In the Netherlands the Troubles and Commotions were greater; where Zúñiga, Successor to the Duke of Alva, was wholly resolv'd to recover the Command of the Seas, which Alva had neglected: But not being sufficiently provided with a Navy, he sent Boischoit into England, that with the Queen's leave he might take up Ships and Seamen to act against the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*; but this she would not grant. Next he desir'd, That the Queen would not take it amiss, if the *English* Exiles in the *Netherlands* serv'd the King of Spain by Sea against the *Hollanders*; and that they might have free Access to the Ports of England, to buy Provisions for ready Money. This being also refus'd, he then requested, That the *Dutch*, who were Rebels to the King of Spain, might be driven out of England; but neither would she consent to this, as being an Action void of Humanity, and contrary to the Laws of Hospitality. Yet because she would not be thought to violate the old *Burgundian Alliance* she commanded by Proclamation, That such *Dutch* Ships as were in the *English* Ports should be stopp'd, and those *Dutch* who had taken up Arms against the King of Spain should be hinder'd from entering the Ports of England, in which was nam'd the Prince of Orange, and fifty others of his Party. All this she did

did with the more Readiness, because *Zuniga*, at Intercession of the *English* Ambassador, had remov'd the Earl of *Westmorland*, and other *English* Fugitives out of the *Spanish* Dominions, and had also dissolv'd the *English* Seminary at *Doway*; tho' instead of that, the *Guises*, through the Procurement of Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, establish'd another at *Rheims*.

And now the Politick Prince of *Orange* finding his Forces but small, and having little Hopes of Assistance from *England*, enter'd into a grand Consultation with the Confederate States, to whose Protection they could most securely betake themselves: They knew the Princes of *Germany* were not all of one Opinion, parted from their Mony with Difficulty, and could not unanimously concur with them in their Religion; therefore they were not Persons proper for their Purpose. Next they saw the *French* were involv'd in a Civil War, and had sufficient Employment at home; besides the Remembrance of the old Resentments and Fews between them and the *Dutch*; therefore neither were they thought proper for this critical Juncture. There remain'd then only the *English*, if they might be obtain'd, as best for their Designs, of the same profess'd Religion, and of a Language not much different, strong in Shipping, and rich in Merchandize. After a full Consultation, they sent over an honourable Embassie of several Persons, with Doctor *Melsen*; who in an eloquent Oration offer'd the Countries of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be possess'd or protected by the Queen, as being descended from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Philippa*, Wife to the great *Edward* the Third, Daughter of *William* of *Bavaria*, Count of *Hannault* and *Holland*; by whose other Sister, the Hereditary Right of those Provinces came to the King of *Spain*. To this Offer the Queen took time to reply, and after mature Consideration, her Answer was, *That she was not yet satisfy'd how she might with her Honour and a safe Conscience take those Provinces into her Protection, much less into her Possession; but promis'd to deal earnestly with the Spaniard to procure them a happy Peace.* Shortly after *Zuniga* the Governor of the *Netherlands* dy'd; upon which the States of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and the other Provinces, assum'd the ancient Administration and Authority in the Republick; which the King of *Spain* was compell'd to confirm to them, 'till such time as Don *John* of *Austria* was come among them, whom he design'd for their Governor. In the mean time Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the King of *Spain*, sent *William Davison* as Ambassador to those Provinces, to exhort them to a peaceable and quiet Condition; which prov'd of no great Effect, by reason of the continual Outrages of the *Spanish* Soldiers.

The Confederate States chuse Queen Elizabeth for their Protector.

These daily increas'd, and the Inhabitants were roughly treated and harrafs'd with all manner of Injuries; *Antwerp*, the most beautiful and famous Place of Trade in all *Europe*, was miserably pillag'd, and the House of the *English* Merchants rifled; insomuch that the States were driven to take up Arms, and Emisaries were sent to all neighbouring Princes. To Queen *Elizabeth* was sent Monsieur *D'Aubigny*, both to represent the just Reasons they had for taking up Arms, and likewise to borrow a large Sum of Mony, to enable them to resist the *Spaniard*; but she being certainly inform'd, That they had first su'd to the *French* King for Aid, deny'd the Request, yet promis'd earnestly to intercede with the King of *Spain* for a Peace. And to that Purpose she sent Sir *John Smith*, who was Cousin-German to King *Edward* the Sixth, a Man of *Spanish* Behaviour, and well known to that King, who honourably receiv'd him at his Court; where this Ambassador with such Discretion retorted the detracling Speeches of the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo* and the *Spanish* Inquisitors, who would not admit the Queen's Title of *Defender of the Faith*, that he obtain'd Thanks from the King of *Spain* himself, who desir'd him not to mention the Matter to his Queen, and gave strict Command that the Title should be admitted. At this time Don *John* of *Austria*, natural Son to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth,

A. D.

1576.

Reg. 18.

Great Troubles in the Netherlands.

Don John Governor.

Fifth, came into the *Netherlands* with Supream Power; to whom *Queen Elizabeth* sent *Edward Horsey*, Governor of the Isle of *Wight*, to congratulate his Arrival, and offer him Assistance in case the Confederate States call'd the *French* into the *Netherlands*. Yet at the same time, as a compleat Politician, upon the great Importunity of these States, she sent them twenty thousand Pounds Sterling, upon Condition they should neither change their Prince nor Religion, receive no *French* into their Country, nor yet refuse a Peace, if *Don John* should condescend to reasonable Conditions: But if he embrac'd a Peace, then the Mony should be paid to the *Spanish* Soldiers, who were ready to Mutiny for want of Pay. So careful was this great Queen to retain these wavering Provinces in their Fidelity and Obedience to the King of *Spain*.

England was at this time in a pleasant Calm and Quiet, and the Trade between the *English* and *Portuguese* was enlarg'd; and at this time some Studious Heads, excited with a laudable Desire to discover the more remote Regions of the World, undertook a Voyage to try if they could find any Sea upon the North Parts of *America*, leading to the wealthy Coast of *Cathay*, by which might be join'd in one Commerce the Riches of both the East and West Parts of the Globe. In this Voyage was imploy'd *Martin Forbisher*, who set Sail from *Harwich* the eighteenth Day of *June*; and the ninth of *August*, enter'd into that Northern Bay or Sea, but could pass no further by reason of the Snow and Ice. The like Expedition was undertaken two Years after, but with no better Success. In this Year 1576, dy'd *Maximilian* the Emperor, a Prince who had merited much from *Queen Elizabeth* and the *English*; and there-upon the famous Sir *Philip Sidney* was sent to his Son *Rodolphus* King of the *Romans* to condole his Father's Death, and congratulate his Accession to the Empire; as also to do the like to the Elector *Palatine*, *Frederick* the Third, with his surviving Son.

The Emperor's
Death. Rodol-
phus succeeds.

The Death of
the Earl of
Essex.

His Widow
marries Lei-
cester.

As *Germany* had a great Loss from the Death of these Princes, so *England* and *Ireland*, in Proportion, had no less from that of *Walter* Earl of *Essex*; who by the Envy of wicked *Leicester* was recall'd from *Ireland*, and by his Fears sent back again with the empty Title of *Earl Marshal* of *Ireland*; where with Grief, a bloody Flux, and probably with something worse, he ended his Days in great Torments. In the midst of his Pains, by a kind of a prophetic Spirit, he desir'd his Friends about him, to admonish his Son, who was then scarce ten Years of Age, *To have always in his Thoughts the thirty sixth Year of his Age, as the utmost Boundary of his Life, which neither he nor his Father could pass*, and to which his Son could never arrive, as will be shew'd in its proper Place. He likewise said to young *Homines* his Page, *We have been both poison'd, you have only lost your Hair, but I must lose my Life*. This was believ'd to have been effected by one *Crompton*, by the Procurement of *Leicester*; which Suspicion was much increas'd by that Earl's Behaviour immediately after his Death, who having by large Promises and Mony put away *Douglafs Sheffeld*, by whom he had a Son, openly marry'd *Essex's* Widow. For tho' it was reported that he had already marry'd her in private, yet Sir *Francis Knolles* her Father, who was well acquainted with *Leicester's* raving Amours, would not believe him in earnest unless he himself was present at the Marriage, and had it testify'd by a publick Notary. At this time also dy'd Sir *Anthony Cook*, a learned Man, who had been School-Master to King *Edward* the Sixth, who had given such a learned Education to his five Daughters, above their Sex, that he marry'd them all to Men of great Note and Honour: The first to the great Lord *Burleigh*, the second to the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, the third to Sir *Thomas Hobby* who dy'd Ambassador in *France*, the fourth to Sir *Ralph Roulet*, and the fifth to Sir *Henry Killigrew*.

A. D. Hitherto the Papists in *England* had met with nothing but fair and calm
1577. Weather, and by a tender Connivance enjoy'd their own Way of Worship in
Reg. 12. their Houses in a manner without Punishment; and tho' they were prohibited by

by the Laws of the Land, yet the merciful Queen thought that Violence was not to be offer'd to their Consciences. But after the Thunders of the Vatican were levell'd against the Queen, this fair Season turn'd gradually into Clouds and Tempests, and caus'd a strict Law in 1571 against any who should bring any Bulls from *Rome*, or any Marks of Papal Obedience, or should reconcile any Person to the Church of *Rome*. Yet there was no Man in six Years time proceeded against upon that Law, tho' some were apprehended who had broken it: But this Year, *Cuthbert Main*, a Priest, was the first who felt the Severity of it; who being an obstinate Maintainer of the Pope's Authority against his Prince, was put to Death at *Launston* in *Cornwall*; and one *Tragion* a Gentleman, who had harbour'd him, was condemn'd to lose his Estate, and to perpetual Imprisonment.

Laws first put
in Execution
against Papists.

The Queen was every Day more necessitated to be strict and vigilant, in relation to those of the *Romish* Religion, by reason of their many Plots and Conspiracies, not only at home, but also in *Scotland* and the *Netherlands*. In which last Country, *Don John*, the Governor, tho' he pretended nothing but Peace and Gratitude to Queen *Elizabeth*, yet through a restless and treacherous Disposition, he secretly treated with the Pope to deprive her of her Kingdom, and himself to marry the Queen of *Scotland*, and to invade *England* both from *Ireland* and *Scotland*; of all which Designs the Prince of *Orange* gave her the first Intelligence. Upon which, finding the *Spaniard's* deep Dissimulation, the great Hardships of the Confederate States, and the Dangers threatening the Protestant Religion, she enter'd into a League with the said States, for mutual Defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain fix'd Conditions; by which she was to assist them with one thousand Horse and five thousand Foot, whose *English* Commander should be admitted into the Council of the Estates. But because she would not be slander'd with assisting Rebels against their Prince, she sent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of *Spain* with these Informations: ' That she had always endeavour'd to preserve the *Netherlands* ' in Obedience to the King of *Spain*; and had us'd both Persuasions and Threat- ' nings to the Prince of *Orange* to accept of a Peace: But withal, if the King ' of *Spain* expected to have his Subjects obedient to him, she requested him to ' do Justice to his afflicted People, and restore their Privileges; and likewise to ' remove *Don John* from his Government, who was not only her mortal Ene- ' my, but labour'd by all Methods to reduce the *Netherlands* to an intire Ser- ' vitude. If this were granted by the King of *Spain*, she then faithfully pro- ' mis'd, That if the States perform'd not their Allegiance to him, as they had ' oblig'd themselves by Ingagements to her, she would utterly abandon them, ' and use all her Forces to compel them. While *Wilkes* remonstrated these Matters in *Spain*, *Don John* on the other Side sent his Ambassador to Queen *Elizabeth*, highly accusing the States for their unreasonable Disobedience, and making a large Apology, and an Enumeration of the Reasons why he had again taken up Arms. Thus Queen *Elizabeth* sat as an Heroical Princess and Arbit- ter between the *Spaniards*, *French*, and Confederate States: Which was very agreeable to what an Author who wrote in those Times observ'd, *That France and Spain were the Ballances in the Scale of Europe, and England the Beam to turn them either Way*; for they still prevail'd, to whom she adher'd.

Don John's
Designs against
Queen Eliza-
beth.

The Queen
enters into a
League with
the Confede-
rate States.

Her Declara-
tion.

Great Numbers went out of *England* into the *Netherlands* about this time, particularly *John North*, Eldest Son to the Lord *North*, *John Norris*, second Son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendish*, and *Thomas Morgan*, Colonels, with many Volunteers, to learn Military Experience. There came also *Casamire* the Elector *Palatine's* Son, with an Army of *German* Horse and Foot, at the Queen of *England's* Charge. Upon their Arrival *Don John*, assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, and other chief *Spanish* Commanders, being assur'd of Victory, set furiously upon them, before they expected him, yet after a long Fight was forc'd to retreat: Then wheeling about, and endeavour-

A. D.
1578.
Reg. 21.

The English
Victorious in the
Netherlands.

ing to break through certain Hedges and Coverts, where the *English* and *Scotch* Volunteers had plac'd themselves, he was again repuls'd; for the *English* and *Scotch* were so violently hot in the Conflict, that throwing away their Garments, they fought bravely in their Shirts fasten'd about their Thighs. *Norris* the *English* General, fighting valiantly, had three Horses slain under him, and gain'd great Reputation; as also did *Stuart* a *Scotchman*, *Pingham* Lieutenant to *Cavendish*, and *William Markham*. To comfort the afflicted Provinces, Ambassadors were sent from the Emperor, and the *French* King, and lastly from the Queen of *England*, with Commissions to procure Conditions of Peace; but they return'd without effecting any thing, by reason that *Don John* refus'd to admit the Protestant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refus'd to return into *Holland*. About this time *Egremond Ratcliff*, Son to the Earl of *Suffex*, who had been a violent Man in the Rebellion in the North, and now serv'd under the *Spaniard*, was accus'd by the *English* Fugitives, that he was secretly sent to assassinate *Don John*; but whether it was true or false, he was thereupon apprehended and put to Death. The *Spaniards* affirm'd that at his Execution he confess'd, That he was freed out of *London* Tower, and mov'd by *Walsingham's* large Promises to commit this Fact; but the *English* that were present deny'd that he confess'd any such thing, tho' the *English* Rebels us'd all means to extort this Confession from him. Shortly after *Don John* himself dy'd, as some say of Grief, for being neglected by the King of *Spain* his Brother; a Man of an insatiable Ambition, who first aim'd at the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and then that of *England*, and who without the Privy of the Kings of *France* or *Spain*, had made a League with the *Guises*, for the Defence of both Crowns.

The Death of
Don John.

The Earl of
Morton re-
mov'd from his
Regency in
Scotland.

In the mean time new Alterations began to be made in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Morton* still govern'd as Regent; who tho' he was a Man of great Wisdom and Valour, was now so overcome with Avarice, that he became universally hated. Whereupon, with the joint Consent of the Nobility, the Administration of the Government was transferr'd to the King, tho' he was yet but twelve Years of Age; and twelve of the principal Lords were appointed to attend in Council, three of them by Course for three Months; among whom the Earl of *Morton* was one, that he might not seem to be totally laid aside. The young, but understanding King, having assum'd the Administration to himself, immediately sent the Earl of *Dumferlin* to Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great Favours to him, and desir'd to have the Treaty of *Edinburgh* confirm'd; and withal, That his ancient Patrimony in *England*, descending from his Grandfather and Grand-mother, the Earl and Countess of *Lenox*, might be deliver'd to him, as nearest Heir. The Queen readily promis'd to grant the former Demands, but a little hesitated on the latter; for she would not grant, That *Arbella*, Daughter of *Charles* the King of *Scotland's* Uncle, and born in *England*, was next Heir to the Lands in *England*; nor would she allow the Ambassadors Proof out of History, that the Kings of the *Scots*, born in *Scotland*, did anciently hold the Earldom of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance. Yet she commanded a Sequestration to be made of the Revenues of those Lands by *Burghly* Master of the Wards; and signify'd to the Ambassador, That the King should satisfy his Grand-mother's Creditors out of the Lands of the Earl of *Lenox* in *Scotland*. For she took it unkindly that the King had recall'd the Infeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* made to his Uncle and his Heirs, and to the Prejudice of the Lady *Arbella*; tho' it was a Privilege of the Kings of *Scotland* to revoke prejudicial Donations made in their Minority. The Earl of *Morton* in the mean time, not enduring the Disgrace of being remov'd from his Regency, regarded not the Form of Government lately made, but drew the Administration of all Affairs to his own Person, and kept the King in his own Power at the Castle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his Presence, but whom he pleas'd. The Lords being exasperated at this Presumption, made the Earl of

of *Atholl* their Commander, and in the King's Name levy'd a powerful Army, and prepar'd to ingage the Earl of *Morton*: But by the Intercession of *Bave*, the *English* Ambassador, they were restrain'd from Blood-shed; and *Morton*, as weary of Employment, withdrew himself to his own House, but the Earl of *Atholl* soon after dy'd not without Suspicion of Poison.

While all Things seem'd safe and secure in *England*, the King of *Spain* and Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth held secret Consultations, to invade at once both *England* and *Ireland*, and to work the absolute Ruin of their most formidable Enemy Queen *Elizabeth*. Religion was the main Pretext, yet the Pope's chief Design was to gain the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his Son *James Boncompagni*, whom he had made Marquess of *Vincola*; and the King of *Spain*'s Intention was secretly to relieve the *Irish* Rebels, as Queen *Elizabeth* had assisted the *Dutch*; while Amity in Expressions was all the Time maintain'd on both Sides. These two well knowing, that the greatest Strength of *England* consisted in the Royal Navy, and Merchant Ships, projected, that the *Italian* and *Low-Country* Merchants should hire what Vessels they could for long Voyages; while they were absent the Queen's Navy might be surpriz'd by a Superior Fleet; and at the same Time *Thomas Stukely*, an *English* Fugitive, should join himself to the *Irish* Rebels with new Forces. For he by his large and specious Promises to the Pope, of procuring the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his natural Son, had so insinuated himself with the ambitious old Man, that he adorn'd him with the glorious Titles of Marquess, Earl, Viscount and Baron, of the principal Places of that Kingdom; and made him Commander over eight hundred *Italian* Soldiers, to be employ'd in the *Irish* War. With these Forces *Stukely* set sail from *Civita Vecchia*, and at length arriv'd at *Portugal*; where he and his Forces were by the Divine Providence diverted another Way. For *Don Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, the chief Commander in the design'd Expedition against *England*, being first to dispatch a War in *Africa*, in favour of *Mahomet* the Son of *Abdalla* King of *Fez*, perswaded *Stukely* to accompany him first with his *Italian* Forces, into *Africa*, after which they would both join against *Ireland*. To this Motion *Stukely* soon consented, and therein met with his Destiny; for in that memorable Battel where three Kings were slain, both he and *Sebastian* lost their Lives. Had not *Sebastian*'s Fate diverted the *Spaniard*'s Mind from the Invasion of *England*, to the Hopes of gaining the Kingdom of *Portugal*, a violent Storm of War had fallen upon *England*. But upon Notice of this great Change, the *English* Fleet which waited for *Stukely* upon the Coasts of *Ireland* was call'd home; and Sir *Henry Sidney*, who had been Lord Deputy about eleven Years, resign'd his Place to Sir *William Drury*, President of *Munster*; leaving a Reputation behind him answerable to the Greatness of his Wisdom and Valour.

In the following Year *John Casimire*, Son to *Frederick* the Elector Palatine, came into *England* to excuse himself about some Miscarriages in the *Netherlands*, for which the *French* were chiefly blamable. He was most honourably receiv'd, and conducted with great Pomp into *London*, with lighted Torches by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and to the Court by the chief of the Nobility; where he was entertain'd with Tiltings, Tournaments and magnificent Banquets, and honour'd with the Order of St. *George*, the Queen her self putting on the *Garter* about his Leg: And after the settling of an annual Pension on him, and many Presents made to him, he return'd into the *Netherlands*, where *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, was now made Governor. Not long after Queen *Elizabeth* supply'd the States with large Sums of Money; for which *William Davison*, the Queen's Agent, brought into *England* the ancient Jewels and rich Plate of the House of *Burgundy*, mortgag'd by *Matthias* of *Austria*, and the Confederate States.

In the midst of these Times of Action, still the Duke of *Alençon*, lately made Duke of *Anjou*, pursu'd his Amours with Queen *Elizabeth*. For the

The Pope and King of Spain combine against England.

The Design defeated.

A. D.

1579.

Reg. 21.

The Prince of Parma Governor of the Netherlands.

Alençon re-
vives his Suit
with Queen
Elizabeth.

The Queen in
Danger.

Alençon comes
Incognito.

Prosecution of which, the last Year two several Ambassadors were sent into *England*, and after that a third call'd *Simier*, a compleat Courtier, and exquisitely vers'd in all the Arts of Love, who came accompany'd with a great Number of the *French* Nobility; whom the Queen entertain'd in such an obliging Manner, that *Leicester* began to rage, as if his Hopes were now quite blasted. And about this Time, when *Ashley* a Lady of the Bed-Chamber, covertly commended that Earl to her for a Husband, she with Resentment reply'd, *Do you think me so unlike my self, and so regardless of my Royal Dignity, as to prefer the Servant I made my self, before the greatest Princes of Christendom?* *Simier* never ceas'd by all insinuating and amorous Inventions to perswade the Queen to marry the Duke of *Anjou*; in which he gain'd so much Ground, That *Leicester* reported he wrought by the Power of Love-Potions, and other Infernal Arts. And *Simier* on the other Side us'd his utmost Endeavours to remove *Leicester* from the Queen's Favour, and first discover'd to her his Marriage with the Earl of *Essex's* Widow: Which so provok'd the Queen, that she confin'd *Leicester* to the Castle at *Greenwich*, and design'd to have sent him to the Tower, had not the generous Earl of *Suffex*, tho' his greatest Adversary, dissuaded her, declaring, *That none ought to be molested for contracting a lawful Marriage.* Nevertheless *Leicester* was so incens'd at his Confinement, that he turn'd all his Thoughts upon Revenge; and some say he hir'd one *Teuder* of the Queen's Guards to assassinate the *French* Ambassador. It is certain that the Queen by Proclamation commanded, That no Person should offer any Affront to the Ambassador, or any of his Attendants. About which Time it happen'd, That while the Queen for her Pleasure was rowing in her Barge upon the *Thames*, in the Company of *Simier*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and her Vice-Chamberlain *Hatton*, a young Man out of a Boat discharg'd a Gun, and shot one of the Queen's Bargemen through both his Arms. At which the Queen, who sat near him, generously threw him her Scarfe for his Wounds, without any fear of her own Person; and when the offending Party was brought to his Trial, and so to the Gallows, upon his Protestation that he had no malicious Intent, she freely pardon'd him. Some would have perswaded her, that it was design'd against her Majesty or the *French* Ambassador; but she was so far from suspecting her Subjects, that she often said, *She would not believe any Thing against them, which a Mother would not believe against her Children.* A few Days after, the Duke of *Anjou* himself came into *England Incognito*, and unexpectedly address'd himself to the Queen at *Greenwich*, where they had some secret Discourses together; and then without being known but to a very few, he return'd into *France*. After a Month or two the Queen commanded all her great Men, *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer, *Suffex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton*, and *Walsingham* to consider and draw up all the several Mischiefs and Advantages that would accrue from this Marriage; which being nicely enumerated and examin'd, the Balance was so even, that nothing was determin'd by them.

As in *England* there began to be several Fears from this *French* Man, so there were in *Scotland* at the same Time from another call'd *Esme Stuart*, Lord *D'Aubigny*, who now came into *Scotland* to visit the young King his Cousin. He was the Son of *John Stuart*, Brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* the King's Grand-father, and had Denomination from *Aubigny* in *France*, which Title *Charles* the Seventh King of *France* had anciently conferr'd upon *John Stuart* of the Family of *Lenox*, who being General of the *Scotch* Army in *France*, vanquish'd the *English* in one Battel, and was slain by them in another; and from that Time the Title belong'd to the younger Brothers of that House. This *Esme Stuart* was imbrac'd by King *James* with great Affection, made Lord Chamberlain of *Scotland*, Governor of *Dunbriton* Castle, and created first Earl and then Duke of *Lenox*. The Fears from this considerable Man arose from his being devoted to the *Guises*, and the Popish Religion; and what still increas'd them was his applying himself to the Earl of *Morton's* Enemies,

and

and his contriving to call home *Thomas Carre* Lord of *Fernisbust*, who of all Men was most in the Interest of the *Scotch* Queen. In the same Year a Grant was procur'd from the *Turkish* Emperor, That the *English* Merchants might exercise a free Trade in all Places of his Dominions, as well as other neighbouring Nations: Upon which was erected the remarkable Company of *Turkey* Merchants; managing a most gainful Trade to *Constantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Egypt*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, and other Parts, for Spices, Cottons, Raw-Silks, Tapestries, Indico, Currants, and other Commodities. About the same Time dy'd the Lord-Keeper, the famous *Sir Nicholas Bacon*; a Man of singular Wisdom, admirable Eloquence and Memory, and a great Support in the Queen's Privy-Council: In whose Place succeeded *Sir Thomas Bromley*, the Queen's Solicitor, with the Title of Lord-Chancellor of *England*. *Bacon's* Death was follow'd by that of *Sir Thomas Gresham*, Citizen of *London* and the Queen's Merchant; who for an Ornament to his Country, and for the Benefit of Merchants, built a noble Walking-Place in *London*, which the Queen nam'd *The Royal Exchange*; and gave a large House he had in the City to the Professors of several Sorts of Learning, since call'd *Gresham-College*.

The Beginning of the Turkey Company.

Sir Nicholas Bacon dies: Bromley succeeds him.

VIII. There was now a general Calm throughout the Queen's Dominions, only some Disturbances were rais'd in *Ireland* by *Fitz-Morris*, and by the Landing of some *Spanish* and *Italian* Soldiers, all which were soon suppress'd. But about this Time there arose other Kinds of Disquiets in the Nation from the restless Endeavours of many of the *Romish* Party, and from the Management and Contrivances of Foreign Seminaries, which had been formerly erected to propagate their Religion in *England*. In these Seminaries, among other Disputations, it was concluded, 'That the Pope had such a Plenitude of Power, by *Divine Right*, over the whole Christian World, both in Ecclesiastical and Secular Matters, that by Vertue thereof it was lawful for him to Excommunicate Kings, absolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. From these Seminaries this Year there came two Emissaries into *England*, *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campian*, both *Englishmen* and Jesuits. *Parsons* was a *Somersetshire* Man, of a furious and violent Temper, and of an ungentle Behaviour; *Campian* was a *Londoner*, well bred, and of a sweet and elegant Tongue; and both of them had been bred up in the University of *Oxford*, and had profess'd the Protestant Religion. These Men, upon their coming over into *England*, appear'd sometimes in a Military Habit, sometimes in the Dress of Gentlemen, at other Times in the Habits of the Clergy, and sometimes like Apparators, and frequented the Country Houses, and Seats of the Popish Nobility and Gentry. *Parsons* was so warm with several of them for the direct deposing the Queen, that some of them were strongly inclin'd to deliver him into the Hands of the Magistrates. But *Campian*, more moderate, made it his chief Business to convert the People by his Writings, which were solidly answer'd by Doctor *Whitaker*. However these two Emissaries caus'd no small Disturbances; nor were there others wanting of the same Party, who publish'd in Print, That the Pope and King of *Spain* had resolv'd to conquer the Kingdom of *England*; and this to inspire their own Faction with Courage, and to terrifie others from their Allegiance to their Prince and Country. The Queen being thus attack'd both by the Arms and Artifices of the Pope and *Spaniard*, publish'd a sharp Proclamation in which she caution'd these Kind of Men *To behave themselves prudently and modestly, and not to irritate her Justice any farther against them; for she was now resolv'd not to be cruel to her self and good Subjects any longer, by sparing such Miscreants, as they had shown themselves.*

Dangers from Seminaries.

and from Popish Emissaries.

Towards the suppressing of these Emissaries, a new Session of Parliament met on the sixteenth Day of *January*; which was the same Parliament that first met in the Year 1572, and a second Time in the Year 1575, and is not mention'd

The third Session of the fourth Parliament in this Reign.

tion'd in the right Year by *Camden* and the Common Historians. In this Parliament an Act was made for the retaining the Queen's Subjects to their Obedience, chiefly against those of the *Romish* Religion; in which it was again made Treason for any to reconcile themselves or others to the Church of *Rome*, and all Absenters from the Church of *England* were condemn'd to pay twenty Pounds a Month. It was likewise unanimously resolv'd to grant the Queen one Subsidy, two Fifteenths, and one Tenth of all the Revenues of the Kingdom. After which, the Parliament was prorogu'd on the eighteenth Day of *March*, from Time to Time, 'till it was finally dissolv'd in the Year 1583, after it had continu'd in Being, by fourscore several Prorogations, near twelve Years.

Captain
Drake's Voy-
ages.

In this Year 1580, was the Return of the famous Captain *Francis Drake*, who after a three Years celebrated Voyage round the Terrestrial Globe, and many wonderful Adventures and Discoveries, arriv'd at *Plymouth*, where he first took Shipping, with vast Quantities of Gold and Silver, taken from the *Spaniards*, in several Parts of *America*. The Queen receiv'd him very graciously, and secur'd the Treasure he brought by Way of Sequestration, that it might be ready, if the *Spaniard* should demand it. His Ship was drawn up into a little Creek near *Deptford* upon the *Thames*, as a Monument of his fortunate sailing round the World; where with great Ceremony he entertain'd the Queen, who conferr'd upon him the Honour of Knighthood. But *Mendoza*, the King of *Spain's* Ambassador in *England*, soon shew'd his Resentments, and vehemently demanded Restitution of the Goods, and further complain'd, That the *English* had sail'd upon the *Indian* Ocean. To whom it was answer'd, ' That the Goods were already sequester'd, and ready to make the ' King of *Spain* Satisfaction, notwithstanding the Queen had expended more ' Mony against the Rebels encourag'd by him in *England* and *Ireland*, than ' what Captain *Drake* had brought home: And as for his Sailing on the *Indian* Ocean, That was as lawful for the Queen's Subjects as his own, since ' the Sea and Air were common to all Men. Notwithstanding all which, a great Sum of Mony was repaid to *Pedro Sebura*, the King of *Spain's* Agent in this Business, which was not restor'd to the legal Owners, but employ'd against the Queen's Interest in the *Netherland* Wars, as was discover'd afterwards, when it was too late to remedy the Mischief.

A. D.
1581.
Reg. 23.
24.

About these Times new Commotions arose in *Ireland* from the Family of the *O-Conors*; but this Conspiracy was timely suppress'd by the great Care of *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Deputy of the Kingdom, who by terrifying others, brought *Turlogh Lenigh* to Terms of Peace, who had rais'd Disturbances in *Ulster*, and reduc'd the *O-Brians*, and the *O-Moors* to Submission. About the same Time, great Feuds also arose among the *Scotch* Nobility; one Party having terrible Jealousies of *Lenox* Lord *D'Aubigny*, lest he should abuse the extraordinary Favours of the young King, by inducing him to marry into *France*, and bring back the Popish Religion into *Scotland*. *Lenox* by his Letters purg'd himself to Queen *Elizabeth*, and openly profess'd himself of the Protestant Religion; yet still many Endeavours were us'd to remove him from the King's Person; but they were so far from taking Effect, that on the contrary the Earl of *Morton*, the last Regent and Head of the contrary Party, was shortly after accus'd by the Earl of *Arran* of being accessory to the Murder of the Lord *Darnly* the King's Father, and thrown into Prison. Notwithstanding all the Means the Queen could use to save him, not long after he was publicly beheaded at *Edinburgh*; becoming a memorable Instance of the Mutability of Fortune, who from the Height of Grandeur, came to this fatal End: A Man who tho' he had many noble Qualities, yet by his ambitious Practices, had occasion'd many violent Convulsions, and the Loss of much Blood in his own Country.

The Earl of
Morton be-
headed in Scot-
land.

In the *Netherlands*, about this Time, the Count *Rhineberg* proceeded victoriously for the King of *Spain*, and invested *Steenwick* in *Friezland*; against whom

whom the *States* sent the *English* General *Norris*, who worsted *Rhineberg's* Party, and rais'd the Siege: But afterwards ingaging with *Verdago* the *Spaniard* at *Northone*, even when the Victory was almost gain'd, the Fortune of the Battel turn'd, *Norris* was defeated and wounded, and a great Number of his Men slain; among whom were *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams*, and *Bishop*, all valiant Commanders. Here *Camden* assures us, That in these *Dutch* Wars, the *English*, who were the soberest of all the Northern Nations, first learnt to be Drunkards, and brought the scandalous Vice so far to over-spread the Kingdom, that in the next Reign Laws were first made to restrain the Mischief. But while the King of *Spain* and the *States* contended about a few Towns in the *Netherlands*, the former seiz'd upon the whole Kingdom of *Portugal*, upon the Death of King *Henry*, as being Son to his eldest Sister. In seventy Days the Duke of *Alva* gain'd Possession of that rich Kingdom, and put *Don Antonio* to Flight, whom the People had elected for their King. The Queen of *France*, who pretended a Title to that Kingdom, now enviously beholding the King of *Spain's* Dominions thus enlarg'd, by a new Accession of *Portugal*, and several Parts of the East *Indies*, advis'd Queen *Elizabeth*, among other Princes, to consider of a timely Restraint of that King's excessive Greatness and Power. Whereupon the Queen receiv'd *Don Antonio*, and generously reliev'd him, as a Kinsman descended of the Royal Blood of *England*, and of the House of *Lancaster*.

Drunkennes
propagated in
England.

Portugal seiz'd
by *Spain*.

And withal the Queen of *France*, and the King her Son, for a Foundation of a stricter Amity with Queen *Elizabeth*, urg'd more earnestly than ever for the Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*. In order to which a glorious Embassie was dispatch'd of several of the greatest Men in *France*; who were receiv'd after an extraordinary Manner, and magnificently treated in a spacious Edifice purposely erected in *Westminster*, richly and royally furnish'd; and then entertain'd with Tilts and Tournaments perform'd at a vast Expence by the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Windsor*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, who challeng'd all Comers; not to mention many other Courtly Sports, and splendid Diversions. The *English* Commissioners for this Affair were the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Suffex*, *Bedford* and *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Secretary *Walsingham*: By whom Articles of Marriage were at length concluded; 'First that the Duke of *Anjou* and the Queen of *England*, 'within six Weeks after the Ratification of the Articles, should contract a Marriage; 'and the rest were most of them such as were formerly agreed in the Marriage 'between King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, consisting chiefly in conferring Honour upon the the Duke, but Power upon the Queen. It was also agreed, 'That all Particulars should be ratify'd within two Months, by the faithful Promise and Oath of the *French* King, for him and his Heirs; and a Reservation 'was also added apart, That Queen *Elizabeth* is not bound to perfect the 'Marriage 'till she and the Duke have given each other Satisfaction in some 'Particulars, and have certify'd the *French* King of the same within six Weeks. Before the six Weeks were expir'd, *John Somers*, Clark of the Council, was sent into *France*, to require the *French* King's Confirmation: The King would not hear him, but press'd to have the Marriage accomplish'd, as it was contracted. *Somers* on the other side, shew'd by the Articles, That a League Offensive and Defensive must first be concluded; which being disclaim'd by the *French* King, *Walsingham* was immediately sent to compose this Difference, who jointly with the Lord *Cobham*, Ambassador in ordinary, and *Somers*, alledg'd these Particulars to the *French* King: 'That Queen *Elizabeth* consented to marry for 'no other Reason, but for the Satisfaction of her People; and since many Impediments were come in the Way since the first Treaty, as the Civil Wars in 'France, and the Duke's Ingagement in a War with *Spain*, which now made 'the wisest of her Subjects averse to the Marriage; it had caus'd her to defer the 'Accomplishment of it, tho' her Affection was still constant towards the Duke.

Alençon again
prosecutes his
Suit.

The Articles of
the Marriage.

Allegations to
the French
King.

' For

For this Cause the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, 'till the Duke of *Anjou* be freed from the *Spanish* War, and a League of mutual Offence and Defence be concluded. The *French* King promis'd willingly to enter into a League of Defence; but would consent to no Offensive League, 'till the Marriage was solemniz'd.

Alençon comes
a second Time
into England.

The Match be-
liev'd to be con-
cluded.

Not long after the Duke of *Anjou* himself came into *England*, having successfully rais'd the Siege of *Cambray*; and was receiv'd with as much Honour and Affection as he could expect, and nothing omitted, by which he might judge himself truly welcome. Infomuch that in *November*, as soon as with great Pomp she had celebrated her Coronation-Day, she was so far carry'd by the Force of modest Love, that in the midst of Amorous Conversation, she drew her Ring from her Finger, and put it upon his, upon certain Conditions between themselves. All that were near unanimously concluded the Marriage in effect compleated, which variously affected the Minds of the Courtiers; some were transported with Joy, some seiz'd with Admiration, and others were dejected with Grief. *Leicester*, *Hatton* and *Walsingham* violently exclaim'd, as if the Queen, the Kingdom and Religion were all at once ruin'd. The Ladies and Maids of Honour, most intimate with her Majesty, were fill'd with Sighs, and cover'd with Tears; and they so terrify'd and discourag'd her that she could enjoy no Rest that Night. The next Day she sent for the Duke of *Anjou*, and causing all Company to depart, she held a long Discourse with him in private. At length he withdrew himself to his Chamber, where in a Rage throwing the Ring from him, and taking it again, he with some severe Scoffs exclaim'd against the Levity of Women, and the Inconstancy of Islanders. The Queen was perplex'd with a thousand Thoughts and Difficulties, arising from the Consequences both of the Marriage, and the *French* King's Alliance; and was much incens'd at a severe Book publish'd, Entituled, *The Gulph wherein England will be swallow'd by the French Marriage*. Upon which *John Stubbs* of *Lincolns-Inn*, the Author, *William Page* the Disperser, and *Singleton* the Printer of this Book, were apprehended; and Sentence pass'd against them, That their Right Hands should be cut off, by vertue of a Law made in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, against the Authors and Dispersers of seditious Writings. Hereupon *Stubbs* and *Page* were brought to a Scaffold, erected in the Market-Place at *Westminster*; where with a terrible Formality they lost their Right Hands, but the Printer was pardon'd. When *Stubbs* Right Hand was cut off, he immediately uncover'd his Head with the other, and cry'd out *God save the Queen!* to the great Amazement of all the Spectators.

Severities a-
gainst *Stubbs*
and *Page*.

The Execu-
tion of *Campian*
and others.

Next, the Queen, to remove the Fears of many, That Religion would be alter'd, and Popery tolerated, by the importunate Suit of her Council, permitted that *Edmund Campian* formerly mention'd, with two or three more Priests, should be arraign'd at the Bar; where being Indicted upon the Statute of the twenty fifth of King *Edward* the Third, for plotting the Ruin of the Queen and Kingdom, for adhering to the Pope the Queen's Enemy, and coming into *England* to raise Forces against the State, they were condemn'd of High-Treason; and obstinately persisting to defend the Pope's Authority against the Queen, were Executed. For *Campian*, being demanded after Condemnation, First, whether Queen *Elizabeth* was a lawful Queen, refus'd to answer; but when ask'd, Whether he would join with the Queen or the Pope, if he should send Forces against her, he openly profess'd, and testify'd under his Hand, That he would join with the Pope. Such were the present Times, that the merciful Queen, who always declar'd, *That Mens Consciences ought not to be forc'd*, often complain'd she was driven by Necessity to pursue such Methods, *unless she would see the Ruin of her self and Subjects, upon some Mens Pretence of Conscience and the Catholick Religion*. Suspitions were also daily increas'd by the great Numbers of Priests, who were industriously insinuating and suggesting, 'That Priests Excommunicated by the Pope were to be depos'd, and such as profess'd not

the

the *Romish* Religion had forfeited their Regal Authority; That the Bishop of *Rome* had supream Authority, and absolute Power over the World, even in Temporal Matters; with other like Principles, inconsistent with the very Being of any independent Kingdom.

The Duke of *Anjou*, after three Months continuance in *England*, began his Journey towards the *Netherlands* in *February*, accompany'd by the Queen herself as far as *Canterbury*; who commanded the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lords *Howard*, *Hunsden*, *Willoughby*, *Windsor* and *Sheffield*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Thomas Russel*, and some other eminent Knights, to wait upon him as far as *Antwerp*. And here ended the famous Courtship between this Foreign Prince and the *English* Queen, after it had continu'd with several Intermissions about ten Years. Being arriv'd at *Antwerp* he was made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Lorrain*, &c. for the States had long before thrown off the King of *Spain's* Government, and quitted the People from the Oaths of Allegiance, that it might be in their own Power to chuse any other Prince. Here the Duke gave free leave to exercise the *Romish* Religion, to as many as would swear Fealty to him, and abjure the King of *Spain's* Authority; but after all his Endeavours, having expended a mighty Mass of Mony, which he receiv'd from *England*, and observing that only bare and empty Titles were conferr'd upon him, while the States retain'd all the Authority in their own Hands, he rashly enterpriz'd an Assault upon *Antwerp* and some other Places, and shortly after departed, with almost as little Success in War, as he had in Courtship.

A. D.

1582.

Reg. $\frac{24}{25}$.

Alençon leaves England.

He is unsuccessful.

And now the Queen, to strengthen her self abroad against the *Spaniard*, receiv'd into the Order of the Garter *Frederick* King of *Denmark*; and to invest him with it she sent over the famous *Peregrine Bertie*, whom she had lately made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby* in *Lincolnshire*. In *Scotland*, to prevent the Duke of *Guise's* Designs in that Kingdom, who was thought to use the Favourite Duke of *Lenox's* Assistance to turn the King of *Scotland's* Affections from the *English*; *William Reuthen*, whom the King had lately made Earl of *Gowry*, with others, endeavour'd by all Methods to remove *Lenox* and the Earl of *Arran* from the King. Accordingly, while *Lenox* was persuaded to go to *Edinburgh* from *Perth*, where at that Time the King resided, and *Arran* was absent upon a Journey, the Earls *Gowry*, *Marre*, *Lindsey*, and others, taking this Opportunity, invited the King to the Castle of *Reuthen*, and there detain'd him against his Will, and so terrify'd him that he durst not stir abroad. They remov'd all his faithful Servants from him, threw *Arran* into Prison, enforc'd the King to call home the Earl of *Angus*, and to send away *Lenox* into *France*, who being a Man of a soft and gentle Disposition, readily consented to this Hardship for the King's Safety. But not satisfy'd with all this, they further compell'd the timorous King to approve of this Confinement in his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, and to declare an Assembly of the Estates summon'd by them to be just and legal. Yet they could by no Method induce *Buchanan* to approve of this Fact, who now with great Sorrow repented of many of his former Actions, and shortly after dy'd; having been one of the chief Masters to the young King, of great Abilities, a polite Pen, and an admirable Latinist and Poet.

The King of Scotland confin'd.

In the mean Time the most unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* daily bewail'd her own hard Fate, and the Distress of her Son King *James*; and now languishing with the Calamities of a long and hopeless Imprisonment, she writ a solemn pathetick Letter to the Queen of *England*, in which she largely enumerated the various Miseries of her Life, and among other things declar'd, That she had harder Treatment than the vilest Malefactors and Prisoners, who were allow'd their Defence, and had their Accusers Face to Face. Therefore she conjur'd her by the Cross and Passion of Christ our Redeemer, that after so long languishing in Prison, her Liberty might be restor'd upon reasonable Conditions, that she might refresh her decay'd Body, now suffering under much Weakness, and several Distempers, and wanting common Necessaries and Attendants. At

The Queen of the Scots Complaints.

length she concludes in this manner, *Recall your self to your innate Tendernefs and Lenity, oblige your self to your self, and as you are a Princess, soften your Spirit, and lay aside all Displeasure towards me a Princess so nearly related to you in Blood, and so affectionate to you; that these Matters being compos'd between us, I may quietly depart this Life, and the Groans and Sighs of my afflicted Soul may not ascend up to God.* Queen Elizabeth was strangely affected with this Letter, and sent to her Robert Beal Clark of the Council, to expostulate with her concerning her querulous Letters, and jointly with the Earl of Shrewsbury to treat of the setting her at Liberty, and to associate her with her Son in the Government of Scotland. And indeed serious Consultations were held at the Council-Table about this Matter, where most were of Opinion, That upon certain Conditions she should have her Liberty; but the Scotch of the English Party so violently oppos'd it, that nothing was effected.

A. D.
1583.
Reg. 25.
26.

Shortly after, King James sent Colonel William Stuart and John Colvill to Queen Elizabeth, offering all manner of Respect and Obedience, and begging her Advice for appeasing the Commotions in Scotland, and also for his contracting of Marriage. At which time News was brought, that the Duke of Lenox dy'd at Paris, and to the last Moment of his Life, had made solemn Profession of the Protestant Religion; by which he confuted those who had maliciously traduc'd him for a Papist. After whose Death, when those who surpriz'd the King were elevated with their own Projects, and concluded him secure; he, tho' scarce eighteen Years of Age, found Means to convey himself suddenly with a few Followers to the Castle of St. Andrews, to whom the Nobility immediately repair'd, with an armed Force, apprehending some Danger to his Person. Afterwards in civil Terms he advis'd some of his Surprizers to retire from the Court, for avoiding of Tumults, and promis'd them their Pardons, upon a full Submission. But only Gowry ask'd Pardon, and submitted, but with this Distinction, *That he had not offended in Matter, but only in Form*; and then the King sent for the Earl of Arran to the Court, and respected him as his best Friend, and imploy'd him to compose the Differences among the Nobility, and to purge the Kingdom and his own Court from all Civil Dissensions.

The King of
Scotland gains
his Liberty.

Walsingham
sent from
Queen Elizabeth
to give
him Advice.

During this laudable Care of the State, Sir Francis Walsingham came from the Queen of England, to advise him not to be mis-led by evil Counsellors to the great Danger of both Kingdoms; and he found the King attended with the Flower of his Nobility, and a more promising Appearance of things in Scotland than he expected. At his Audience, he reminded the young King of what Queen Elizabeth, out of Isocrates, in private Letters had formerly admonish'd him; *That a Prince ought to be such a Lover of Truth, that more Credit may be given to his Word, than to another's Oath*; and in many Words advis'd him now in his Youth to be cautious of evil Counsellors, and to continue always like himself. The King readily answer'd, *That he was an absolute Prince, and would not have others to appoint him Counsellors, of whom he did not approve; but however he had long since devoted the first-Fruits of his Amity to the Queen of England his dear Sister, and did willingly now make Offer of the same.* Walsingham next desir'd him, 'Not to impute the late Com-motions in Scotland to Queen Elizabeth's Actions; showing how beneficial to him, and to both Kingdoms, Amity had formerly been, and would still remain, if not neglected; and that the same might be more effectually confirmed, if the Feuds between the Nobility were laid asleep by an Act of Oblivion in Parliament, and the Peers now remov'd from Court again recalled. Religion inspected, and a firm League concluded between both Kingdoms. The King made Answer, *That he gladly would embrace Amity with England, and that he would constantly defend the Religion already establish'd.* Afterwards the King lovingly dismiss'd this great Man, tho' he accounted him no true Friend to him, or his unfortunate Mother; and carefully viewing his Affairs,

with

with an Understanding above his Years, propos'd and profer'd Reconciliation to those who had surpriz'd and detain'd him, if within a limited Time they ask'd Pardon; in which they were so far from complying, that they enter'd into new Consultations how to intercept him again. Upon which they were commanded within a set Time to leave the Kingdom; whereupon *Marre, Glames, Paslet*, and some others, betook themselves to *Ireland*; *Bojde, Zester, Weems* and *Lochlevin*, into the *Netherlands*, and *Dunferme- lin* into *France*: The Earl of *Angus* was confin'd to his own Country; and only *Gowry*, forming new Contrivances, after the limited Time, staid behind to his own Ruin.

Several of the Nobility leave Scotland.

About this time there happen'd a Contest, and thereupon a War, between the Emperor of *Muscovy* and the King of *Sweden*, who apprehending himself unable to encounter the powerful Emperor, sent a Royal Embassie to Queen *Elizabeth*, begging her to intercede for him to the Emperor. The Queen immediately undertook the Work, and by her Ambassador brought the *Muscovite* to a Peace upon honourable Conditions. But this Emperor dying shortly after, and his Successor *Theodorus* granting a free Trade to Merchants of all Nations into his Country, the Queen importun'd him to admit of none but *English*, and requir'd him to confirm the Privileges which his Father had granted them. To which by way of Answer, he order'd a Free Trade for all the *English* Subjects, saying, *It was not fit that a small Company should hold a Monopoly, and all others be excluded*: But as for the Customs, he promis'd to take less by one Moity of that Company than of any other, because they first open'd the Way for Trading into his Country.

The Queen treats with the Muscovite.

This Year prov'd mortal to several great Men; for first dy'd *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earl of *Suffex*, a Man of a noble Spirit, and great Fidelity to his Country: Next dy'd *Henry Wriothesly* Earl of *Southampton*, one extreamly devoted to the *Romish* Religion, and a great Favourer of the Queen of *Scotland*, which caus'd both Queen *Elizabeth's* Displeasure, and his own Imprisonment. There dy'd also Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, who was cast away at Sea, in his Return from the North Parts of *America*, whither he lately sail'd with five Ships, in hopes of planting a Colony in that Part of the World. Lastly there dy'd *Edmund Grindall*, who had been near eight Years Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, a grave and pious Prelate, who stood highly in the Queen's Favour, till he was wrought out by the Artifices of *Leicester*, who hated him for disallowing a Marriage between *Julio* an *Italian* Physician and another Man's Wife, which he had vehemently promoted. He was succeeded by Doctor *John Whitgift* Bishop of *Worcester*, a very pious and learned Man, who finding that the *Puritans* had made a great Division in the Church, and that the Papists highly insulted upon that Occasion, and by that means drew many to their Party, this good Prelate to remove these Differences, and restore the Unity of the Church, propos'd three Articles to be subscrib'd by the Ministers. 'First, That the Queen had Supream Power over all Persons born in her Dominions, and that no Foreign Prince or Prelate hath, or ought to have, any Power Civil or Ecclesiastical within her Dominions. Secondly, That the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and that of *Ordination*, contain'd nothing contrary to the Word of God; and that all should use that, and no other Form, either of Prayer or Administration of the Sacraments. Thirdly, That they approv'd the Articles of the Synod at *London*, publish'd in the Year 1562, and believ'd the same to be consonant to God's Word. It is almost incredible to believe what Controversies and Disputes, what Hatred and opprobrious Speeches he sustain'd from some Factionous Ministers, and what Troubles and Injuries he suffer'd from some Noblemen, who by promoting undeserving Persons caus'd Distractions in the Church, or by thirsting after its Revenues, sought to divide and destroy it. Nevertheless by his Constancy, Courage and Patience, he overcame all Difficulties,

The Deaths of several great Men.

Disturbances in the Church.

Whitgift's Management.

Troubles from
the Papists.

culties, and at length restor'd the Church to Peace and Uniformity. At the same time, certain Popish Books written against the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate, withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and so intoxicated one *Somervill* a Gentleman, that he went privately to the Court, and breathing out nothing but Destruction to the Protestants, set upon one or two with his drawn Sword, intending, as he confess'd, to have murder'd the Queen. Hereupon, he with *Edward Arden* his Father-in-Law, *Arden's* Wife, their Daughter, *Somervill's* Wife, and *Hall* a Priest, were brought to the Bar, and all condemn'd; *Somervill* as Principal, the rest as Accessary. Three Days after *Somervill* was found strangled in the Prison; *Arden* was executed and quarter'd, and the Women and Priest spar'd. The miserable End of this Gentleman, who was drawn in by the Artifice of the Priest, and cast by his Evidence, was generally imputed to the Malice of *Leicester*; because he had often taken the Liberty to call him *Adulterer*, and other ill Names he had too much deserv'd.

Sander's
Death.

In *Ireland*, the famous Rebel *Girald Fitz-Girald*, the eleventh Earl of *Desmond* of this Family, having by long absconding escap'd the *English*, was now by a common Soldier found in a poor Cottage and slain; and his Head was sent into *England*, and fixt upon *London* Bridge. He possess'd large Territories, and had of his own Name and Race above five hundred Gentlemen at his Command; who almost all lost their Lives within three Years Space, after they had been excited to Rebellion by certain *Romish* Priests, Of whom the chief was *Nicholas Sanders* an *Englishman*, one of the greatest Defamers of the Reformation and the present Queen, who at the same time dy'd of Famine, after a miserable and unheard of Manner; being found with a Scrip fill'd with certain Orations and Letters written to encourage the Rebels with Promises of large Rewards from the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon the Rebels ill Success, the Viscount *Baltinglas* fled into *Spain*, where he miserably pin'd away with Grief. He out of Zeal to the *Romish* Religion had lately taken up Arms with the Rebels; and writing a short Letter to his Neighbour the loyal Earl of *Ormond*, who deriv'd his Descent from a Sister of the famous *Thomas Becket*, he us'd these Words to persuade him, *Had not blessed Thomas of Canterbury dy'd for the Church of Rome, thou hadst never been Earl of Ormond*: For King *Henry* the Second, to expiate the Murder of *Thomas Becket*, had given large Possessions to his Ancestors in *Ormond*.

Affairs in Scot-
land.

In the Beginning of the following Spring, several of the *Scots*, together with Earl *Gowry*, again plotted to seize the King, pretending only a Care for Religion, and to remove evil Counsellors from his Person; but the King having Intelligence of their Designs, us'd Means by Colonel *Stuart*, to have *Gowry* apprehended and imprison'd. Whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the Confederates, late return'd into *Scotland*, fled into *England*, and begg'd of the Queen to commiserate their Condition, who had incurr'd the King's Displeasure, only for serving her and the Kingdom of *England*. On the other side King *James* accus'd them to the Queen of heinous Crimes, and requir'd to have them deliver'd into his Hands as Rebels; while some about him advis'd him to deal favourably with such great Men, alledging, *That Terror and Violence were weak and unsuccessful Supports of Power*. But Secretary *Walsingham*, who really favour'd these Men, sent Letters with a Command, That they should be safely admitted into *Lindisferne*, or the *Holy Island*; where *Hunsdon* being Governor, and intirely in the Interest of the King of *Scotland*, resist'd *Walsingham's* Command, alledging that he could not satisfy the Secretary in this Point, unless he had the express Commands of the Queen her self. Hereupon there arose a Dispute, whether a Secretary of State might not transact Business of State, without special Commission from his Prince. It is uncertain how the Case was determin'd, but we certainly find that these Men never came there, tho' they had some Favour shown them in *England*. In the mean time Earl *Gowry* was try'd by his Peers at *Sterling*, where being accus'd of many

Earl Gowry
beheaded.

Acts

Acts of Treason, tho' he gave plausible Answers to every Particular, yet he was found guilty, condemn'd, and beheaded. He was heard to make the common Regret which many great Men have done on the like Misfortunes, *That if he had serv'd God as faithfully as he had done the King, he had not come to that End.*

IX. The unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* had now languish'd under a tedious Imprisonment of about sixteen Years, without so much as once seeing that Queen from whom she had implor'd Protection; all which Miseries were but the Fore-runners of a more dismal Tragedy, which at this time began terribly to threaten her. For new Projects were now form'd against Queen *Elizabeth* in favour of this distress'd Princess, which only serv'd to fix and hasten her Ruin; in which *Francis Throgmorton*, eldest Son to a Justice of Peace in *Cheshire*, became first suspected, by reason of some intercepted Letters directed to her from him. Upon his Apprehension, the Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundel* a Courtier, privately fled into *France*, grievously complaining against *Leicester* and *Walsingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and using such profound Artifices, as scarce any Man was able to live in Safety. The Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Arundel* were confin'd to their Houses, and the Countess of *Arundel* committed to Sir *Thomas Shirby's* Custody; *William Howard* the Earl's Brother, and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, were examin'd about Letters from the Queen of *Scotland*, and many Stratagems were carry'd on, dangerous to some particular Persons, but thought necessary for the Security of the Queen. And certainly now the Malice of the Papists broke out more violently against her Majesty than ever before; for in printed Books they excited the Queen's own Servants to attempt the like upon her, that *Judith* did upon *Holofernes*. The Author of these Books could not be found; but the Suspicion lay chiefly upon one *Gregory Martin*, formerly of *Oxford*; and *Carter* a Bookfeller, who printed them, was executed. And whereas the Papists maliciously traduc'd the Queen for Cruelty, she, desirous always to leave a glorious Name behind her, highly blam'd the Commissioners against the Papists, as using Severities injurious to her Honour. Insomuch that they were forc'd to purge themselves in a printed Declaration, protesting, 'That they question'd no Man barely for his Religion, but only for dangerous Attempts against the Queen and State; and that *Campion* himself was never so rack'd, but that he was immediately able to walk, and subscribe his Confession. But all this did not give the Queen Satisfaction, but she commanded the Commissioners to forbear Tortures, and the Judges other Punishments; and not long after, when no less than seventy Priests were taken, and some of them condemn'd, and the rest in the same Danger, she caus'd them all to be shipp'd off, and sent out of *England*.

At this time *Mendoza*, the turbulent *Spanish* Ambassador, was commanded to leave the Nation, for joining with *Throgmorton* in his Treason against the Queen: Whereupon Sir *William Wade* was sent to the King of *Spain* to satisfy him how ill *Mendoza* had discharg'd the Office of an Ambassador in *England*. The King being disgusted, refus'd him his Presence, but in a slighting manner turn'd him over to his Council; upon which *Wade* with a just Indignation boldly affirm'd, *That it was a declar'd Custom among Princes, tho' in the Height of War, to give Audience to all Ambassadors*, and return'd into *England* without being heard. The principal Matters charg'd upon *Mendoza* were learnt from *Throgmorton's* Confession; for when he was in Danger of being apprehended, he sent to *Mendoza* a Box of Writings; and when his Chests were search'd, there were found two Catalogues, in one the Names of the Ports of *England*, and in the other the Names of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* that favour'd the *Romish* Religion. These being produc'd in the Presence of *Throgmorton*, he declar'd they were Counterfeit, and stood firmly upon the very Rack; but being brought a second Time to the Rack, he then

A. D.

1584.

Reg. 26.

New Projects
for freeing the
Queen of the
Scots.The Queen's
Clemency.Camden.
Spelman.
Mist.
Speed.
Baker.
Strada.
Bernard.
etc.

Throgmorton's Confession.

then confess'd all: 'That *Morgan*, by Letters out of *France*, had given him Information that the Catholick Princes had determin'd to invade *England*, 'and with the Assistance of the Duke of *Guise*, to free the Queen of *Scotland*; 'and that nothing was now wanting but Mony and Aids in *England*: For the 'procuring of which, *Charles Paget*, under the feign'd Name of *Mope*, was 'sent into *Suffex*, where the Duke of *Guise* design'd to land; and that he had 'imparted all this Matter to *Mendoza*, and intimated the Names of the Ports, 'and the Noblemen that should assist. But being arraign'd at the *Guild-Hall*, he deny'd all this again, declaring, *He only made that Confession to prevent* being rack'd a second Time. Yet being condemn'd to die, he flying to the Queen's Mercy, made almost the same Confession a second Time; and then being brought to the Gallows, he again went about to deny all that he had said. So false is a Man's Mind to it self, while it is divided between Hopes and Terrors, and lyes under the Burden of some hainous Guilt.

His Execution.

New Proposals by the Queen of the Scots.

The Matter did not end here; for Sir *William Wade* being return'd from *Spain*, was now imploy'd to the Queen of *Scotland* concerning the Treaty begun two Years before: To whom the distress'd Queen sincerely profess'd, 'That she had devoted her Service and her self to the Queen of *England*; and 'made solemn Promise, that if the former Treaty might proceed, she would 'mediate with the King her Son to receive the Earl of *Angus*, and the other 'Scotch Lords into Favour, and would command the Bishop of *Ross* and 'Glasco, her Agents in *France*, to have no further Concern with the *English* 'Fugitives. These Things were gladly heard by Queen *Elizabeth*, who thereupon sent *Beal* to the Queen of *Scotland*, who jointly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* should signifie to her, 'That if she continu'd in the same Thoughts she 'had deliver'd to *Wade*, Sir *Walter Mildmay* should come immediately to her, 'and treat concerning her Liberty: But withal, she commanded *Mildmay* and *Beal* carefully to sound her, to discover all the Practices that were carrying on by the Duke of *Guise*. To what she had spoken to Sir *William Wade*, the Scotch Queen gave a very cautious Answer; but to that concerning the Duke of *Guise*, she plainly confess'd; 'That being sickly her self, and weak of Body, she had committed her self, and her Son to the Protection of the Duke of *Guise*, her dear Cousin, of whose Designs she knew nothing; nor if she 'did, would she disclose them, unless she might be sure of her own Liberty. 'Lastly she requested, That being a free and absolute Prince, she might not be 'worse treated, than Queen *Elizabeth* her self was when she was a Subject, 'and detain'd in Prison by her Sister. These Particulars had a Hearing, but not the expected Effect, and the rather because of a strange Accident: For *Creighton* a Scotch Jesuit, being, as he was sailing from the *Netherlands*, taken by Dutch Pirates, had certain Papers which he tore and threw Over-Board, which by the Wind were blown back into the Vessel, and brought to Sir *William Wade*, who patching them together with much Labour and Art, discover'd by them some new Designs of the Pope, the King of *Spain* and the *Guises*, concerning the Invasion of *England*. Whereupon, and upon divers other Rumors, the better to provide for the Security of the Queen, a great Number of her Subjects, of all Ranks and Conditions, having the Earl of *Leicester* at the Head of them, mutually bound themselves to each other by their Oaths and Subscriptions, to persecute all such to Death, who should attempt any thing against the Queen: Which League of theirs they call'd *The Association*.

They are ineffectual.

An Association.

The Queen of the Scots submits.

This was a new Blow to the Queen of *Scotland*, who immediately apprehended that this Association aim'd at her Destruction; therefore by her Secretary *Narve*, she propos'd to the Queen and Council; 'That if she might have her Liberty granted, and be assur'd of the Queen's Love, she would comply in 'all Things, and enter into a strict League and Amity with her; and passing 'by all Matters of Displeasure, esteem and honour her above all the Princes 'of the Christian World: And, saving the ancient League between *France* and *Scotland*,

‘ *Scotland*, she herself would be comprehended in the *Association*, and a League
 ‘ *Defensive*, against all who should endeavour to injure the Queen. Queen
Elizabeth was highly pleas’d with this Submission, and in all Probability did
 fully design to give her her Liberty; but was prevented by the Clamors of some
 in *England*, and a far greater Number in *Scotland*, who exclaim’d, *That Queen*
Elizabeth could be no longer in Safety, if Queen Mary was at Liberty: That
both Kingdoms were intirely ruin’d, if she was allow’d any Share in the Go-
vernment of Scotland; and that the Reform’d Religion lay a bleeding, if Pa-
pists were admitted within the Court Walls. Nor was this all; for the *Scotch* But all in vain
 Ministers in their Pulpits, loaded their Queen with all manner of Calumnies,
 and most rudely slander’d the King himself, and his Council. And being cited
 to appear before him, they refus’d, declaring, *That the Pulpits were exempt*
from all Regal Authority, and that Ecclesiastical Persons were not to be cen-
sur’d by the Prince, but by their own Consistory. Which was directly contra-
 ry to the Laws made this Year in the *Scotch* Parliament, ‘ By which the
 ‘ King’s Authority over all Persons, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, was
 ‘ confirm’d; That the King and Council were Supream Judges in all Causes,
 ‘ and whoever refus’d to be try’d by them, should be guilty of High-Treason:
 ‘ All Presbyterian and Lay Conventicles were forbidden, Parity of Clergy re-
 ‘ mov’d, and the Authority of Bishops restor’d, whose Function the Presbyte-
 ‘ ries had condemn’d as *Wicked* and *Antichristian*: And lastly all Scurrilous
 ‘ Libels against the King or his Mother were prohibited, of which some were
 ‘ nam’d in the Act.

At this time, upon the various Suggestions of her Adversaries, the *Scotch* The Queen of
the Scots re-
mov’d.
 Queen was taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had faithfully kept her
 for fifteen Years, and committed to the Custody of Sir *Amias Powlet*, and
 Sir *Drue Drury*; and that purposely, as some were perswaded, to drive her in-
 to Snares and desperate Attempts. This gave her new Terrors, and now she
 became more importunate with the Pope and King of *Spain*, to hasten their
 Designs, whatever Mischiefs befel her; which were like to be great indeed, if
 what some say be true, that *Leicester* sent some Assassins to murder her, but
Drury detesting the Villany, would not grant them Access. And now intire-
 ly to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* from her, it was strongly insus’d into her,
 ‘ That *Allen* for the Catholics of the Clergy, *Inglefield* for the Laity, and New Fears con-
cerning her.
 ‘ the Bishop of *Ross* for the Queen of *Scotland*, with the Approbation of the
 ‘ Pope and King of *Spain*, had mutually conspir’d to depose her, and to bar the
 ‘ King of *Scotland* from his Hereditary Right to *England*, and to marry the
 ‘ Queen of the *Scots* to an *English* Nobleman of the *Romish* Religion, whom
 ‘ the *English* Catholics should chuse King of *England*, and the Pope confirm
 ‘ the Election. All this was believ’d upon the Credit of *Hart* a Priest; but
 who was the *English* Nobleman, *Walsingham* inquir’d with all imaginable Di-
 ligence, but could never discover it. But the Suspicion fell upon *Henry*
Howard, the Duke of *Norfolk*’s Brother who was unmarried, and in great
 Esteem among the *Romanists*.

In this Year the Traiterous Earl of *Westmorland* ended his Life obscurely in
 a miserable Exile, being the last of his Family, which had formerly been fruit-
 ful in Nobility. In *England* dy’d *Edmund Plowden*, the famous common
 Lawyer: In *France*, dy’d the Duke of *Anjou*, of a Sickness contracted by
 Grief and Uneasiness; and in *Holland* dy’d *William* Prince of *Orange*, being
 treacherously shot with three Bullets by *Balthazar* a *Burgundian*.

Enu. In the midst of these busie Times a new Parliament was call’d, which first A. D.
 met on the twenty third Day of *November* 1584, and continu’d sitting for 1585.
 about three Months at two several Meetings, between which was one Adjourn- Reg. 27.
 ment of about forty Days space. In this Parliament, when a Bill was read The sixth
 against the Jesuits in the House of Commons, *William Parry* a *Welshman*, and Parliament in
 Doctor of the Law, singly stood up, and exclaim’d against it as a cruel and this Reign.
 bloody

bloody Law; and his Reasons being demanded, he stoutly refus'd, unless requir'd by the Lords of the Council. Upon which he was committed to the Gate-House; but upon his Submission he was again receiv'd into the House. Shortly after, he was accus'd by *Edward Nevil*, for holding secret Consultations about destroying the Queen; which at first he confidently deny'd, but being confronted by *Nevil*, and sent to the Tower, he voluntarily confess'd That the reading of *Allen's Book against the Justice of Britain*, in which he taught Princes Excommunicate for Heresie might be depriv'd of Life, had put him upon the Attempt: And tho' he had often Opportunities to effect it, yet the bright Majesty of the Queen's Presence quite aw'd and disarm'd him. He likewise in his Letters to the Queen, the Lord *Burleigh* and the Earl of *Leicester*, acknowledg'd his Crime, and crav'd Mercy. A few Days after he was call'd to the Bar at *Westminster-Hall*, where he confess'd himself guilty, and receiv'd Sentence of Condemnation; upon which Sentence he cry'd out, *My Blood be amongst you*, and in a Fury cited the Queen to the Judgment-Seat of Heaven. Five Days after he was plac'd upon a Hurdle, and drawn through the City to *Westminster*, where at the Gallows he made a vain boasting of his Fidelity to the Queen, but not so much as in one Word commended himself to God; and in the great Palace-Yard at *Westminster* was executed as a Traitor.

Parry's Trial
and Executi-
on.

The Association
confirm'd.

In this Parliament great Attempts were made by some to restrain the Episcopal Jurisdiction, and diminish Ecclesiastical Power; but the Queen utterly rejected such Projects, as tending to the weakning of the establish'd Church, and the Supream Authority granted her in Ecclesiastical Matters. The *Association* formerly mention'd was universally approv'd, and Enacted in this Form; 'That twenty four, or more of the Queen's Privy-Council, and Peers of the Realm, should be selected and authoriz'd under the great Seal of *England*, 'To make Enquiry of all such Persons as shall attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raise Rebellion, or shall attempt any Evil against the Queen's Person, 'for whomsoever, and by whomsoever that lays Claim to the Crown of *England*; 'and that Person for whom, or by whom they shall attempt any such Thing, 'shall be altogether incapable of the Crown, prosecuted to Death, &c. For the Security of the Queen's Majesty, new Laws were also made against Jesuits and Popish Priests, who should ground any Designs upon the Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus*: In which some Cases were made Treason, others Felony, and others a *Premunire*. Many other Laws being pass'd, and Aids granted, the Queen with an obliging Speech, in which she vindicated the Clergy of the Church of *England*, prorogu'd the Parliament upon the twenty ninth of *March*, and dissolv'd it the following Year.

The Laws against the *Roman* Catholicks prov'd a great Mortification to their Party, and had such Effect upon *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Norfolk's* eldest Son, whom the Queen had restor'd to Blood, that he resolv'd to travel into Foreign Countries: For having been once or twice cited before the Lords of the Council, and confin'd to his House, after six Months Liberty, he wrote a Letter to the Queen, 'Recounting the fatal Misfortunes of his 'Great-Grand-Father, Grand-Father, and Father, and declaring, That for the 'Service of God, and his Soul's Health, he design'd to leave his Country, but 'not his Loyal Affections towards her Majesty. But as he was taking shipping, by the Treachery of his own Servants he was discover'd, apprehended, and committed to the Tower. In which fatal Place lay the Earl of *Northumberland*, Brother to him who suffer'd at *Tork*, a Man of great Vivacity and Bravery, who was made a Prisoner for his secret Contrivances with *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guises*, for invading *England*, and freeing the Queen of *Scotland*. Not long after, in the Month of *June*, he was found dead in his Bed, shot into the Body with three Bullets, in his right Breast, and the Door secur'd on his Side. The Coroner's Inquest declar'd, he had murder'd himself, and three Days after, the Lords meeting in the Star-Chamber,

Arundel sent
to the Tower.

Northumber-
land shot.

Bromley

‘not fall under an *Attainder*, nor forfeit their Goods and Chattels; nor that this Oath should be exacted of any, but such who were, had been, or should be in Holy Orders, or did then bear, had born, or should bear some Ecclesiastical Office; or that after Warning given, should refuse to observe the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; or should dishonour the same in Publick, or should celebrate Mass, &c. as may be seen in the Statute it self. In this Parliament several other good Laws were made, for the Relief of the Poor, the ordering of the Navy, the Support and Improvement of Tillage, besides others for the punishing of Vagabonds, Forgers of Evidences, Conjurers and Fortune-Tellers, and such as should be guilty of Sodomy or Perjury; and one was made particularly for translating the Bible into the *Welsh* Tongue. The Parliament moreover, as a Congratulation upon the happy Turn of Affairs, granted the Queen a Subsidy, besides two Fifteenths and Tenths, in Consideration that she had reformed the Faith, restor’d Peace to her Kingdoms, rescu’d *England* and *Scotland* from the common Enemy, refin’d the Coin, rebuilt the Navy, provided Ammunition for Sea and Land, and likewise the great Care she express’d towards *France* for the Security of its young King, the Safety of *England*, and the Regaining of *Calais*. So upon the tenth of *April*, the Parliament was prorogu’d to *October*, and then from Time to Time, for about three years.

*The Queen's
Supremacy as-
serted.*

Other Acts.

The Convocation was no less busily imploy’d about the Good of the Church and Publick: The Prelates had observ’d some Deviation from the Doctrine in King *Edward's* Reign, and some other Irrugularities as to Discipline; which they were willing to impute to the Want of some known Rule, by which they were to regulate their Judgments, and conform their Actions. Therefore it was thought expedient, that the Book of Articles agreed in Convocation *Anno* 1552, should be revis’d, and accommodated to the Use of the Church; all which was perform’d with the greatest and wisest Consideration. These Articles were now reduc’d to the Number of thirty nine, and publish’d both in *English* and *Latin*, and are in full Force to this very Day. Thus was the Church of *England* fix’d and establish’d upon a lasting Foundation, and the Reformation in a great Measure compleated; which was a noble Work, that with several Intermissions, had been carry’d on for above thirty Years, before it could be perfected.

*The Church e-
stablish’d.*

III. Affairs were happily settled at home, but abroad they had a various Aspect, and such cross and different Designs appear’d among the great Men in *France*, as requir’d a nice Politician to understand their Aims. The Wars and Disturbances in that Country, caus’d the *French* Hostages, detain’d in *England* for the Payment of five hundred thousand Crowns, if *Calais* were not restor’d, to prepare secretly to escape out of the Nation; but being ready to take shipping, they were discover’d, and brought back again. The Prince of *Conde* in his expeditious Journey to the *English* Auxiliaries in *Normandy*, was intercepted and taken Prisoner in the memorable Battel of *Dreux*, by the Duke of *Guise*: Which had been a great Disappointment to the *English*, but the Duke of *Colen* join’d with him, besieg’d *Caen* in *Normandy* and took it, together with *Bayeux*, *Falaise* and *St. Lo*. In the mean Time the Prince of *Conde*, drawn on with Hopes of marrying the Queen of *Scotland*, and to have the chief Government in *France*, during the King’s Minority, concluded a Peace with the King and the *Guises*; so that now all *France*, both Protestants and Papists, requir’d to have *Haure-de Grace* deliver’d up. But the Earl of *Warwick*, perceiving the Unsteadiness of the *French* Protestants, first to desire his Presence, and now upon so slight an Occasion to require his Absence; he suddenly turn’d all the Inhabitants of both Persuasions out of the Town, and siez’d on their Ships: On the other Side the *French* were ready to attack the Town, alledging, ‘That they sought not now for Religion, but their Country; and it was necessary that both Parties should join their Forces, since they had al-

ready

ready concluded a Peace between themselves. And hereupon the Duke of *Montmorency* sent a Trumpet to the Earl of *Warwick*, commanding him to surrender the Town; and upon Answer, *That he would do nothing without his Queen's Leave*, he invested the Place, and carry'd on a furious Siege. This being known to Queen *Elizabeth*, she sent Orders to the Earl of *Warwick* to surrender upon honourable Conditions; which was accordingly perform'd in a short Time, after the *English* had held the Place about eleven Months: And then return'd into *England*, without any Dishonour in yielding up a Town, which the Pestilence made him no less unwilling than unable to hold. But what was more unfortunate than the Loss of that Place, he brought the Plague with him into *England*, which rag'd throughout the Nation, and above twenty thousand dy'd in *London*. The Recovery of this Town not only caus'd the *French* to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellor of *France* openly pronounc'd, that by this War the *English* had lost all their Right to *Calais*, and were no more to require it, since it was one of the Conditions, that neither of the Nations should make War upon the other: A Point much insisted upon afterwards.

Haure-de-
Crace sur-
rander'd.

A great
Plague.

The Queen of
Scots Designs
as to Marri-
age.

The Duke of *Guise*, Uncle to the Queen of *Scotland*, was slain in the Heat of the War, upon which her Dowry-Mony was stopp'd, Duke *Hamilton* turn'd out of his Office, and the *Scots* excluded from being of the Life-Guard to the *French* King; all which that Queen highly resented. The Cardinal of *Lorraine*, another of her Uncles, being apprehensive that this might provoke her to desert the *French*, and court an *English* Interest, he once mov'd a Marriage with *Charles* of *Austria*, and offer'd the County of *Tyrol* in Jointure. She civilly imparted the Affair to Queen *Elizabeth*, who unwilling she should marry any Foreign Prince, perswaded her to take a Husband out of *England*, and particularly recommended to her the Lord *Robert Dudley*; promising, *If she consented, she should by Act of Parliament be declar'd, her Sister, her Daughter, and her Successor, if she dy'd without Issue*. But when her Uncles and the Queen's Mother were inform'd of this Motion, they look'd upon it with much Disdain, and promis'd her, That if she refus'd the Match, and adher'd to the *French* Interest, all her Dowry should be paid, and the *Scots* restor'd to their former Privileges in *France*. They further suggested to her, *That Queen Elizabeth could never be in earnest, when she made this Proposal, as expecting to have Dudley her self, and desiring that the other should never marry*. The Queen of *Scotland* came to no Resolution in this Matter, but refer'd her self to a Conference; having her Thoughts extreamly employ'd about her Affairs at home, which now were in great Confusion and Disorder. As for the King of *Spain*, he had indeed a Leiger Ambassador here in *England*, but rather by way of Compliment, and to watch Advantages, than for any real Affection; which he began to withdraw from the *English*, as suspecting them to design a Trade in the *West-Indies*.

The Death of
several great
Persons.

This being the sixth of this Queen's Reign, prov'd a fatal Year for the Death of many great Persons. First for that of *William* Lord *Gray*, of *Wilton*, Governor of *Berwick*, a Man famous for his great Services in War, and his Encouraging the Reformation. *William* Lord *Paget*, a Man as highly useful in Matters of Peace, who by his great Merits had advanc'd himself to many great Places; and tho' he was zealous in the *Roman* Religion, yet he was held in great Estimation by the Queen to the last part of his Life. Next dy'd *Henry* Mannors Earl of *Rutland*, descended by his Mother from King *Edward* the Fourth. And lastly *Frances* Dutchess of *Suffolk*, Daughter to *Charles* Brandon and King *Henry*'s Sister *Mary*; after she had seen her eldest Daughter *Jane* proclaim'd Queen, and beheaded with her Husband, her second Daughter *Catharine*, divorc'd from her Husband, and confin'd to the Tower; her third Daughter *Mary* thrown away upon an unequal Match; and her self, for-
getting

getting her noble Descent, marry'd to *Adrian Stokes*, a mean Gentleman, which tho' it prov'd to her Dishonour, she did it for her Security.

In the following Year great Complaints were rais'd, that the *English* Merchants were injuriously treated both in *Spain* and the *Netherlands*, upon Pretence of civil Differences, but chiefly out of Hatred to the Protestant Religion. Upon which the *English* remov'd their Mart or Staple of *English* Cloaths and Commodities to *Emden* in *Freezland*. At this Time *Camden* assures us, that the Commerce between *England* and the *Netherlands* amounted to above twelve Millions of Ducats, and the *English* Cloaths alone to five. Therefore *Goisman* the *Spanish* Agent, finding the great Damages that the *Netherlands* sustain'd by these Differences, us'd all Methods to compose them; and upon that Affair the Viscount *Montague*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *Walter Haddon* Master of the Requests, were sent to *Bruges* in *Flanders*; who after many Interruptions, brought the Affair at last to a tollerable Agreement.

A. D.

1564.

Reg. 6.
7.Foreign Trade
regulated.

But a greater Affair still was transacted this Year: For when the Heat of the War between *England* and *France* was rather imperfectly smother'd, than intirely extinguish'd, Queen *Elizabeth*, having been ungratefully treated by the *French* Protestants, resolv'd no longer to hazard her own Safety to secure other Mens, and began to entertain cool and serious Thoughts as to a Peace. This was negotiated by Sir *Thomas Smith*, a Person of great Sense and Conduct; and *Throgmorton*, who was a kind of a Prisoner at large in *France*, was join'd with him in the same Commission. *France* submitted the Matter to the Management of the Bishop of *Orleans* and the chief Secretary; who in *April* concluded a Peace at *Troyes* in *Champain*: The Substance of which was ' That there should be a free Trade on both Sides; and no Rebels to be shelter'd, ' nor no Letters of Reprisal to be granted: That the Reservation of all Rights, ' Titles, Claims and Demands, shall remain on both Sides safe and intire. That ' a certain Sum of Mony shall be paid to the Queen of *England*, at appointed ' Times: That the Hostages, for the Restoration of *Calais*, should be return'd ' from *England*, upon the Payment of six hundred and twenty thousand Crowns; ' and *Throgmorton* should be at full Liberty. This Peace was ratify'd by Oath, both from the Crowns of *England* and *France*; and the *French* shew'd many signal Instances of their Joy and Satisfaction; and not long after the *French* King was invested with the noble Order of the *Garter* from *England*, with all the usual Ceremonies and Solemnities.

A Peace con-
cluded with
France.1564.
Jan.

IV. A general Peace being thus establish'd, the Queen was at leisure to take some particular View of her Kingdom, and accordingly went in Progress to enjoy the Pleasures of the Country, and visited the University of *Cambridge*. There she was receiv'd with the highest Marks of Honour, and entertain'd with Tragedies, Commedies and Scolaistical Disputations. She view'd every College, and in a *Latin* Oration of her own, acknowledg'd their Civilities, commended their Plenty and Variety of good Learning, and recommended the Study of it to their first and greatest Care, with a Promise that she would be always ready to promote and encourage them. At this Time, as Doctor *Heylin* informs us, were unhappily sown the Seeds of those Divisions, which have ever since distracted the Church of *England*. For it happen'd that Mr. *Preston* of King's-College, and Mr. *Cartwright* of *Trinity-College*, were appointed for two in the Divinity Disputation; in which the first, by reason of his graceful Person and Demeanour, was both lik'd and rewarded by the Queen, while the other receiv'd neither Reward nor Commendation: Which, according to this Author, so incens'd this proud and opiniated Man, that he retir'd to *Geneva*, where being thoroughly inform'd of the Doctrine and Discipline of that Establishment, he return'd home with a Design to repair his Credit, or to gain himself a Name, by raising such Flames in the Church, as could not be extinguish'd but by the immediate Hand of Heaven.

The Queen
visits Cam-
bridge.The Beginnings
of Presbitery in
England.

*The Character
of the Earl of
Leicester.*

At the Queen's Return, she began farther to advance her mighty Favourite *Robert Dudley*, the Master of her Horse; who now was made Baron *Denbigh*, and had receiv'd all the Possessions belonging to the Honour; and to recommend him to the Favour of the Queen of *Scotland*, he was the next Day made Earl of *Leicester*, which Honour was conferr'd upon him with the greatest State and Solemnity that ever was known. This prodigious Man was now in the Verdure and most flow'ring Spring of his Youth, of a graceful Behaviour, a stately Carriage, a beautiful Face, a modest and grave Look, and in outward shew of a pleasant and easie Disposition; and being endow'd with all those flattering Accomplishments the City and Court could produce, he had insinuated himself into the Favour and Familiarity of the Queen, by his specious shews of Loyalty, Industry and Vigilance in her Service, and long manag'd the greatest Station in the Court, and was reputed the prime Minister of State. His Brother *Ambrose*, who was made Earl of *Warwick*, was Heir to the Estate, but he to the Abilities of his Family; for he had all the Arts and Policies of his Father: He was the most reserv'd Man of that Age, who saw all, and was invisible himself; carying a Depth not to be fathom'd but by the *Searcher of Hearts*. He became afterwards fullen to his Superiors, haughty to his Equals, insolent to his Inferiors, ungrateful to his Friends, and pernicious to his Enemies; and in a Word, insupportable to all but the Queen. He put himself forwards, and assum'd the distant Employments of Peace and War; was continually working to find the Studies, Abilities, Forces and Dispositions of other Men; and so great was his Application and Parts, that he rarely miscarry'd in his Enquiries. He by his Interest advanc'd his Dependants, Kindred and Relations, to all Honours and Employments; and when he found the Opportunity, he as craftily sold his Mistress's Favours, and the Employments he had taken from others. He had by his subtle Projects and Counsels ingross'd all the Rewards of Virtue, Riches, Honours, Attendants, and the first Place of Minister of State; and he manag'd them, and liv'd without any Religion towards God, or Fidelity to Men, making it his great Design to cover all Things with Luxury, Cruelties and Rapines. For a considerable Time few were call'd to the Council-Table, or admitted to Titles of Honour, but by his Commendation and Procurement; so that he seem'd not so much to be the Queen's particular Favourite, as her Partner in the Sovereign Power, and was accordingly courted and revered by the rest of the Nobility. If we may believe some Mens Characters of him, he had all the Tyranny, Insolence and most aspiring Ambition of the worst of Favourites, and all the Luxury, Treachery, and most abominable Villanies of the worst of Men; and Queen *Elizabeth*, with all her Virtues and Excellencies, was scarce able to secure her self from being made infamous and unfortunate by the monstrous Wickedness of this Earl.

Having his Honours heap'd upon him, in order to gain the Favour of the Queen of *Scotland*, he immediately accus'd the Lord Keeper *Bacon* to the Queen, as having interpos'd in the Succession of *Scotland*, and being privy to a Book in which *Hales* endeavour'd to derive the Title of the Crown of *England* to the House of *Suffolk*, in case the Queen dy'd without Issue. Hereupon *Hales* was committed to the Tower; but *Bacon*, tho' he deny'd it, was with much Difficulty restor'd to Favour by the Means of *Cecil*, who in this Point kept his Judgment first lock'd within his Breast, and so always resolv'd to do, *Unless*

*The Queen of
Scots designs to
marry the Lord
Darnly.*

the Queen her self commanded him to deliver it. These Transactions were not hid from the Queen of *Scotland*, who to prevent any *English* Designs, sent for *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, who had marry'd *Margaret Douglas*, Niece to King *Henry* the Eighth by his Eldest Sister, and had been kept as an Exile in *England* for twenty Years. That Queen invited him into *Scotland*, under Pretence of restoring him to his ancient Patrimony; but in Reality to confer with him about a Marriage with his Son the Lord *Darnly*; for he being reputed Heir to the Crown of *England*, next to her self, she thought by match-

ing

ing with his Son, to strengthen her own Title; and to prevent the Hopes of others. Queen *Elizabeth*, upon earnest Sollicitation, gave the Earl leave to go; but soon after suspecting the *Scotch* Queen's Intentions, by way of Prevention, she sent Sir *Thomas Randolph*, to remonstrate to her, 'That if she proceeded in the Match, she would exceedingly injure her self; for it was so highly dislik'd by the *English*, that she was forc'd to prorogue her Parliament, to prevent something being enacted against her Right of Succession: But if she would marry the Earl of *Leicester*, she should then be declar'd next Heir to *England* in Parliament: Hereupon, in *November*, the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *Thomas Randolph* for Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earls of *Murray* and *Liddington* for Queen *Mary*, at *Berwick* enter'd into a Treaty concerning the Marriage with the Earl of *Leicester*. The *English* Commissioners urg'd the great Benefits that this Match would bring to the Queen of *Scotland*, and her whole Kingdom: On the other side the *Scotch* alledg'd the great Disparagement it would be to their Queen, if after her Refusal of so many honourable Matches, she should condescend to so mean a Person as the Earl of *Leicester*. This Affair was long depending, partly because the *English* Commissioners were so instructed by Queen *Elizabeth*; and partly because the *Scotch* Commissioners had a Desire to hinder their Queen from all Matches; and partly because the Earl of *Leicester*, having still Hopes of obtaining Queen *Elizabeth*, by secret Letters warn'd the Earl of *Bedford*, not too much to urge the Marriage with the Queen of *Scotland*, but privately to favour the Lord *Darnly*.

Queen Elizabeth proposes the Earl of Leicester.

This Affair being thus protracted for a long Space, the Queen of *Scotland*, impatient of longer Delays, found Means to obtain Leave of Queen *Elizabeth*, that the Lord *Darnly* might go into *Scotland*, only for three Months, to be a Partner of his Father's Restoration. Accordingly in *February* he came to *Edinburgh*; and being a Gentleman of nineteen Years of Age, of a beautiful and noble Presence, and of a fine and sweet Disposition, the Queen immediately fell in Love with him: Yet modestly dissembling her Thoughts, she first sent to procure a Dispensation from *Rome*, because of their nearness in Consanguinity. And now her Inclination being grown so apparent, that she could no longer conceal it, she sent *Liddington* to Queen *Elizabeth* to desire her Consent. But she, by the sly Suggestions of the Earl of *Murray*, being induc'd to believe, that the *Scotch* Queen design'd by this Marriage both to gain the Crown of *England*, and to introduce Popery, enter'd into Consultation with her Privy-Council, how to hinder the Match. Here it was concluded, that the most effectual Means were: First to have a sufficient Number of Soldiers for Terror's sake about the Borders of *Scotland*: Next to imprison the Countess of *Lenox*, Mother to the Lord *Darnly*, and to recall the Earl and his Son from *Scotland*, upon Pain of the Loss of all their Possessions in *England*: Then that those *Scots* who were known to be averse to the Marriage, should be reliev'd and assisted: And lastly, that *Catharine Gray*, with the Earl of *Hartford*, should be receiv'd into some Favour, as being the only Persons whom the Queen of *Scotland* esteem'd as her Co-Rivals in the Succession. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was sent to the Queen of *Scotland* to advise her in the Queen's Name not to proceed in the Marriage, and to shew her the numerous Inconveniences that would arise from it. But she answer'd, *That the Matter was too far gone to be recall'd, and that the Queen of England had no cause to be displeas'd, since she had now follow'd her former Advice, Not to match with a Foreigner but an Englishman born.*

A. D.

1565.

Reg. 7.

The Queen of Scots falls in love with the Lord Darnly.

Queen Elizabeth endeavours to hinder the Marriage.

Queen *Elizabeth* being inform'd of this Answer, immediately call'd home the Earl of *Lenox*, and the Lord *Darnly* his Son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return: The Father modestly excus'd himself by Letters; and the Son humbly begg'd of her not to be a Hindrance to his Preferment, which he vow'd to employ in her Majesty's Service, to the utmost of his Power. And now to make him a more proper Match, the *Scotch* Queen first honour'd him with

The Queen of Scots Marriage with the Lord Darnly. Troubles arise upon it in Scotland.

with Knighthood; then with the Dignities of the Lord *Armanack*, Earl of *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rothsay*; which Dukedom by Birth belongs to the eldest Sons of the Kings of *Scotland*. After this, before he had been five Months in *Scotland*, she marry'd him; and with the Consent of many of the Peers, declar'd him King. Never did a Marriage prove more calamitous to the Parties themselves, more dishonourable to the Nation, or finally more scandalous to both Religions; and fortunate in nothing but the Birth of *James* the Sixth, who became the first Governor of both Kingdoms. Upon this the Earl of *Murray* and his Party were extreemly inrag'd, and began to move turbulent Questions, 'As whether it was lawful to admit a Popish King? Whether the Queen of *Scotland* could chuse a Husband at her own Pleasure? And whether the Peers of the Kingdom might not of their own Authority impose one upon her? But however they took up Arms, and had disturb'd the Nuptials, but that the Queen levy'd an Army to oppose them; with which she pursu'd them so closely, that they were forc'd to fly into *England* for Protection; where Queen *Elizabeth* made no scruple to receive them, since the *Scotch* Queen had before receiv'd *Taxley*, *Standon* and *Walsh*, who were fled out of *England*. The politick Queen of *England*, tho' expressing an open Displeasure, was not much troubled at the Marriage; partly because of the mild Disposition of the Lord *Darnly*, and the small Access of Strength it brought to the Queen of *Scotland*; but chiefly because she saw that great Troubles would arise in *Scotland* about it, which would certainly promote the Quiet of *England*, which, as the true Mother of her Country, was the principal Thing she endeavour'd.

New Proposals of Marriage to Queen Elizabeth.

Which causes Factions in the Court.

The King of Sweden's Sister comes to visit the Queen

And also Donald Mac-Carty.

Upon this Marriage, those for the Protestant Interest in *England*, thought nothing could more effectually promote that End, than if Queen *Elizabeth* would be pleas'd to marry her self, and so defeat all the Queen of *Scotland's* Hopes as to the Succession. And very seasonably for that Purpose, the Emperor *Maximilian* did now renew his former Suit for his Brother *Charles* of *Austria*, by his Ambassador *Adam Smircorite*. The Proposal was much oppos'd by the proud Earl of *Leicester*, and as much promoted by the brave Earl of *Suffex*, who was almost the only Man who durst withstand him: Which occasion'd so great a Contest between them, that the Court became divided into Parties and Factions; and the Earls, whenever they went abroad, carry'd vast Retinues of armed Servants. But after a few Days the Queen interpos'd and reconcil'd them, or rather occasion'd them to smother their Resentments. As for the Feuds of the Nobility, and that vulgar Motto, *Divide & Impera*, now us'd as a mock Phrase, the good Queen utterly condemn'd; as being of Opinion, that the Force of Authority lay most in the ready Inclinations of such as were to obey. Every thing she said or did was worthy of her self; and her Praises resounding in all Kingdoms of the North and West, did now invite *Cecily*, Sister to the King of *Sweden*, and Wife to the Marquess of *Baden*, to undertake a tedious Journey both by Sea and Land, from the furthest Parts of the North, to see the Splendor of her Court, and observe the Wisdom of her Government. While she was at the *English* Court she was deliver'd of a Son, to whom, in Requital of her Kindness, the Queen was God-Mother, and gave him the Name of *Edward Fortunatus*, besides an annual Pension to her and her Husband. At this Time also, for the great Fame of her Wisdom, *Donald Mac-Carty*, a great Potentate of *Ireland*, came and deliver'd into her Hands his ample Territories; and then receiv'd them again to hold them to him and his Heirs, and for want of such to revert to the Queen. She likewise in Requital invest'd him with the Honour of Earl of *Glencarn*, and his Son with the Baron of *Valence*; and besides many Presents given him, she paid the Charges of his Journey.

A. D. 1561. Reg. 8. To add to the Reputation of this mighty Queen, in the Beginning of the following Year *Charles* King of *France* sent his Ambassador *Ramboulet* into *England*, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of St. *Michael*, to bestow

flow on which two of her Nobility she pleas'd. She made choice of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, the one for his Nobility, and the other out of Amity; and accordingly they were invested with that Honour which had never been conferr'd upon any *English* Man, but *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, tho' afterwards prostituted with too little Distinction. After this the Queen took her Progress into the Country for her Recreation; and to shew her self no less favourable to the Muses at *Oxford*, than she had been at *Cambridge*, she made a Visit to that University; where she receiv'd a magnificent Entertainment, and staid seven Days. She was extreamly delighted with the Pleasantness of the Place, the Beauty of the Colleges, and the Wit and Learning of the Students, who diverted her in the Days with curious Disputations, and at Nights with Tragedies and Comedies: For which she with great Sweetness return'd them her Thanks in a *Latin* Oration, and took of them and the Place a most gracious Farewel.

The Order of St. Michael sent over to her.

She makes a Visit to Oxford.

Besides the Diversions of this Year, the Queen was entertain'd with something of another Nature, which gave her a Mixture of Disquiet and Curiosity; which was the News of the *Scotch* Queen's Delivery of a Son, upon the nineteenth Day of *June*, brought her by Sir *James Melvil*. With all her Spirit and Greatness she secretly envy'd her Rival the Honour of being a Mother before her; and could not conceal her Uneasiness from some of her Ladies, saying, *The Queen of Scotland has brought forth a Prince, but I am a barren Tree*. Yet she dispatch'd away Sir *Henry Killebrew* to congratulate her safe Delivery, and the Birth of an Heir: And being afterwards desir'd to be God-Mother to the Royal Infant, she readily sent over the Earl of *Bedford*, with a noble Present of a Golden Font; but expressly commanded, that neither he, nor any *English* Man in his Company, should give the Title of King to the Lord *Darnly*. On the fifteenth Day of *December*, the Baptism was solemniz'd with great Pomp and Ceremony, and the Prince was publicly proclaim'd by his Names and Titles, *CHARLES JAMES, Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothsay, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew*.

The Birth of King James in Scotland.

But before this pass'd, the Parliament of *England* met, after it had been several Times prorogu'd from the Year 1563. They soon fell into a warm Debate upon the subject Matter of the Succession, and moving the Queen to marry; in which Points some proceeded so far as to accuse the Queen, as one disregarding Posterity; to defame *Cecil* with Libels and Reproaches, as a great Counsellor in this Matter, but above all to curse Dr. *Huic*, her Physician, who was thought to dissuade her from Marriage, on Pretence of some secret Impediment. At length in the House of Lords it was agreed, that the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, should in all their Names humbly beseech the Queen to marry; and withal to declare a Successor to the Crown, in case she dy'd without Issue: For which he gave her many Reasons, 'Laying open the great Mischiefs that threaten'd the Kingdom, if she should die before a Successor was appointed.' But in the House of Commons, *Bell* and *Mouson*, two great Lawyers, and some others, proceeded to bolder Expressions, and a Disparagement of the Queen's Authority, declaring, 'That Princes were oblig'd to appoint a Successor; and in refusing to do it, the Queen would shew her self no better than a Parricide of her Country.' The Queen was contented to bear Words spoken in Parliament, which she would not have indur'd in another Place: But not willing to expostulate the matter with the whole Body, she commanded thirty of the Upper House, and as many of the Lower, should attend her; whom she qualify'd with the most obliging Expressions; and after a Reproof that carry'd a Sweetness mix'd with Majesty, she diverted them from their Resolutions, promising them not only the Care of a Prince, but the Tenderness of a Mother. And whereas the Parliament had offer'd extraordinary Subsidies, on Condition she would declare her Successor, she utterly refus'd those unusual Grants, accepted

The second Session of the second Parliament of this Reign.

The Queen desir'd to marry.

She qualifies their Heats.

cepted of an ordinary Sum, and then remitted the fourth Part of what was granted, generously declaring, *That Mony in her Subjects Purses, was as good as in her own Exchequer.* And on the last Day of the Parliament, she made such an affectionate Speech to both Houses, as stift'd all Commotions; which were so settled and compos'd by Time, that few but Malecontents and Seditious Persons appear'd sollicitous in the Business of a Successor.

*Episcopacy
Establish'd.*

*The Parlia-
ment dissolv'd.*

During this Parliament, besides other things for the publick Advantage, by Reason of the unjust Pretences of *Bonner*, and some others, it was unanimously declar'd, ' That the Election, Consecration, Confirmation and Instalment of ' Arch-Bishops and Bishops of *England*, were Lawful; and that the said Bi- ' shops were duly elected and consecrated according to the Laws and Statutes of ' the Land. And it was likewise enacted, that both they, and such as should ' be hereafter consecrated, were and should be esteem'd as rightly and duly con- ' secrated, notwithstanding any former Law or Canon to the contrary. And thus the Church of *England*, as it were, had its finishing Stroke; and had all the necessary Advantages of a Human, as well as a Heavenly Establishment. And now having finish'd all Business, the Parliament was dissolv'd on the second Day of *January*.

A. D.

1567.

Reg. $\frac{2}{10}$.

*Great Troubles
in Scotland,
from the Earl
of Murray.*

V. The great Queen of *England*, and her Kingdom, were now in a happy and flourishing Condition; but the *Scots* and their Queen began at this Time to fall into infinite Troubles and Distractions; the Rise of which, among others, proceeded from the ambitious Earl of *Murray*. This Man was the natural Son of King *James* the Fifth, and so the base Brother of the Queen; made at first Prior of St. *Andrews*, but not pleas'd with that Religious Title, he rather affected some Temporal Honour. This being deny'd him when the Queen was in *France*, he in a sullen manner return'd into *Scotland*, where by the Advice of *Knox*, whom he esteem'd a great Patriarch, he so manag'd Affairs, that in an Assembly of the States, the Religion was alter'd, and the *French* banish'd out of *Scotland*. Yet as soon as the Queen was a Widow, he hasten'd into *France*, and so ingratiated himself with her, that she created him Earl of *Murray*, and promoted him to an honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he return'd into *Scotland*; where to sooth his ambitious Designs, he sow'd Seeds of Sedition, often complaining of the Miseries of a Female Government, and affirming, *That Sovereignty was not to be confin'd to any Family or Kindred, but to Virtue alone, whether the Parties were Legitimate or not*; by which he endeavour'd to make way for himself to the Kingdom. To this End he us'd all Methods to secure the Queen from marrying again; but that not succeeding, he was compell'd to fly into *England*; where notwithstanding, he still by his Agents found means to create Discord between her and her Husband. The Love that was so warm now daily diminish'd; and she that had so suddenly heap'd Honours upon him, was now as ready to withdraw them: For whereas in publick Acts, she was wont to place her Husband's Name first, now she caus'd it to be plac'd last, and in the Coining of Mony began to leave it quite out. This Unkindness between them was much fomented by one *David Rizio*, an *Italian*, whom the Queen had taken into her Service, first as a Musician, and afterwards as her Secretary for the *French* Tongue; and after that he became so much in Favour, that it reflected no small Dishonour upon the Queen, being often allow'd secret Conferences with her, when the King her Husband could not be admitted. The King himself, being much addicted to his Pleasures of Hunting and Hawking, did not so much resent this Indignity, as some Lords who were his Friends; who told him plainly, *That it was not consistent with his Honour to suffer this insolent Man to live.* Being fir'd with the Sense of Injury, at an appointed Time, the King with the Lord *Ruthven* and others with drawn Swords rush'd into the Queen's Apartment when she was at Supper; where finding *Rizio* at the same Table, he seiz'd up-
on

*The Murder of
David Rizio.*

on him, while he hung about the Queen's Wastle for Protection, and dragg'd him into another Chamber, where with many Wounds he was murther'd; the Queen being at that Time big with Child, and near miscarrying with the Fright. This Fountain of Blood being open'd, a new Stream follow'd: For not many Months after, the King was first poison'd, and shortly after barbarously murther'd in his Bed at Midnight; and to make the Surprize the greater, the House was blown up by Gun-powder, and his Body thrown out into an Orchard.

And of the King.

The Rumour of this Murther being spread abroad, common Fame immediately laid it upon *Murray*, lately recall'd home, and upon *Morton* and *Bothwell*; and they on the other Side charg'd it upon the Queen: But we are not to give Credit to *Buchanan's* Account of it, who to ingratiate himself with the Earl of *Murray*, wrote most scandalously concerning the Queen; of all which he earnestly repented and acknowledg'd before his Death. The King thus murther'd, and the Queen left alone to her self, she was soon advis'd to marry with some Person that might be able to assist her against all Opposers: *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwell*, being then highly in her Favour, and eminent for his Courage and Valour; and tho' he was one who committed the Murther, yet he was by *Murray* and his Confederates recommended to the Queen. To this Motion, as being destitute of Friends, and not knowing whom to trust in these dangerous Times, she at last consented; but upon these Conditions, that above all Things, Respect should be had to her young Son; and that *Bothwell* should first be legally acquitted both from the King's Murther, and from the Obligation of his former Marriage. Hereupon a Project was contriv'd, by which *Bothwell* was formally call'd to the Bar; and *Morton* being his Advocate, and *Lenox* his chief Accuser not daring to appear, he was fully acquitted by Sentence of the Judges. Upon this he was created Duke of *Orkney*, and by the Consent of several of the Nobility, was precipitately marry'd to the Queen; which Action increas'd the Suspicion of many, that the Queen was an Accessary in the Murther, the Belief of which was the only thing they intended by the Marriage. This Suspicion being blown up to the Heighth, *Murray* politickly retir'd to *France*; and the same Persons who had acquitted *Bothwell*, and gave him their Consents to marry the Queen, immediately took up Arms against him. But still they gave him secret Notice to provide for himself; both to prevent his Discovering the Plot, if once taken, and also to make use of his Flight, the more plausibly to charge the Queen with her Husband's Murther. After that they proceeded so far as to seize on her Person, and treated her after the most contemptuous Manner, and allowing her but ordinary Cloathing, they imprison'd her at *Lock-Levin*, and put her into the Custody of *Murray's* Mother; who having been Mistress to *James* the Fifth, insulted over the captiv'd Queen's Misfortunes, and boasted that she was the lawful Wife of King *James*, and that her Son *Murray* was his Legitimate Issue. All these Miseries did King *James* bring upon his Kingdom, and unfortunate Daughter, by breaking the Precepts of Heaven with one Woman; the common Effects of unlawful Love in Princes and great Men, and naturally more fatal than in inferior Persons.

The Queen marries the Earl of Bothwell.

She is made a Prisoner.

When Queen *Elizabeth* had Notice of this unexpected Revolution, she sent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland* to expostulate with the Confederates, concerning this strange Usage of their Queen; and to consult by what means she might recover her Liberty. *Throgmorton* found the Confederates more insolent than had been reported: Being divided in their Opinion concerning their Proceedings with the Queen, some advis'd to have her perpetually banish'd into *England* or *France*; others, to have her examin'd before the Judges, committed to perpetual Custody, and her Son proclaim'd King: But some, more inhuman, would have her at once depriv'd of Regal Authority and Life; and this was the Doctrine of *Knox*, and some other Ministers, in their Pulpits. *Throgmorton* on the other Side, 'Alledg'd many Passages out of the Scriptures con-

Queen Elizabeth interposes by her Agent Throgmorton.

cerning Obedience to the higher Powers, and maintain'd, that the Queen was subject to no Tribunal under Heaven; that there was no Office nor Jurisdiction in *Scotland*, but was deriv'd from her Authority, and revokable at her Pleasure. They again oppos'd, 'The peculiar Right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and that in extraordinary Emergencies, extraordinary Decrees must be made; borrowing the Arguments of *Buchanan*, who at that time wrote a Dialogue, in which he endeavour'd to prove, that the People have Power both to create and depose their King. After long Debates, all that *Throgmorton* could gain from them was a Writing without any Subscription, in which they protested, 'They had secur'd the Queen for no other Design, but to keep her from *Bothwell*, whom she lov'd so desperately, that to enjoy him, she regarded not all their Ruins; desiring him to rest satisfy'd with this Answer, 'till the rest of the Peers could meet. And notwithstanding all his Arguments, they brought the Queen to a more severe Restraint, tho' in the humblest Manner she besought them to deal more gently with her, and let her but once have a Sight of her Son; which would not be granted her. At length, when civil Persuasions would not prevail to make her freely resign her Kingdom, they openly threaten'd her to bring her to a publick Trial for Incontinence, Murder, and Tyranny; so that through Fear of Death, she was compell'd, unheard, to set her Hand to three Instruments: By the First of which, she resign'd the Crown to her Son, then scarce thirteen Months old: By the Second, she conferr'd the Regency upon *Murray*, during the Minority of her Son: In case he refus'd it, the Third conferr'd that Power upon the Duke of *Chastel-Herault*, with the Earls of *Argyle*, *Lenox*, *Atholl*, *Morton*, *Glencarn* and *Marre*. Next she represented to the Queen of *England*, that she resign'd upon Force, and by the Counsel of *Throgmorton*, who told her that such an extorted Resignation was void of it self.

The Queen of
the Scots resigns
her Crown to
her Son.

King James
crown'd at
thirteen Months
of Age.

Five Days after this Resignation, *Charles James* the Queen's young Son was anointed and crown'd King, by the Name of *James* the Sixth; and *John Knox* preach'd the Coronation Sermon: And the *Hamiltons* enter'd a Protestation, that it should not prejudice the Title of the Duke of *Chastel-Herault* to the Succession, in Opposition to the House of *Lenox*. But Queen *Elizabeth* forbid *Throgmorton* to be present at the Solemnity, lest she might be thought to give Countenance to this uncommon Proceeding by the Appearance of her Ambassador. Fifteen Days after, *Murray* himself return'd out of *France* into *Scotland*, and shortly repair'd to the Queen with some other of the Confederates, who charg'd her with many heavy Crimes, and urg'd her, as she tender'd her Life and Honour, to observe these Prescriptions: 'Not to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, nor desire to be at Liberty: Not to excite the Queen of *England*, or the King of *France* to infest *Scotland* with any foreign or domestic War; nor to think any more of *Bothwell's* Love, or mediate any Revenge upon *Bothwell's* Adversaries. *Murray* being now proclaim'd Regent of *Scotland*, bound himself under his Hand and Seal to act nothing concerning War or Peace, the King's Person or his Marriage, or the Liberty of the Queen, without the Consent of the Confederates; and then gave *Throgmorton* Notice by *Lydinton*, not to make any further Intercession for the Queen's Liberty, for he and the rest were resolv'd to run the utmost Hazards rather than consent to it. Shortly after he executed *John Hepburn*, *Daglas*, and some other of *Bothwell's* Servants, for being concern'd in the Murder of the King. But they, contrary to Expectation, when ready to die, most solemnly protested, That *Bothwell* had told them, that *Murray* and *Morton* were the first Authors of the Murder. They freed the Queen from all Suspicion; as did *Bothwell* himself afterwards, who when Prisoner in *Denmark*, both living and dying, declar'd the Queen was Innocent. And fourteen Years after, *Morton* going to Execution, confess'd that *Bothwell* had urg'd him to consent to the Murder; but when he refus'd, unless he had the Queen's Hand for his Warrant, *Both-*

Murray made
Regent.

Some Execu-
tions.

well

well answer'd, *That could not be, for the Fact was to be done without her Knowledge.* But as to the unfortunate Queen, notwithstanding all the Solicitations of the Queen of *England*, and the King of *France*, they could not procure her Liberty.

As to the *French* Affairs, the eight Years limited for the Delivery of *Calais* to the *English* were now expired; and Sir *Thomas Smith*, and Sir *William Winter* were sent into *France* to demand it; but they so delay'd and protracted the Debate, that by Degrees it expired in Silence, by means of Civil Wars arising in *France*. And without doubt the *French* never design'd to restore it, for as soon as it was taken, they threw down the old Forts, and built others, let out the Houses and Lands for fifty Years, and gave some away for ever. While this was Negotiating in *France*, Count *Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of the former design'd Marriage with the Arch-Duke *Charles*; about which the Queen had lately sent the Earl of *Suffex* to the Emperor; in which Service that Earl us'd his utmost Endeavours, that the Queen might be marry'd to a Prince, and *Leicester* be disappointed of his Hopes. Nothing was more frequently said by *Suffex* than *that a Foreign Prince was to be preferr'd before the noblest English Man, whether we respect Honour, Power or Riches.* Infomuch that one of the other Party pleasantly reply'd, *That where those three only were regarded in Marriage, the World and the Devil were the Match-makers.* *Suffex* staid five Months in *Austria*, and was honourably entertain'd at the Emperor's Charge; but many Difficulties arising about Religion, Maintenance, Titles, and the Succession, time wore out those Proposals that had been seven Years making by honourable Mediators. The Arch-Duke not long after marry'd the Duke of *Bavaria's* Daughter; yet both he and the Emperor ever after continu'd a good Correspondence with the Queen. About the same time Ambassadors came from *Muscovy* with rich Furs of Sables, and the like, and made large Offers to the Queen which were accepted; from whence the Company of *Russia* Merchants had its first Establishment. With the Ambassadors, *Anthony Jenkinson* return'd into *England*, who in his Travels had made curious Observations of *Muscovy* or *Russia*, set out a Geographical Description of it, and was the first of the *English* that sail'd through the *Caspian* Sea. In the same Year, *June* the eighth, Sir *Thomas Sackville* was created Baron of *Buckhurst*.

Calais demanded in vain.

The Duke of Austria revives his Suit.

The Russia Company begun.

Having before pass'd over the first Act of the Queen of the *Scots* Tragedy, we are now arriv'd at the second; having been eleven Months detain'd Prisoner, by the Assistance of *George Douglass*, to whose Brother she was committed, she made her Escape from *Loch-Levin* to *Hamilton's* Castle. Here upon the Testimonies of *Robert Melvil*, and others, in an Assembly of a great Part of the Nobility, a Declaratory Sentence was pronounc'd, 'That the Resignation extorted from the Queen, during Confinement, was absolutely void from the Beginning. Upon which Declaration great Multitudes repair'd to her, so that within two Days she had gotten an Army of six thousand Men; but when they ventur'd to join Battel with *Murray*, being raw and undisciplin'd, they were soon defeated. In this melancholy Condition, the Queen to save her self, travell'd threescore Miles in one Day, and by Night arriv'd at the House of *Maxwell* Lord *Heris*; chusing rather to commit her self to the Mercy of the Sea, and the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, than to the Loyalty of her own Subjects. From hence she sent *John Beton* to the Queen of *England*, with a Diamond Ring, which she had formerly receiv'd from her, as a Pledge of mutual Amity; intimating that she would come into *England*, and implore her Protection, if her Subjects persisted in their Rebellious Hostilities. Queen *Elizabeth* promis'd her all the Love and Kindness of a Sister; but before the Messenger was return'd, contrary to the Advice of her Friends, she enter'd a small Bark, and with the Lord *Heris* and *Flemming*, and a few others, landed at *Wirkinton* in *Cumberland*, upon the seventeenth Day of *May*. From hence

A. D. 1568.

Reg. 10. 11.

The Queen of Scots escapes out of Prison.

She is defeated.

*She flies into
England.*

she immediately wrote Letters in *French* with her own Hand to the Queen, importing, 'That having providentially escap'd out of the Hands of her insolent and rebellious Subjects, she was now come into *England*, upon sure Confidence of her approv'd Clemency; and therefore humbly requested, That she might be forthwith conducted to her Presence.' Queen *Elizabeth* with Letters sent by Sir *Francis Knolles*, kindly promis'd her Protection according to the Equity of her Cause; but deny'd her Access, as being reputed guilty of many hainous Crimes, and gave command to have her brought to *Carlisle*, as a Place of greater Safety. The *Scotch* Queen receiving this Answer, and finding Access deny'd her, by another Letter requested, 'That she might have leave both to unfold the Injuries she had receiv'd, and to answer the Crimes objected, in her own Presence; humbly beseeching her, That either she might be admitted to have Conference and Assistance, or else have free Liberty to depart out of *England*, to gain Supplies else where, and not be detain'd Prisoner in *Carlisle*; since she came voluntarily into *England*, relying upon the Love she had so often profess'd.

*The Queen of
Scots detain'd
in England.*

Upon these Letters Queen *Elizabeth* exceedingly commiserated her unfortunate Condition, and could have yielded to admit her into her Presence, but that her Counsellors conceiv'd it to be a Matter for mature Consultation, how to act in such a nice Case. To detain her in *England*, had many Mischiefs attending it; to send her into *France*, as many; and to send her back into *Scotland*, many more. Therefore in Conclusion, the Majority were of Opinion to have her detain'd, as one taken by Right of War, and not to be dismiss'd, till she had made Satisfaction for assuming the Arms and Title of *England*, and for the Death of the Lord *Darnly* her Husband, who was born an *English* Subject. In the mean time *Murray* the Regent call'd a new Parliament in *Scotland*, in the King's Name, and proscribed some of the Queen's Adherents, and seiz'd on their Possessions. At which the Queen of *England* being highly displeas'd, sent him a sharp Message by *Middlemore*, 'That she could not permit the sacred Authority of Princes to be held in such Contempt, and submitted to the Will of factious and rebellious People; and tho' they had forgot the Duty of Subjects, and their Loyalty to their Queen, yet she could not be unmindful of any Office either of Piety or Kindness to her Sister and Neighbour; and therefore commanded him to appear before her, and give an Account of his Actions.

*Commissioners
meet at York
to hear her
Cause.*

Murray having no Means to maintain his Regency in *Scotland*, but what depended upon *England*, obey'd the Summons, and came to *York*, the Place appointed to determine this unusual Affair. He brought with him seven of his intimate Friends, as Deputies for the Infant King, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Adam* Bishop of *Orkney*, *Robert* of *Dunfermelin*, *Patrick* Lord of *Lindsey*, *James* *Mac-Gilly*, *Henry* *Balnaw*, and *George* *Buchanan*, together with *Lidington* the Secretary. And the same Day came *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Suffex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, a Privy-Counsellor, appointed Commissioners for Queen *Elizabeth*. For the Queen of *Scotland* there appear'd *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ross*, *William* Lord *Levingston*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, *Gawin* of *Kilwinin*, *John* *Gordon*, and *James* *Cockburn*. Being met on the seventh of *October*, *Lidington* first freely advis'd his Countrymen, 'Maturely to consider what Prejudice they would draw upon themselves, by publickly accusing their own Queen before the *English*, who were profess'd Enemies to their Nation. Wherefore he thought they ought to desist, unless the Queen of *England* would enter into a mutual and firm League, against all those, who under this Pretence, should endeavour to molest them. Upon his Speech the Deputies for the Queen of *Scotland* made Protestation, 'That tho' their Queen thought fit that the Causes between her and her disloyal Subjects should be debated before the *English*; yet being a free Princess, she did not thereby acknowledge her self subject to the Sovereign Command

of

of any. On the contrary the *English* protested, 'That they did in no wise admit of that Protestation, in Prejudice to the Right, which the Kings of *England* have anciently challeng'd as *Superior Lords of the Kingdom of Scotland*.

The next Day the *Scotch* Queen's Deputies set forth at large, 'The injurious Proceedings of *Murray*, *Monton*, and others against the Queen, whom they had by the Fears of Death compell'd to resign her Kingdom; which therefore was of no Force. *Murray* and his Adherents made Answer, 'That they had done nothing but by the Consent of the Peers in Parliament; and that to prosecute *Bothwell*, the Author of the King's Murder, whom the Queen protested; and as for her Resignation, it was a voluntary Act of her own. All this the Queen of the *Scots* Deputies answer'd and confuted, particularly affirming, 'That of the hundred Earls, Bishops and Barons that had Voices in Parliament, not above four Earls, one Bishop, two Abbots, and six Barons, were present in that tumultuous Assembly: Wherefore they pray'd, That the Queen of *England* would consider of these Indignities, and take some course for a speedy Redress. After this some new Commissioners from Queen *Elizabeth* were added to the former, as *Bacon*, *Arundell*, *Leicester*, *Clinton* and *Cecil*; to some of whom the *Scotch* Queen took Exception, 'Unless the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors might be join'd with them, her self admitted to the Presence of the Queen and them, and *Murray* be oblig'd to appear before them, whom she was able to prove the chief Agent in the Murder of her Husband *Darnly*. This was accounted a just Demand by some of the *English* Commissioners; upon which Queen *Elizabeth*, with some Resentment said publickly, *The Queen of Scotland would never want an Advocate while Norfolk was alive*. After a long Agitation of this Affair, and nothing concluded, *Murray*, a little before his Return into *Scotland*, privately propounded the Marriage of the *Scotch* Queen with the Duke of *Norfolk*; which he with a modest Answer declin'd, as a thing full of Danger. But withal, *Murray* the more to alienate Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mind, caus'd a Report, That the *Scotch* Queen had transferr'd her Right to the Crown of *England* to the Duke of *Anjou*, and that the Transaction was confirm'd at *Rome*: He also shew'd Letters which the Queen of the *Scots* had written to some intimate Friends, in which she accus'd the Queen of *England* for not treating her according to Promise, and boasted of Succours she expected from others. The last Clause somewhat disturb'd Queen *Elizabeth*, who could not conjecture from whence such Succours should come; since *France* with the Civil Wars, and the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries* had sufficient Employment at home. But at last the Secret broke out, that one *Ridolph* a *Florentine*, under the Habit of a Merchant in *London*, was suborn'd by Pope *Pius* the Fifth, to cause a secret Commotion of the Papists in *England* against the Queen, which he perform'd with extraordinary Privacy and Subtilty. Whereupon the Queen of *Scotland* was remov'd from *Bolton* Castle, where all the neighbouring People were Papists, to *Tutbury*, more towards the Heart of the Country, under the Custody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. As this was very hard upon Queen *Mary*, so it was not a little unfortunate to *Elizabeth*; who detested the Insolency of the *Scotch* Subjects for deposing their Queen, yet durst not permit one Act or Step towards her Restoration.

Murray proposes a Match between the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk.

And indeed the Queen began now to meet with some Perplexities, both in Church and State; and the Peace of the former was disturb'd by a twofold Enemy: *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders* and other Fugitive *Romish* Priests, took upon them by Authority from the See of *Rome*, to grant Absolution to the Queen's Enemies, and to corrupt her Subjects in Point of Religion and Allegiance. On the other side, *Coleman*, *Button*, *Hallingham* and *Benson* openly call'd in Question the Discipline of the Church of *England*, and endeavour'd to reform it after the *Geneva* Pattern; and this Sect did greatly increase

The Beginning of the Puritans.

crease in a short Time, by means of their resolute Temper; the Negligence of several Bishops, and the Favour of some Noblemen, who were thirsting after the Patrimony of the Church; and this Sect was soon known by the invidious Name of *Puritans*. In all these Troubles the good Queen took care as much as possible to preserve the Peace and Unity of the Church, as likewise to succour all distressed Protestants in foreign Parts. For about the same Time the *Guises* in *France*, and the cruel Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, began to endeavour the utter Extirpation of the Protestant Religion. In *France*, the Ministers of the Gospel were commanded to depart the Kingdom within a limited Time; when the Queen forgetting the unsteadiness of the Protestants at *Haurede-Grace*, once again took them into her Protection, generously supply'd them with two hundred thousand Crowns in Money, besides Ammunition in Abundance, and with great Humanity receiv'd such as fled into *England*; and the readier, because they made solemn Protestation, *That they did not take up Arms against their Prince, but only stood upon their own Defence*. In the *Netherlands*, the Duke of *Alva* breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, and sowing the Seeds of a long and dangerous War, great Numbers of the Inhabitants fled into *England* as into a Sanctuary. These were kindly receiv'd, and by the Queen's Permission, they seated themselves at *Norwich*, *Colchester*, *Sandwich*, *Maidstone* and *Southampton*, to the great Benefit and Advantage of the *English* Nation: For they were the first that brought into the Kingdom the Art of making those slight Stuffs, call'd *Bays* and *Says*, and other Linnen and Woollen Manufactures of the same kind.

Queen Elizabeth
both assists the
Protestants in
France,

and in the Ne-
therlands.

About the same Time a mighty Mass of Money borrow'd from the *Genoese*, and other *Italian* Merchants, was sent out of *Spain* into the *Netherlands*, there to be employ'd in Bank; which being brought by Shipping, was pursu'd by the *French*, and forc'd to fly for Succour into the *English* Havens, whom the Queen commanded to be protected, as conceiving the Money to belong to the King of *Spain*. But at the same Time, Cardinal *Odesse* coming out of *France* into *England*, and giving Information to the Queen, That the Money did not belong to the King of *Spain*, but to certain *Italian* Merchants, from whom the Duke of *Alva* had taken it against their Will, with a Design to employ it to the Ruin of the Protestants; she resolv'd to borrow it of the Merchants, and give Security for it, as Princes usually do of Goods found in their Ports, and as the *Spaniard* himself had often done. The Detaining this Money gave Occasion to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and several of the prime Nobility, to shew their secret Hatred against Sir *William Cecil*; whom they envy'd for his great Favour with the Queen, and upon a Suspicion that he inclin'd to the House of *Suffolk* in the Matter of the Succession. Hereupon they secretly conspir'd to throw him into the Tower; and *Throgmorton*, his chief Emulator, suggested, *That if he was once imprison'd, they might soon find means to crush him*: But the Queen, well knowing the Worth of such a Minister, in due Time surpriz'd them, and by the Authority of her Royal Presence, aw'd them out of these little Contrivances. But this Money being detain'd caus'd a greater Disturbance from the Duke of *Alva*, who upon Notice of it, seiz'd upon all the Goods of the *English* in the *Netherlands*, and kept the Men Prisoners: The Queen resolutely did the like by the *Low-Country* Merchants, with much greater Advantage: Letters of Reprisal were granted on both sides; which occasion'd such a Contest between the Nations, that being nourish'd and increas'd by succeeding Differences, it produc'd the famous *Spanish* Invasion, that will be memorable to all future Ages.

Cecil in Dan-
ger.

The Beginnings
of the Wars
with Spain.

A. D. The *Scotch* Affairs began more and more to create Troubles to *England*; and the Earl of *Murray* being return'd into *Scotland*, rais'd new Disturbances in that Kingdom. He caus'd an Assembly to meet at *Edinburgh*, under Pretence of restoring the Queen to her Liberty; but as her Friends, *Hamilton* Duke of *Chastel-Heraut*, who had been appointed her Vicegerent, and the Lord

1569.
Reg. 11.
Further Trou-
bles in Scot-
land.

Lord *Heris*, were coming thither, he intercepted them; and threw them into Prison; and immediately after, in open hostile Manner, he suppress'd all her chief Favourers. It is reasonably thought, that this prevailing Earl could have willingly consented to have the Queen freed from a Prison; but he knew that her Liberty could not be effected without his Servitude: And Queen *Elizabeth* probably would gladly have had her restor'd to her Kingdom; but she fear'd, That such a Restoration would endanger her Security, And thus while both regarded their own Interests in the first Place, and hers but in the second, she had the Fortune to be pity'd, but not the Happiness to be reliev'd: And all she was able to do, was only to tye her Bonds the stronger; which by sitting still might have loosen'd of themselves, but by moving would entangle her to her Ruin.

The Duke of *Norfolk's* Interest being involv'd in that of this unfortunate Queen, his fatal Destiny began at this Time to operate. It was now strongly reported that the Duke was to marry her in a short Time; and in Reality Motions had actually been made, but the Business was not so forward as it was generally believ'd. It was first propos'd to the Duke of *Norfolk*, by the Bishop of *Ross*, and afterwards, in Pretence at least, by *Murray* himself at *Hampton-Court*; but the Duke, before he would resolve in the Matter, consulted with several of the Nobility, and with *Leicester* himself, who all judg'd it proper for him to acquaint her Majesty with it first, and then leave the Matter to her Pleasure. Shortly after, *Throgmorton* meeting the Duke at *Westminster*, advis'd him to move the Earl of *Leicester* himself to embrace the Match, since he had formerly su'd for it; but if he declin'd it, then at least to take him along with him, for he believ'd that he alone would hardly be able to obtain the Queen's Consent. Two Days after, *Leicester* himself propos'd the Matter to the Duke, and then communicated the same to the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, who together with *Throgmorton*, wrote Letters to the *Scotch* Queen, recommending the Duke of *Norfolk* to her for a Husband. The Duke likewise wrote himself to her, with a particular Tender of his great Love and Respect to her. Upon this Articles were drawn, written by *Leicester's* own Hand, and sent to the *Scotch* Queen; to which if she consented, they then promis'd to procure Queen *Elizabeth's* Approbation, that she should also be re-invested in her Kingdom, and the Succession be confirm'd to her. The Queen of *Scotland* readily accepted of the Terms, tho' her Husband *Bothwell* was alive, and a Prisoner in *Denmark*; and the Duke imparted the Matter to the Lord *Lumley*, and by *Leicester's* Consent, afterwards to Secretary *Cecil*.

The Report of this Marriage was soon brought to the Queen's Ears; which the Duke understanding, he earnestly sollicitated the Earl of *Leicester* to have the Matter immediately propos'd to her Majesty. *Leicester* treacherously made Delays, and pretended Causes to defer it; upon which *Cecil* fairly advis'd the Duke to go and acquaint the Queen with it himself; which Counsel *Leicester* oppos'd, promising to open it to the Queen, as she went in her Progress. But while he with fair Words still delay'd him, the Queen took the Duke to her Table at *Farnham*, and pleasantly advis'd him to Beware upon what Pillow he laid his Head. After this, *Leicester* fell into a real, or pretended, Sickneſs at *Titchfield*; and when the Queen in a Visit advis'd him to be of good Cheer, he with Sighs and Tears crav'd Pardon for his Crime, and disclos'd to her the whole Transaction, with all the Circumstances. Upon which the Queen call'd the Duke into the Gallery, and sharply reprimanded him for attempting such a Marriage, without her Knowledge; and commanded him upon his Allegiance to desist. The Duke made her a free and hearty Promise of Obedience; and added by Way of Slight to the Queen of *Scotland* That his Revenues in England were not much less than hers in Scotland; and when he was at his Tennis-Court in *Norwich*, he thought himself not inferior to some Kings. But notwithstanding, discovering the Queen's Anger by her Countenance, and finding

The Duke of
Norfolk's De-
signs in mar-
rying the
Queen of the
Scots.

Articles drawn.

Queen Eliza-
beth opposes it.

The Duke
sent to the
Tower.

finding *Leicester* in a manner alienated, and most of the Nobility cold and regardless of his Person; he became extremely dejected, and immediately prepar'd to leave the Court; designing to stay at *Norwich*, 'till by his Friends Intercession, and his own submissive Letters, the Queen's Heart might be mollify'd. At his Departure, the Queen with Indignation rejected the *Scotch* Ambassador, who su'd for the Enlargement of his Mistress, advising Her to rest satisfy'd, lest she saw some of her greatest Supporters shorter by the Head. The Court was apprehensive lest the Duke should raise a Rebellion; and if he did, it was thought the Queen of the *Scots* would suddenly be dispatch'd. But returning again shortly after, and being examin'd concerning the Marriage, and his secret Conferences with the Bishop of *Ross*, he confess'd most of the Objections, and was committed to the *Tower*. Two Days after the Bishop of *Ross* was likewise examin'd, and together with *Ridolph* the *Florentine*, was deliver'd to the Custody of Sir *Francis Walsingham*; and the Earl of *Pembroke* was confin'd to his House and examin'd; but his Confession was not committed to Writing, as being not able to write himself.

A Rebellion in
the North.

At this Time the Rumour of an Insurrection in the North grew very strong, by reason of some frequent Meetings between the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, and others; who being for this commanded upon their Allegiance instantly to repair to the Queen, made dilatory Pretences, waiting indeed for Supplies, both from the *Scots* and the Duke of *Alva*. Whilst the Earl of *Northumberland* continu'd in Suspence, he was purposely frighted by his Friends, who in a tempestuous Night cry'd out, That an armed Power was ready to seize him, which caus'd him to rise out of his Bed, and repair with all speed to *Branspith*, the Earl of *Westmorland's* House, where great Numbers acquainted with the Enterprize were assembled. Here they broke out into an open Rebellion, being the first that had disturb'd the publick Peace, after eleven Years Calm in this Reign. The chief Incendiary was *Nicholas Morton* a *Romish* Priest, sent by the Pope to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick, and one that had forfeited all Right of Sovereignty, and immediately they publish'd a Writing, in which they declar'd, 'They took up Arms only to restore the Religion of their Fore-fathers, remove evil Counsellors from the Queen, and relieve the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other Loyal Noblemen now under Disgrace; but to the Queen they profess'd themselves most dutiful Subjects. They also wrote Letters to the Papists throughout the Kingdom, requiring them to come to their Assistance; but they were so far from joining with them, that many sent both the Letters and Bearers of them to the Queen; every one freely offering his Purse and his Person against them, and particularly the Duke of *Norfolk*. So that from hence the Queen assuredly understood the great Affection of her Subjects towards her; and was not backward in acknowledging the Goodness of Heaven to her upon that Account.

The Rebels, to the Number of four thousand Foot and six thousand Horse, march'd directly to *Durham*, where they impiously tore and trampled upon all the *English* Bibles and Common-Prayer Books which they found in that Cathedral and other Churches: But when they understood that the Queen of *Scotland*, for whose Deliverance they took up Arms, was convey'd from *Tutbury* to *Coventry*; that the Earl of *Suffex* had rais'd a powerful Army against them; that Sir *George Bowes* had a select Party on their Rear, and that the Lord *Scroop* and the Earl of *Cumberland* had reinforc'd *Carlisle*, they return'd to *Bernard* Castle, besieg'd and took it by Composition. On the same day they were Proclaim'd Traitors; *Suffex* march'd against them with seven thousand Men, accompany'd with the Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Evers*, and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*. Being advanc'd as far as *Aukland*, the Rebels fled in great Fear to *Hexham*, and afterwards through By-ways to *Naworth* Castle; where hearing that the Earl of *Warwick* and *Clinton*, Lord Admiral, pursu'd them with twelve thousand Men, from the South
Paris

Parts of *England*, the two Earls with a small Company, and unknown to their Confederates, withdrew themselves into *Scotland*. *Northumberland* was deliver'd into the Hands of *Murray*; and *Westmorland* escap'd into the *Netherlands*, where he led a poor miserable Life, even to old Age, living upon a slender Pension from the *Spaniards*. The rest being dispers'd sav'd themselves, some by Flight, and some by hiding in secret Places. Threescore and six, for a Terror to others, were hang'd at *Durham*, and several at *York* and other Places. The two Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, and about fifty more of the higher Birth were convicted of Treason, and prescrib'd; but the rest, who had no Estates, or had not fled the Land, were pardon'd. Thus happily ended this Rebellion; and *Vitelli*, Agent and Promoter from the Duke of *Alva*, before the Queen and Lords openly admir'd, but inwardly griev'd, that it was so suddenly and early extinguish'd, and that his coming into *England* was of no Effect.

The Rebels
disperse them-
selves.

Yet not long after, out of the Ashes of this Rebellion there broke out another Flame at *Nurworth* in *Cumberland*, kindled by *Leonard Dacres*, Son to the Lord *Dacres* of *Gilliland*, for the Deliverance of the Queen of *Scotland*. He was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking out sooner than he expected, and he at that Time being at the Court, and there tend'ring his Service to go against them, to that purpose he was sent into his Country: But in his Journey, branding himself with Treachery and Disloyalty, he consulted with the Rebels, and encourag'd them to proceed; and by Virtue of a Letter of Credence from the Queen, he surpriz'd the Castle of *Greystock*, and other Houses of the *Dacres*, and gather'd together an Army of three thousand Men. He was attack'd by the Lord *Hunsdon*, whom he receiv'd with great Bravery; but being overcome, he fled into *Scotland*, from thence he cross'd the Sea into *Flanders*, and dy'd in a miserable Condition at *Lovain*; where he inherited his Father's Curses laid upon him on his Death-Bed for his Disobedience. The Lord *Hunsdon* having taken in the Castles, committed the Charge of them to the Duke of *Norfolk's* Men; and the Queen by publick Proclamation pardon'd the Multitude, whom their Leader had excited to Rebellion.

A second Re-
bellion.

It is quell'd.

Tho' the Queen's Affairs were thus embroil'd with one Rebellion after another, yet she was not at all regardless of the distressed Protestants in *France*: For still she excited the Protestant Princes to defend the common Cause, supply'd the Queen of *Navarre* with Money, and gave leave to *Henry Champignon* to lead into *France* a hundred *English* Gentlemen, all brave Volunteers; among whom was the famous *Walter Rawleigh*, a very young Man, who now began to launch into the World. The *French* King, to exhaust the Treasure of *England*, and turn the Stream into some other Channel, resolv'd to raise a new War in *Scotland* against Queen *Elizabeth*, and design'd to send *Sebastian Montignies* with an Army into that Country; but he being kill'd at the Siege of *St. John de Angeli*, that Design vanish'd into Air. Nor was *Ireland* in this Year free from Rebellions, for *Edmond* and *John Butler*, Brothers to the Earl of *Ormond*, being assisted by the Pope and the *Spaniard*, endeavour'd to re-establish the Popish Religion, and to dispossess Queen *Elizabeth* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. To support this Rebellion, *Juan Mendoza* was sent privately out of *Spain*; and to put an End to it the Earl of *Ormond* went from *England* to that Kingdom, who being extreamly griev'd that any Plot should fall upon his noble Family, perswaded his Brothers to lay down their Arms, and submit to the Queen's Mercy, and at his Request their Pardons were granted, and the Rebellion soon ended.

The French
Protestants a-
gain reliev'd.

Disturbances
in Ireland.

VI. The Rebellions in *England* and *Ireland* being happily extinguish'd, new Accidents arose from *Scotland*, where *Murray* the Regent earnestly endeavour'd to have the Queen of the *Scots* deliver'd into his Hands; and therefore to ingratiate himself with Queen *Elizabeth* by some meritorious Exploit, he march'd

A. D.

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Reg. 12.

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march'd into the *Scotch Borders* in quest of the *English Rebels*, of whom he took several. But when he thought himself most secure, riding through the Streets in *Lithgow*, he was shot into the Bowels by one *Hamilton*, in a private Revenge for Injuries done to him, who immediately escap'd into *France* to avoid the Punishment. *Spotswood* says his Death was greatly lamented by all good Men, having in a little above a Year quieted a broken and disorder'd State; and was so remarkable for Devotion and Piety, that ever after he was call'd by the Title of *The good Regent*. However, as his Ambition was too aspiring, so his Activity was too irregular to be vindicated; and *Melvil* was wont to tell him, *He was like an unskilful Player in a Tennis-Court, ever running after the Ball; whereas an expert Artist would discern where it would light or rebound, and with small Labour let it fall into his Racket.*

Murray the
Scotch Regent
slain.

His Character.

After *Murray's* Death, the Kingdom being without a Regent, there arose many violent Disorders; and *Thomas Carre* and *Walter Scot*, two principal Men in the *Scotch Borders*, and devoted to their Queen, made Inroads into *England*, wasting all Places with Fire and Sword; 'till by Forces sent out of *England*, under the Command of the Earl of *Sussex*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*, they were Defeated: In whose Pursuit, three hundred Villages were fir'd, and fifty Castles destroy'd. For these and other Services soon after, the Earl made several Knights, as *Sir William Drury*, *Sir Thomas Mannors*, *Sir George Carie*, and *Sir Robert Constable*; and now to prevent further Disorders, the Lords of *Scotland* being ready to meet about the Election of a new Regent, they desir'd Queen *Elizabeth's* Advice in the Matter: Her Answer was, *That she would not intermeddle in the creating a Regent, lest she might seem to prejudice their Queen, whose Cause was not yet decided.* But soon after they chose the Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather, to be Regent of *Scotland*, without any Opposition from Queen *Elizabeth*; who knew that out of natural Affection, he would be tender of his Grandson, and affectionate to the *English* for the Civilities he had receiv'd; and doubted not his being at her Devotion, since she had his Wife in her Power. In the mean time the contrary Party, *Hamilton Duke of Castel-Herault*, with the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, imploy'd the Lord *Seton* to the Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, to use all Arguments, 'That the ten thousand Ducats assign'd the Queen of the *Scots* might be paid, and that he would assist her for the Recovery of her Liberty; alledging how acceptable it would be to all Christian Princes, and to the whole Catholick Church. The Duke promis'd to give all necessary Assistance; the *French King* also solicited Queen *Elizabeth* to the same purpose; and the *Spanish Ambassador*, in his Master's Name, urg'd it with no less Vehemence. Queen *Elizabeth*, violently attack'd with all these Importunities, made Answer, *That as she would omit nothing that might tend to the Reconciling of the Queen of Scotland and her Subjects; so she must take leave to provide for her own and her Peoples Security and Quiet, according as Nature, Reason, and her Princely Reputation and Honour requir'd.*

The Earl of
Lenox made
Regent.

Endeavours
to free the
Queen of the
Scots.

Pope Pius's
Bull against
Queen Elizabeth.

When all other Means prov'd ineffectual, the *Romish Party* in a Rage had recourse to their last Effort, Pope *Pius* the Fifth; who having the last Year Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, and excited her Subjects to a Rebellion, now caus'd his plenary Bull to be fix'd upon the Gates of the Bishop of *London's* Palace, under this Title: *A Declaratory Sentence of our holy Lord Pope Pius Quintus, against Elizabeth, the pretended Queen of England, and the Hereticks her Adherents. In which also her Subjects are declar'd absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance, and any other Duty they owe to her; and whoever shall henceforward obey her, are included in the same Anathema.* In the Bull it self, which is long, the Pope declares himself to have a Power over all Nations and Kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant and build. And afterwards, pronounces *Elizabeth* to be a Heretick, as likewise all her Adherents, and Excommunicated from that Church, out of which there is no Salvation: 'And

‘ And further declares her to be depriv’d of all Titles, Dominions, Dignities
 ‘ and Privileges whatsoever; and commands all her Subjects that they presume
 ‘ not to obey her, or her Orders, Mandates and Laws, upon pain of the same
 ‘ Sentence.

The *Romish* Subjects of *England*, being thus debauch’d from their Allegi-
 ance, by the Pope’s Authority and Approbation, there soon follow’d several Se-
 ditions and Insurrections; and some of the Nobility and Gentry of that Per-
 suasion, who had felt all the Happiness of the Government, in compliance with
 their Religion, began to be ill-affected towards their Sovereign. The first In-
 surrection, after this Bull appear’d in *England*, was among some of the *Hut-Gentry* of *Norfolk*, who resolving to set their Duke at Liberty, form’d a Plot, that
 when the People resorted to a Fair at *Harlestone*, they should gather the Mul-
 titude together by sound of Trumpet, under pretence of expelling the Foreigners
 out of *England* that had fled from the Duke of *Alva*. But their Designs were
 discover’d and prevented before they came to Maturity; and of the many that were
 condemn’d, only three were Executed, the principal of whom was *John Throg-*
morton, who tho’ he stood mute at the Bar, confess’d at the Gallows that he
 had been the Author of the Sedition. Not long after *John Felton*, that had set up
 the Pope’s Bull upon the Bishop of *London*’s Palace, not attempting to fly, was taken,
 and being arraign’d, undauntedly confess’d the Fact, without acknowledging
 any Crime, and was hang’d near the Place of his Treason, where by his Suffer-
 ing he obtain’d the Reputation of a Martyr: Tho’ the more moderate sort of
 Papists disallow’d of the Pope’s whole Proceedings, as Unjust and Illegal. The
 same Day that *Felton* was arraign’d, the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon his Confession
 of having acted imprudently, and ingaging under his Hand not to concern himself
 further in the Marriage, without the Queen’s Approbation, was discharg’d
 from Imprisonment. *Cecil* being his Friend earnestly mov’d him to marry some
 other Person with all speed, and so remove all future Suspicion; yet some again
 thought that this Inlargement of the Duke’s, was purposely to bring him into
 greater Dangers.

An Insur-
 rection in Nor-
 folk.

The Duke of
 Norfolk set at
 Liberty.

Many Conspiracies at the same Time were form’d to set the Queen of the *Scots* at
 Liberty; for the effecting of which, *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, younger Sons
 to the Earl of *Darby*, were chiefly concern’d; but the Matter being discover’d,
 they were soon suppress’d, and some suffer’d Death. And now the *Scotch* Lords
 of their Queen’s Party, continuing to protect the *English* Rebels, the Earl of
Suffex once again, accompany’d with the Lord *Scroop*, enter’d *Scotland*, burnt
 the Villages all along the Valley of *Anandale*, and compell’d Duke *Hamilton*,
 and the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, under a Writing sign’d with their own
 Hands and Seals, to abandon the *English* Rebels. *Suffex*, upon his Return,
 Knighted seven Gentlemen for their Valour; and he himself, for his approv’d
 Wisdom and Virtue, was admitted of the Queen’s Privy-Council. And now the
 Queen being too often disturb’d by Conspiracies, sent Sir *William Cecil* and
 Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of *Scotland*, then at *Chattefworth* House in
Darbyshire, to consult with her by what means to make up the Breach in *Scot-*
land, to reinvest her in her former State, and to secure both her Son and the
 Queen of *England*. The *Scotch* Queen did nothing but deplore her wretched
 Condition, throwing her self wholly upon the Queen’s Clemency; and when the
 Commissioners made to her certain Propositions of Agreement: First, That the
 ‘ Treaty of *Edinburgh* should be confirm’d: Then, That she should renounce
 ‘ her Right and Title to *England*, during Queen *Elizabeth*’s Life, or any Chil-
 ‘ dren of her Body lawfully begotten: And, That she should send her Son
 ‘ for a Hostage into *England*, with six others, such as the Queen should
 ‘ nominate: Lastly, That the Castle of *Humes* and *East-Castle*, with some
 ‘ others, should be held by the *English* for three Years. To these Articles,
 the Queen of *Scotland* for the present made a prudent Reply; but referr’d a
 more compleat Answer to the Bishop of *Ross*, her Ambassador in *England*, and

Offers made to
 the Queen of
 the Scots.

some other Commissioners ; who afterwards approv'd of some of the Propositions, but disallow'd of the rest : So that the Treaty drop'd, and the Matter rested in the former State.

But to no Effect.

The Anniversary of this Reign first celebrated.

The twelfth Year of this Reign being happily expired, in which some credulous Papists had expected, according to the Prediction of certain Fortune-Tellers, their *Golden-Day* as they term'd it, all good Men throughout *England* triumph'd with Thanksgivings, Sermons in Churches, repeated Prayers, publick Tournaments, and festival Joy ; and so solemniz'd the seventeenth Day of *November*, being the Anniversary of the Beginning of her Reign ; which Day, in Testimony of their great Affection to her, they never ceas'd to observe as long as she liv'd. And indeed the Love of the People was so just and general, notwithstanding some secret Enemies, that if this excellent Queen happen'd to be Sick, or a little disorder'd in her Health, her Courtiers would be so allarm'd at it, that they would scarcely stir from her to eat or drink, or take any Care of themselves : And all Degrees of People would fly in vast Numbers to the Churches, and with the most devout Prayers and Tears beg her Health and Continuance of her happy Government, 'till God had heard their Petitions, and restor'd her to her Health.

A. D.

1571.

Reg. 13.

Still the Affairs of the *Scots*, and their Queen, was the great Concern of the Court of *England* ; and this Year, in the Name of the King of *Scotland*, there came the Earl of *Morton*, the Abbot of *Dunfermelin*, and *James Mac-Gilly* ; whom Queen *Elizabeth* requir'd to shew more clearly, for what Causes they had depos'd their Queen. They exhibited a large Discourse, in which, with peculiar Freedom, they endeavour'd to prove, ' By the ancient Right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the People were superior to the King ; and urg'd Calvin's Authority, that Popular Magistrates were constituted for Moderation of the Licentiousness of Princes ; and that it was lawful for them, upon just Causes, both to imprison and to depose Kings. The Queen could not read this Writing without Indignation ; but gave this Answer to the Deputies, *That she saw no just Cause for the severe Treatment of their Queen* ; therefore she order'd them to consult immediately about Methods for healing the Dissensions in *Scotland*. Hereupon in the House of the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, a Proposition was made to the Bishop of *Ross*, and the other Deputies for the *Scotch* Queen, That for the Security of the Kingdom, and the Queen of *England*, it was necessary, that before the Queen of *Scotland* should be set at Liberty, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Humes*, *Heris*, and another Baron should be deliver'd for Hostages, and the Castles of *Dunbriton* and *Humes*, yielded to the *English* for three Years. But they made Answer, That to yield up such Men, and such Fortifications as were demanded, was only to leave the miserable Queen destitute of faithful Friends, and naked of Places fit for Guard and Defence : Yet they offer'd to give two Earls and two Barons for Hostages, 'till two Years were expired. This not being accepted, they immediately concluded, and publicly said, *That now they perceiv'd the English design'd to keep their Queen perpetual Prisoner, and to break off the Treaty ; since they insisted upon such Security as Scotland was not able to give.* And now Queen *Elizabeth* perceiving that nothing could be effected for the Safety of her self, and the King and Queen of *Scotland*, unless both the *Scotch* Parties contented ; she held it proper that the Lords of *Scotland* should themselves appoint some select Persons to accommodate this nice Affair.

Proposals about the Queen of the Scots.

Troubles in Scotland.

While these Transactions pass'd in *England*, the Queen of the *Scots* Party were severely treated in *Scotland*, many executed and several slain, the strong Castle of *Dunbriton* taken, and *J. Hamilton* Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's* and Brother to the Duke of *Castle-Herault*, as an Accessary to the Lord *Darnly's* Murther, was hang'd without being arraign'd according to Law. In *England* the Queen of the *Scots* had all her Servants taken from her, except ten, and a Priest to say Mass ; with which Indignities that Queen was so exasperated,

that

that she caus'd a large Writing of her Counsels, with certain Love-Letters to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to be carry'd to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by *Ridolpho* the *Florentine*. This being first brought to the Duke, was copy'd out by *Higford* his Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; who being commanded to burn all that he had writ, secretly hid the Papers under a Mat in the Duke's Bed-Chamber. *Ridolpho*, to induce the Duke to be Head of the disaffected Party in *England*, aggravated the Injuries he had suffer'd; how contrary to Law he had been detain'd Prisoner, and now not summon'd to the Parliament: He exhibited to him a Catalogue of such of the Nobility, as had promis'd to assist him: He shew'd 'how the Pope, to promote the Catholick Religion, 'would himself bear all the Charge of the War, and had already deposited a 'hundred thousand Crowns, of which he himself had distributed twelve 'thousand among the *English* Fugitives: He promis'd also that the King of 'Spain would send four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot to his Assistance. To these Reasons the Bishop of *Ross* added, 'That it was an easie Enterprize 'for him to surprize the Queen; and when he had her once in Possession, he 'might then with no Difficulty obtain both the Liberty of the *Scotch* Queen, 'and a Toleration of Religion. The former Reasons made some Impression upon the Duke; but this Point of surprizing the Queen, he abhor'd as an impious Fact, and to be rejected as pernicious and dangerous.

*A Design a-
gainst Queen
Elizabeth.*

In *France*, not long before this, the Marriage was solemniz'd between *Charles* the Ninth, King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, Daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian*: In Congratulation of which, Queen *Elizabeth* sent over the Lord *Buckhurst*, who was receiv'd with great Magnificence, and perhaps the greater, in regard of a Motion now to be made. For the Lord *Buckhurst* having in his Retinue one *Cavalcanti*, a Nobleman of *Florence*, the Queen-Mother of *France*, as a Native of the same Place, had frequent Conferences with him, and often insisted upon the Happiness that would accrue to both Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of *England*, and her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*; and at last desir'd him to recommend the Motion to Queen *Elizabeth*, both from her, and her Son the King of *France*, as highly desirable to both. The Lord *Buckhurst* return'd, being presented by the King of *France* with a Golden Chain weighing a thousand *French* Crowns; and *Cavalcanti* at his Return made the Motion to the Queen, who seem'd not unwilling to hearken to it; for by this Match might be added to the Kingdom of *England* the rich Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Bourbon* and *Auvergne*, and in Possibility the Kingdom of *France* it self. Upon which a Treaty was negotiated, in which the *French* propos'd three Articles, 'One concerning the Coronation 'of the Duke; another, concerning the joint Administration of the Govern- 'ment; and a third, concerning a Toleration of his Religion. To which it was answer'd, 'That the two first Articles might in some Measure be com- 'pos'd; but the third was scarce practicable: *For tho' a contrary Religion 'might be tolerated between Subjects of the same Kingdom, yet between a 'Husband and Wife it seem'd very incongruous and inconvenient.* Yet the Matter at last was brought to this Conclusion, 'That if the Duke would afford 'the Queen his Presence at Divine Service, and not refuse to hear and learn 'the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, he should not be compell'd to use 'the *English* Rites, but at his Pleasure use the *Roman*, as far as was consistent 'with God's Word. But upon this Punctilio, they could not come to Agree- 'ment; and the Treaty, after it had continu'd almost a Year, intirely broke off. It was indeed generally believ'd, That the Match was never really design'd on either Side, but that both pretended it to promote their own Interests: For the Earl of *Leicester*, who knew more of the Queen's Thoughts than any Man, wrote at this time to *Walsingham* the Queen's Ambassador in *France*, *That he found the Queen's Inclination so cold in the Matter, that tho' the Point of Religion were fully agreed; yet she would still find one Point or other to prevent the Marriage.*

*A Match pro-
pos'd between
the Queen and
the Duke of
Anjou.*

*The Treaty
broke off.*

But

A Match design'd between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of the Scots.

But the *French* King took not greater Pains for accomplishing this Marriage, than some *English* did to hasten a Marriage between the Queen of the *Scots* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom they had again drawn into the Snare; which came to be discover'd by a Packet of Letters, sent by *Ridolpho* to the Bishop of *Ross*, and by the Confession of *Bayliff*, who brought the said Letters. Upon which the Bishop of *Ross* was confin'd to the Isle of *Ely*; Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and *Rolton*, were committed to the Tower; and *Henry Howard*, who had aspir'd to the Archbishoprick of *York*, was committed to the Custody of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. At the same time the Queen of the *Scots* sent Mony to her Confederates in her own Kingdom; which was by *Higford*, the Duke's Gentleman, deliver'd to one *Brown*, as only so much Silver: But he finding by the Weight that it was Gold, he became suspicious; and thereupon went and deliver'd the Mony and Letters to the Lords of the Council. Upon this, *Higford* being examin'd, confess'd the whole Project, and withal gave Information of the secret Writing of the Queen of the *Scots*, which he had hid under the Mat, unknown to the Duke his Master. Two Days after, the Duke himself, being examin'd by the Council, and knowing nothing of what his Servants had confess'd, he deny'd every Particular; and thereupon was again sent to the Tower, to the great Concern and Affliction of the People. After him *Banister*, his Lawyer, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Lumley* and *Cobham*, *Henry Piercy*, *Lowder*, *Powell*, *Goodyer*, and others, were committed to Prison; who, upon Hopes of Pardon, confess'd all they knew concerning this peculiar Affair. When these Things, and especially the private Writing, which the Duke thought had been burnt, were shew'd him, he in Confusion cry'd out, *I am betray'd by my Confidents, being unwilling to be distrustful, tho' it is the very Essence of Wisdom.* And then with the most humble Submission he beg'd the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen; towards whom, he protested he never had the least Thought of doing any Prejudice.

The Duke again sent to the Tower.

Debates about the Bishop of Ross.

The Bishop of *Ross*, by the Confession of all the Criminals, and the Duke himself, being charg'd as the chief Projector of the whole Conspiracy, it caus'd great Debates how to proceed against him, who was an Ambassador; but the learned Civilians, having upon some curious Queries determin'd that he had lost the Privilege of an Ambassador, he was brought before the Council, and told, *That by his Actions he had forfeited his Character, and should be punish'd according to his Deserts.* The Bishop answer'd, *He was the Ambassador of an absolute, tho' unfortunate Queen, whose Privileges by the Law of Nations were not to be violated.* Upon which *Cecil* in a grave Reply shew'd him, *That the Privilege of an Ambassador could not protect a Person in Crimes against the publick Majesty of a Prince, and consequently he was liable to Punishment; or else every wicked Ambassador might plot against the Lives of crown'd Heads without Controul.* He urg'd that the Privileges of Ambassadors had never been violated *Via Juris*, but *Via Facti*; and advis'd them not to use harder Measures to him, than had been us'd to the English Ambassadors, *Throgmorton* in France, *Randolph* and *Tamworth* in Scotland; who had there rais'd Rebellions, without any other Punishment, than to be oblig'd to depart at a limited Time. And when English Evidences were to be produc'd against him, he alledg'd, as a Custom obtaining the Force of a Law, *That the Testimony of an Englishman against a Scot, or of a Scot against an Englishman, was not to be admitted.* However, after some further Consultations, this Bishop was committed close Prisoner to the Tower. At this very time *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, and Regent of Scotland, being surpriz'd by the Nobility of the adverse Party, was murder'd by *Bell* and *Caulder*, after he had carefully govern'd the Kingdom about fourteen Months; and was succeeded in the Regency by *John Auerkin*, Earl of *Marre*; who being a Man of a mild Disposition, and harra's'd between the different Counsels of his Friends, and the

He is committed to the Tower.

The Regent of Scotland slain.

the Insults of his Enemies, he ended his Days with Sorrow, after he had govern'd about thirteen Months.

But long before this happen'd, a new Parliament was call'd, which met on the second Day of *April*; and her Majesty with great Splendor and Attendance, open'd it with these Words, which she pronounc'd with a Grace that charm'd the whole Assembly; *My right loving Lords, and you my right faithful and obedient Subjects, We in the Name of God, for his Service, and for the Safety of this State, are now here assembled, to his Glory I hope, and pray that it may be to your Comfort, and the common Quiet of ours, yours, and all ours for ever.* And then the Parliament proceeded to Variety of Business; and among other things it was Enacted, 'That if any one affirm'd, that any other hath a Right to the Crown, than the present Queen; or that the Laws and Statutes cannot limit and determine the Right of the Crown, and the Succession thereof, every such Person shall be guilty of High-Treason. By another Statute it was Enacted, 'That whoever should reconcile any Person to the Church of *Rome*, and those also who should be reconcil'd, should incur the Penalty of High-Treason. These severe Laws were judg'd necessary at this time to quel the turbulent Spirits of some restless Men. Therefore a Bill also was brought in against the Queen of the *Scots*, that if she again offended against the Laws of *England*, she should be judg'd as the Wife of an *English* Peer: But here the Queen interpos'd her Authority, and would not suffer such a peculiar Law to pass. After several other Acts had pass'd, the Parliament was dissolv'd on the twenty ninth Day of *May*. About which time a solemn Tournament was perform'd at *Westminster*; where the chief Challengers were *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles Howard*, Sir *Henry Lee*, and *Christopher Hatton* Esq; who all perform'd valliantly, but the Earl of *Oxford* gain'd the greatest Honour. This was not long after succeeded by the Execution of Doctor *John Story*, who tho' he pretended to be a Foreigner, was convicted and suffer'd for High-Treason.

But in the Beginning of the next Year, was try'd a more considerable Man, *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*; who became a new and sorrowful Spectacle in *Westminster-Hall*, such as had not been seen for eighteen Years. He was arraign'd before *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, constituted Lord High-Steward upon that Occasion, and twenty five other Lords. The Substance of his Indictment was, 'That in the eleventh Year of this Reign he had traiterously consulted to depose the Queen, and to bring in Foreign Forces to invade the Kingdom: That he treated with the Queen of the *Scots* concerning Marriage, contrary to his Promise, and to the Hazard of the Realm: That he sent Money to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, who had rais'd a Rebellion against the Queen: That he implor'd Aids from the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Alva*, for the freeing the Queen of the *Scots*, and restoring the Popish Religion: And lastly, That he had sent Supplies to the Lord *Heris*, and other of the Queen's Enemies in *Scotland*. The Duke yielding to be try'd by his Peers, first *Barham*, Serjeant at Law, then *Gerrard* the Queen's Attorney, and lastly *Bromeley* her Solicitor, enforc'd the Crimes objected against him: To all which the Duke made handsom and colourable Answers; but most of them being mov'd by sufficient Testimony, he occasionally ask'd, *Whether the Subjects of another Prince, in League with the Queen, were to be accounted Enemies?* To which *Cataline* answer'd, *They were; and that the Queen of England might make War with any Duke of France, and yet keep Peace with the French King.* After a long Trial, the Lord High-Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any thing more to alledge for himself; who answer'd, *I rely upon the Equity of the Laws.* After this the Lords withdrawing a while, brought him in guilty of High-Treason; and the Lord High-Steward with a Flood of Tears pronounc'd his Sentence in the usual Form. His Condemnation produc'd a new Conspiracy from *Barney* and *Matther*,

The third Parliament in this Reign.

Acts pass'd.

A. D.
1572.
Reg. 14.

The Trial of the Duke of Norfolk.

He is found guilty of Treason.

ther, who joining with one *Herle*, resolv'd to kill certain of the Counsellors, and set the Duke at Liberty; but *Herle* discovering the Matter, the other two were both executed. As to the Duke, the greatest Favour he begg'd was, *That her Majesty would be kind to his Children and Servants, and that his Debts might be paid.*

The fourth Parliament in this Reign. This Plot, and several other Practices to deliver the Prisoner, occasion'd the Calling of a new Parliament; against which the Queen honour'd *Walter D'Evereux*, Viscount *Hereford*, with the Title of Earl of *Essex*, and *Edward Lord Clinton*, with that of Earl of *Lincoln*; and also summon'd four new Barons to this Parliament, *John Powlet* of *Basing*, *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheney*, and *Henry Norris*. The Parliament met on the eighth Day of *May*, and within six Weeks Time broke up, without a Dissolution, or enacting very much besides the present Security of the Nation. The principal Law pass'd was, 'That whoever should endeavour to free any Person imprison'd by the Queen's Commandment, for Treason, or Suspicion of Treason, before his Indictment, should forfeit his Estate during Life, and be imprison'd during the Queen's Pleasure; if indicted, he should incur the Pains of Death; and if condemn'd, the Penalty of High-Treason. As the Severity of this Law was only necessary for the Times, so the Parliament thought fit to make it Temporary. But so many Designs of this Nature were set on foot, as hasten'd the unfortunate Duke's Execution; which however was deferr'd for about four Months. For before that Time, neither the Commons in Parliament, the Counsellors at Court, nor the Importunity of Preachers, by suggesting of the Greatness of the present Danger, could overcome the Queen's Clemency.

The Duke of Norfolk brought to the Scaffold

But on the second of *June*, the great Duke was brought to a Scaffold erected on Tower-Hill, accompany'd by *Nowell* Dean of *St. Paul's*; and after Silence obtain'd, he thus deliver'd himself to the Multitude, *It is no new Thing for Men to suffer Death in this Place; tho' since the Beginning of our most excellent Queen's Reign, I am the First, and God grant I may be the Last:* To which the People most affectionately cry'd *Amen!* He then acknowledg'd, 'That he was justly condemn'd by his Peers; and acknowledg'd he had treated with the Queen of the *Scots* in Matters of great Consequence, contrary to his Sovereign's Knowledge, and after Pardon obtain'd, and Promises given, he had repeated the same Crime; for which he was a humble Penitent. He clear'd himself of some Imputations, and declar'd, That he had not been addicted to Popery, since his first Notions of Religion; tho' he had some of that Profession among his Servants and Familiars: And if he had offended God, the Church, or the Protestants, he begg'd that all would forgive him. Then after the Recital of one or two Psalms, he cry'd out, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit!* After which tenderly embracing Sir *Henry Leigh*, he whisper'd something to him and Dean *Nowell*, who turning to the People, said, *The Duke desires you all to pray to God for his Mercy to him;* and when one reach'd him a Handkerchief to cover his Eyes, he refus'd it, courageously saying, *I fear not Death.* So devoutly falling upon his Knees, and fixing his Mind upon Heaven, he laid his Head upon the Block, which at one Stroke was sever'd from his Body, and by the Executioner shown as a melancholy Sight to the weeping Spectators; whose Sorrows were augmented by the Consideration of his noble Presence and Greatness, his Affability and Munificence; and by the Remembrance that his Father, at the same Place met with the same Fate twenty five Years before, only for Quartering the Arms of *Edward the Confessor* with his own. But as the Crimes of his Father and Grandfather were greater, than those for which they suffer'd; it is no Wonder if Providence extended the Punishment further than their Persons.

He is beheaded.

Not long after, *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had formerly rebell'd, and fled into *Scotland*, was for a Sum of Money deliver'd by the Earl of *Morton* to the Lord *Hunsdon*, Governor of *Berwick*; and after that was be-

This being settled at home, the Queen gave leave to Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* to undertake an Expedition into *Spain* at their own private Charges; who being allow'd some Ships of War, they took along with them *Anthony* the Bastard, who laid Claim to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, with eleven thousand Soldiers, and fourteen hundred Seamen. On the fifth Day of *April* they set Sail from *Plimouth*, and arriv'd at the *Groyne* in *Galicia*; where with singular Valour they first took the lower Town, and afterwards the higher: And from thence sailing towards *Portugal*, they met the brave Earl of *Essex*, who thirsting after Glory, had put to Sea without the Queen's Knowledge. After two Days they arriv'd at *Penycha* a Town of *Portugal*, which they took, and left the Castle to Don *Antonio*; and from thence they march'd by Land towards *Lisbon*, sixty Miles distant. The Foot Companies led by *Norris*, whom *Drake* promis'd to follow with the Fleet, being arriv'd at the West Suburbs of *Lisbon*, they found no People but a few poor disarm'd *Portuguese*, who cry'd out *God save King Antonio*! The Day following the *Spaniards* made a Sally, in which Encounter, *Brett*, *Carsey* and *Carre*, stout Commanders, and some common Soldiers were slain; yet the Earl of *Essex* bravely drove the *Spaniards* to the very Gates of the City. And now having tarry'd two Days, without being assisted by any Revolt in the *Portuguese*, according to *Antonio's* Assurance, and finding fresh Supplies come into the Town, their own Army sickly, Provisions and Powder failing, and what was most material, *Drake* not bringing up the great Ordnance; they departed from the Suburbs of *Lisbon* towards *Cascaes*, a little Town at the Mouth of the River *Tago*, which Town was in the mean Time taken by *Drake*, who excus'd his not coming to *Lisbon*, by Reason of the Flats he had to pass, and the Castle of *St. Julian*, fortify'd with fifty Pieces of great Cannon. Near this Place they found sixty Vessels belonging to the Hanse Towns of *Germany*, laden with Corn and all manner of Ammunition, which they took as lawful Prize towards their Charges; in regard the Queen had forbidden those Towns to carry Provisions or Ammunition to the *Spaniard*. From hence they set sail to *Vigo*, a Place famous for a glorious Expedition in this Age, which they fir'd; and having wasted all the Country, they return'd into *England* with a hundred and fifty Pieces of great Cannon, and a very rich Booty, of which some Part was divided among the Seamen. This private Expedition prov'd a great Mortification to the *Spaniards*, and rais'd the Reputation of the *English* Valour; but it cost the Lives of about six thousand Soldiers and Seamen, not from the Hands of the Enemy, but by their eating of strange Fruits, and from the Distempers of the Climate.

It now nearly concern'd the Good of *England* to look into the Affairs and State of *France*; for while these Things were transacted between *Spain* and *England*, the Popish Princes of *France*, under Pretext of defending the Catholick Religion, enter'd into a famous Combination, which they call'd *The Holy League*: The Design of which was, To root out all Protestants, and to divert the Right of Succession to the Crown of *France*; for which they bound themselves by Oath, to suffer none but a Catholick to be King of *France*; which was directly to exclude the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, if the present King dy'd without Issue. The Head of this remarkable League was the Duke of *Guise*, who having given some Defeats to the *German* Forces that came into *France* in Relief of the Protestants, was unmeasurably extoll'd by the Clergy and others; and arriv'd to such a Height of Reputation, that entering into *Paris*, he forc'd the King to leave the City, and oblig'd him in an Assembly at *Blois* to make him great Master of the *French* Cavalry, and to consent by Edict to exterminate the Protestants. So that the King dreading his Greatness, at length us'd such Means as he procur'd him to be assassinated in the very Court; and shortly after his Brother the Cardinal to be strangled. Upon which so vast a Confusion follow'd, that the People broke through all Obedi-

The French King murder'd.
 ence to Magistrates, and pillag'd the Palace Royal in *Paris*. The Confederates immediately made a new Seal, usurp'd the Regal Authority, seiz'd the strongest Places, intercepted the King's Revenues, call'd in *Spanish* Soldiers, and denounc'd War against their King. Infomuch that the King was compell'd to fly to the Protestants, whom he had also disoblig'd; upon which the Leaguers, by a detestable Villany, procur'd him to be murder'd by the Hands of *James Clement* a Monk. The King at his Death declar'd the King of *Navarre* his lawful Successor; but the Confederates were for excluding him as a Heretic, yet could not well agree upon another Person: Some would have the Duke of *Lorraine*, some the Duke of *Savoy*, others the Duke of *Guise's* Brother, and others the King of *Spain*; but the greatest Part gave their Votes for the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was one Degree nearer ally'd to the slain King, than his Nephew the King of *Navarre*. He therefore was proclaim'd King of *France*, by the Name of *Charles* the Tenth: But he being a Priest, the King of *Navarre* was proclaim'd King of *France*, by the Name of *Henry* the Fourth, and continu'd at *Dieppe* in *Normandy*, in no small Danger of his Adversaries.

His Successor Henry IV. implores Aid of Queen Elizabeth.

The Successor of it.
 The King of *Navarre* being thus rais'd in Dignity, but weak in Supports, implor'd Assistance of the generous Queen of *England*, and offer'd to enter into a League Offensive and Defensive. Upon which, out of Respect to a Protestant King, renown'd for his Martial Acts, the Queen immediately sent him twenty two thousand Pounds of *English* Mony in Gold, such a Sum of Gold Coin as he declar'd he had never seen at once; and withal supply'd him with four thousand Soldiers, under the Command of the Valiant *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*; appointing for Colonels, Sir *Thomas Wilford* Marshal of the Field, Sir *John Bourghs*, Sir *William Drury*, and Sir *Thomas Baskeville*, with a Month's Pay advanc'd. Hereupon the Confederates, whom the King beyond Expectation had just defeated at *Argues*, began to sink and give Way, and upon the Arrival of the *English* to vanish out of Sight. With this Addition of Forces, the new rais'd King march'd to *Paris*; and being ready to enter the City, he caus'd a Retreat to be sounded, being unwilling to have that Capital City plunder'd, which he hop'd would shortly be his own. After that by the good Service of the *English*, he recover'd *Mans*, *Alençon*, *Falaise*, *Luxon*, and *Honfleur*; and being fatigu'd with all the Inconveniences of a Winter Expedition, and five hundred Miles March, the *English* were dismiss'd, and sent home with grateful Acknowledgments.

The King of Scotland marries Anne of Denmark.

As Queen *Elizabeth* desir'd to establish *Navarre* in the Kingdom of *France*, so she also desir'd to marry his Sister the Lady *Catharine* to the King of *Scotland*; but finding that that King had before plac'd his Affections upon *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, she desisted and approv'd of his Choice. Accordingly they were marry'd by Proxy in the Month of *August*; but the Lady failing for *Scotland*, by prodigious Storms was driven back to *Norway*, and so long detain'd, that the King, first advising with Queen *Elizabeth*, who sent him noble Presents towards the Celebration of the Marriage, he sail'd over into *Norway* in an extream cold Season, and there consummating the Marriage at twenty three Years of Age, he continu'd in those Parts till the following Year and Month of *May*. Many were of Opinion that these extraordinary Storms were rais'd by Magick and Witchcraft; which Belief was confirm'd by the Confession of some impious Persons, reputed Magicians, who declar'd they did it to hinder the Queen from Landing in *Scotland*, and that *Bothwell* had consulted with them about the King's Death. For which he was thrown into Prison, and escaping in a short Time, he occasion'd new Commotions in *Scotland*.

The Deaths of several Persons.

In this Year several Noble Personages departed this Life; as *Frances* Countess of *Suffex* Sister to Sir *Henry Sidney*; Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor and Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer; *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, so numerous

merous in his Progeny, that he could reckon more Children of both Sexes, than all the Earls in *England*: Also *John* Lord *Sturton*, *Henry* Lord *Compton*, and the Lord *Paget* and *Brussels*. The two first of these are worthily remember'd as the pious Founders of two Colleges, *Sidney* and *Emanuel*; in the University of *Cambridge*, call'd the two Protestant Foundations.

The wise Queen now spent much of her Time in fortifying of Places, in managing her Treasure to the best Advantage, and sending Relief to her distressed Neighbours; for which she expended large Sums both in *France* and the *Netherlands*. Infomuch that many admir'd how her Revenues could serve so many great Ends; since she was clear of all Debts, and was able to defend her self and her Allies without any Foreign Helps, which none of her neighbouring Kings could do. But in reality she was frugal with true Wisdom and Understanding; and never spar'd when there was a just Occasion, either for the Maintenance of her Royal State, the Defence of her Kingdom, or the Relief of her Neighbours. She took particular Care of her standing Revenues, in which *Burleigh* her Treasurer was an admirable Manager; yet this Year she exceeded him and the rest of her great Men; and at the Information of a subtle ordinary Man, call'd *Caermarden*, she rais'd Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Farmer of some Customs, from fourteen to forty two thousand Pounds, and then to fifty thousand Pounds a Year. And when *Burleigh*, *Leicester* and *Walsingham* first blam'd her Majesty for hark'ning to *Caermarden*, an inconsiderable Informer, she wisely answer'd, *It was the Duty of a Prince to carry an equal Hand between the Highest and Lowest; That such 'as rashly accus'd Magistrates and Counsellors, without being able to prove their Charge, were to be punish'd; but those who accus'd them justly, were to be heard and encourag'd.*

Her Glory was now spread abroad, and her Reputation extended to remote Countries; having this Year obtain'd of the *Grand-Signior* Rest and Quiet for the Vaivod of *Moldavia*, who had been miserably harra's'd by the *Turks*, and a Peace for the *Polonians*, who were threaten'd by them with a dangerous War; which was afterwards most gratefully acknowleg'd by them. In the mean Time to confirm Amity with the King of *Scotland*, she sent the new Earl of *Worcester* to congratulate his Marriage and safe Return out of *Denmark*, and to signifie to him, That he, together with the *French* King, were chosen into the Society of the Order of the *Garter*; and withal to urge him timely to suppress the Popish Faction, which grew strong in *Scotland*. King *James* receiv'd him very graciously, and to maintain the Amity with *England*, and declare his great Affection to the publick Peace, he sent Colonel *Stuart* into *Germany*, that Care might be taken with the King of *Denmark* and the Ambassadors of the Princes there met, for renewing the Peace between *England*, *Spain* and *France*. As to *France*, that Country was now violently torn by a Civil War, rais'd by the Leaguers, of which Queen *Elizabeth* could not be an unconcern'd Spectator, but perform'd all the Parts of a wise Prince and a pious Christian; tho' she was advis'd by many not to assist the new King of *France*. When some suggested to her, That while the Leaguers and the *Spaniards* were endeavouring to share *France* between them, and cantonize it into several Principalities, she might also seize upon the Maritime Countries of *Picardy* and *Normandy*, alledging what *Charles* of *Burgundy* was wont to say, *That the Neighbouring Nations would be happy when France should be subject to twenty petty Kings*; She heard it with Dislike, and rejected it with Indignation, saying, *The last Day of the Kingdom of France, when ever it comes will certainly be the Eve of the Destruction of England.*

In this Year dy'd several great Men, as *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Thomas Randolph*, who had been employ'd in many Embassies, Sir *James Crofts* Comptrollor of the Queen's Household, and the Lord *Wentworth*, the last *English* Governor of *Calais*. But the most remarkable Man was Sir *Francis Walsingham*, principal Secretary of State,

A. D.

1590.

Reg. 32.

The Queen's
Care of her
Revenues.

The Queen's
Policy.

Walsingham's
Death and
Character.

The French
King mur-
ther'd.

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The Success
of it.

As Queen *Elizabeth* desir'd to establish *Navarre* in the Kingdom of *France*, so she also desir'd to marry his Sister the Lady *Catharine* to the King of *Scotland*; but finding that that King had before plac'd his Affections upon *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, she desisted and approv'd of his Choice. Accordingly they were marry'd by Proxy in the Month of *August*; but the Lady failing for *Scotland*, by prodigious Storms was driven back to *Norway*, and so long detain'd, that the King, first advising with Queen *Elizabeth*, who sent him noble Presents towards the Celebration of the Marriage, he sail'd over into *Norway* in an extream cold Season, and there consummating the Marriage at twenty three Years of Age, he continu'd in those Parts till the following Year and Month of *May*. Many were of Opinion that these extraordinary Storms were rais'd by Magick and Witchcraft; which Belief was confirm'd by the Confession of some impious Persons, reputed Magicians, who declar'd they did it to hinder the Queen from Landing in *Scotland*, and that *Bothwell* had consulted with them about the King's Death. For which he was thrown into Prison, and escaping in a short Time, he occasion'd new Commotions in *Scotland*.

The King of
Scotland mar-
ries Anne of
Denmark.

The Deaths of
several Per-
sons.

In this Year several Noble Personages departed this Life; as *Frances* Countess of *Suffex* Sister to Sir *Henry Sidney*; Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor and Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer; *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, so numerous

merous in his Progeny, that he could reckon more Children of both Sexes, than all the Earls in *England*: Also *John Lord Sturton*, *Henry Lord Compton*, and the Lord *Paget* and *Brussels*. The two first of these are worthily remember'd as the pious Founders of two Colleges, *Sidney* and *Emanuel*; in the University of *Cambridge*, call'd the two Protestant Foundations.

The wise Queen now spent much of her Time in fortifying of Places, in managing her Treasure to the best Advantage, and sending Relief to her distressed Neighbours; for which she expended large Sums both in *France* and the *Netherlands*. Infomuch that many admir'd how her Revenues could serve so many great Ends; since she was clear of all Debts, and was able to defend her self and her Allies without any Foreign Helps, which none of her neighbouring Kings could do. But in reality she was frugal with true Wisdom and Understanding; and never spar'd when there was a just Occasion, either for the Maintenance of her Royal State, the Defence of her Kingdom, or the Relief of her Neighbours. She took particular Care of her standing Revenues, in which *Burleigh* her Treasurer was an admirable Manager; yet this Year she exceeded him and the rest of her great Men; and at the Information of a subtle ordinary Man, call'd *Caermarden*, she rais'd Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Farmer of some Customs, from fourteen to forty two thousand Pounds, and then to fifty thousand Pounds a Year. And when *Burleigh*, *Leicester* and *Walsingham* first blam'd her Majesty for hark'ning to *Caermarden*, an inconsiderable Informer, she wisely answer'd, *It was the Duty of a Prince to carry an equal Hand between the Highest and Lowest; That such 'as rashly accus'd Magistrates and Counsellors, without being able to prove their Charge, were to be punish'd; but those who accus'd them justly, were to be heard and encourag'd.*

Her Glory was now spread abroad, and her Reputation extended to remote Countries; having this Year obtain'd of the *Grand-Signior* Rest and Quiet for the Vaivod of *Moldavia*, who had been miserably harra's'd by the *Turks*, and a Peace for the *Polonians*, who were threaten'd by them with a dangerous War; which was afterwards most gratefully acknowleg'd by them. In the mean Time to confirm Amity with the King of *Scotland*, she sent the new Earl of *Worcester* to congratulate his Marriage and safe Return out of *Denmark*, and to signifie to him, That he, together with the *French* King, were chosen into the Society of the Order of the *Garter*; and withal to urge him timely to suppress the Popish Faction, which grew strong in *Scotland*. King *James* receiv'd him very graciously, and to maintain the Amity with *England*, and declare his great Affection to the publick Peace, he sent Colonel *Stuart* into *Germany*, that Care might be taken with the King of *Denmark* and the Ambassadors of the Princes there met, for renewing the Peace between *England*, *Spain* and *France*. As to *France*, that Country was now violently torn by a Civil War, rais'd by the Leaguers, of which Queen *Elizabeth* could not be an unconcern'd Spectator, but perform'd all the Parts of a wise Prince and a pious Christian; tho' she was advis'd by many not to assist the new King of *France*. When some suggested to her, That while the Leaguers and the *Spaniards* were endeavouring to share *France* between them, and cantonize it into several Principalities, she might also seize upon the Maritime Countries of *Picardy* and *Normandy*, alledging what *Charles* of *Burgundy* was wont to say, *That the Neighbouring Nations would be happy when France should be subject to twenty petty Kings*; She heard it with Dislike, and rejected it with Indignation, saying, *The last Day of the Kingdom of France, when ever it comes will certainly be the Eve of the Destruction of England.*

In this Year dy'd several great Men, as *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Thomas Randolph*, who had been employ'd in many Embassies, Sir *James Crofts* Comptrollor of the Queen's Household, and the Lord *Wentworth*, the last *English* Governor of *Calais*. But the most remarkable Man was Sir *Francis Walsingham*, principal Secretary of State,

A. D.

1590.

Reg. 32.

The Queen's
Care of her
Revenues.The Queen's
Policy.Walsingham's
Death and
Character.

State, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and of the Order of the Garter; one of the most refin'd Politicians, and penetrating Statesmen, that ever that Age produc'd. He had an admirable Talent both in discovering and managing the secret Reccesses of Human Nature; and had his Spies in most Courts in Christendom, and allow'd them a liberal Maintenance; for his great Maxim was, *Knowledge is never too dear*. Accordingly he spent his whole Time and Faculties in the Service of the Queen and Publick; so that the Queen was heard to say, *That in Diligence and Sagacity he exceeded her Expectation*. This great Man after all his mighty Services to the Publick, gave a remarkable Proof at his Death, how far he preferr'd that to his own Interest; for he dy'd so poor that his Friends were oblig'd to bury him privately in the Night, lest his Body should be arrested for Debt. He left only one Daughter, famous for having three Husbands of the greatest Note; first Sir *Philip Sidney*, secondly *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and lastly the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, who was afterwards made Earl of *St. Albans*.

A. D. 1591. Reg. 33. 34. In the following Year the City of *London* was much disturb'd by the prodigious Behaviour of one *Hacket*, born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*, a mean Person of no Learning, who suddenly took upon him a Shew of wonderful Sanctity, hearing Sermons, getting Scriptures by heart, and counterfeiting Revelations from God, and extraordinary Calls. By which Means he was highly extoll'd by certain zealous Ministers of the *Geneva* Discipline, especially by two call'd *Coppinger* and *Arthington*; and they accounted him as sent from Heaven, and a greater Prophet than *Moses* or *John Baptist*; and finally that he was Christ himself, come with a Fan in his Hand to judge the World. This they proclaim'd in *Cheapside*, making report that *Hacket* participated of Christ's glorify'd Body, by his special Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Gospel over *Europe*, and settle a true Discipline in the Church of *England*; and that they themselves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, the other of Judgment, with many such incredible Blasphemies. Whereupon *Hacket* was apprehended and arraign'd, and at last hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, continuing at his very Death in his blasphemous Assertions, to the great Horror and Amazement of the Spectators. *Coppinger* a while after starv'd himself to Death in Prison; *Arthington* repented, and made his Recantation in a publick Writing. Besides these extravagant Managers, others also at this Time oppos'd the establish'd Government of the Church of *England*, exclaiming against the Function and Calling of Bishops; with whom join'd some common Lawyers, affirming that the Queen could not depute, nor these Men exercise such Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. But the Queen conceiving that she was shot at through the Sides of the Prelates, suppress'd them as much as possible, and strictly maintain'd the former Establishment.

And now Enmity daily increasing between *Spain* and *England*, two Proclamations were set forth; one prohibiting upon pain of High-Treason, to carry Provisions or Ammunition into any of the King of *Spain's* Dominions: Another forbidding all Persons to entertain any in their Houses, 'till Enquiry be made what they were; lest they should entertain Popish Priests, who became very numerous in *England*, by reason the King of *Spain* had lately founded a Seminary at *Valadolid* for the *English*. About this Time, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, with six of the Queen's Ships, having waited at the *Azores* six whole Months, for the Arrival of the *Spanish* Fleet from *America*, was at last attack'd by *Alphonso Bassano*, with fifty three Ships, sent for the Convoy of the said Fleet; where *Richard Greenville*, Vice-Admiral, being in the *Revenge*, and separated from his Company, was so hemm'd in by the *Spanish* Ships, and so batter'd with large Shot, that most of his Men being slain, his Main-Mast cut off, himself much wounded in the Head, he commanded to sink the Ship, that it might not fall into the *Spaniards* Hands; but this being countermanded by most Votes, it was agreed to yield it to the *Spaniards*, upon Condition that the Men

Hacket's Blasphemy and Execution.

Greenville's Valour at Sea.

Men should be set at Liberty. *Greenvile* himself was carry'd to the *Spanish* Admiral, where within two Days he dy'd, not without the Commendations of his Enemies. Thus the great Ship call'd the *Revenge* was yielded, but had so many Leaks in the Keel, that soon after it was cast away in a Storm: And the Loss of this one Ship was soon made good upon the *Spaniards*, by taking many of theirs.

But the Queen's greatest Care was now for the State of *France*, and particularly that *Bretaign* should not fall into the *Spaniards* Hands; wherefore by *Edmund York* she promis'd the *French* King to send him new Forces to preserve that Province, if he would name some Towns, as Places of Retreat and Safety. Hereupon he nam'd *Cherbourg*, *Granvile* or *Brest*, as most convenient; and it was agreed that three thousand *English* should be sent into *Bretaign* and *Picardy*: But in the mean Time *Henry Palmer* was sent to Sea with a Squadron, and seiz'd on thirteen *Spanish* Ships, as they were returning from *New France*. And now *Sir Roger Williams*, with a Company of six hundred Soldiers, pass'd over to *Dieppe* in *Normandy*; and shortly after *Sir John Norris*, with the rest of the Forces, hasten'd into *Bretaign*. *Sir Roger Williams* with his own six hundred Men, and the Assistance of *Charter* Governor of *Dieppe*, bravely defeated the Leaguers, who had block'd up the Passages; whose Valour was highly applauded by the *French* King in his Letters to *Queen Elizabeth*. Whereupon increasing in Courage, and neglecting his Charge at *Dieppe*, he accompany'd the King to the very Suburbs of *Paris*, where in Honour of his Nation, he sent a Challenge to the *Spaniards*, to ingage two hundred Pike-men and a hundred Musketeers of the *English*, against the same Number of *Spaniards*, in the open Field.

Shortly after the *French* King acquainted *Queen Elizabeth*, that he design'd to take in *Roan* or *Havre-de-Grace*, before the Prince of *Parma* should come into *France*, and thereupon requested her to send four thousand *English* into *Normandy*, which upon certain wise Conditions she granted; and sent them under the Command of the brave Earl of *Essex*, accompany'd by *Thomas Leighton* and *Sir William Killebrew*, as Counsellors and Assistants. When the Earl arriv'd in *France*, he found that the King was at *Noyon*, and in *Normandy* no Preparation made for the War, which much perplex'd him; but soon after *Sir Roger Williams* came to him from the King, requesting him to go to *Noyon*, there to consult about managing the War. The Earl made a tedious Journey to that Place, and at his Arrival the King inform'd him, That of Necessity he must go himself into *Champaign*; but promis'd to send Marshal *Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpensier* immediately to him, to lay Siege to *Roan*. Hereupon the Earl return'd to his Camp, expecting their Arrival, but neither of them came, which made the Earl more uneasie than ever; so that being weary of an unactive Life, and inflam'd with Courage, he himself made an Approach to *Roan*, where his Brother *Walter Devereux* was unfortunately slain. Indeed the *French* King's Affairs were at this Time upon such uncertain Terms, that before he could act what he had resolv'd, something still interven'd that diverted him: For which by his Letters he excus'd himself to *Queen Elizabeth*; and by the Mediation of the Earl, and *Mornay Lord du Plessie*, who came into *England*, he obtain'd new Supplies, and then invested *Roan*. After a tedious Winter's Siege, the Earl of *Essex* challeng'd Monsieur *Villars* the Governor to a single Combate; but being refus'd, and finding himself ill supported, he return'd into *England*, being call'd home by the Queen, whose Favour, by his long Absence, began to be much in Danger. And now the *French* King, hearing that the Prince of *Parma* was coming into *France*, was once again compell'd to fly to the Queen of *England* for Succour, to whom upon certain Conditions she granted an Army of four thousand Men, and some great Guns, with which *Sir John Norris* was sent into *France*; which yet was not employ'd by the *French* King according to Agreement, to the great Displeasure

The Affairs of France.

The Earl of Essex sent thither.

A. D. 1592. Reg. 34. 35.

The Prince of Parma's Death. fure of the Queen. The Prince of *Parma's* coming into *France* was prevented by his Death, after he had govern'd the *Spanish Netherlands* fourteen Years; a Prince of many excellent Qualifications, and whom Queen *Elizabeth* never mention'd but with Honour.

Perrot's Trial. To return to *England*; at this Time Sir *John Perrot*, who had been Deputy of *Ireland*, and done great Service in that Country, was yet by the Malice of his Adversaries, of whom *Hatton* was one, call'd in Question before some of the Lords and Judges: His Accusations were, First, That he had spoken opprobrious Words against the Queen, saying, *She was Illegitimate and Cowardly*: Secondly, That he had harbour'd notorious Traitors and Popish Priests: Thirdly, That he had held Correspondence with the Prince of *Parma*, and the Queen's Enemies. To the first of which he confess'd, That in his Passion he had spoken unadvisedly of the Queen, for which he was infinitely sorry; but deny'd all the rest; and all Men knew he was never Popishly affected. His Accusers were *Philip Williams*, some time his Secretary, *O-Roghan* an Irish marry'd Priest, whose Life he had sav'd, and one *Walton*, a Man of no Worth or Reputation. Yet his Crimes being urg'd against him by *Popham* and other Lawyers, 'till almost Midnight, he was at last condemn'd of High-Treason; and Sentence was after twenty Days pronounc'd at the Instance of his Adversaries. Upon which Day *Burleigh* is said to have wept for the Gentleman's hard Fortune, and sighing, said, *The more unjust is Hatred, it is so much the more cruel.* But *Perrot* dy'd a natural Death in the Tower, when he had some Hopes given him of his Life, the Queen's Displeasure being appeas'd. For at this Time she was often heard to commend that Rescript of some of the *Roman Emperors*; *When any Man speaks Ill of the Emperor, if it proceeds from foolish Levity, it is to be condemn'd; if from Madness, to be pity'd; if from Injury and Malice, to be pardon'd.* Thus did a deserving and noble Gentleman procure his own Ruin by the unbridled Lavishness of his Tongue; which commonly leaves a deep and dangerous Impression in the Minds of Princes.

Raleigh's Expedition. And now the wise Queen, considering that the King of *Spain's* chief Strength was in his Gold of *America*, sent out the valiant Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a Fleet of fifteen Ships of War to intercept the *Spanish Flota*; Sir *Walter* passing by a Promontory of *Spain*, receiv'd certain Intelligence, that the *Spanish Flota* was not to come out from *America* this Year. Whereupon he divided his Navy into four Parts; one of which he committed to Sir *John Borroughs*, and another to Sir *Martin Forbisher*. Having dispos'd themselves for other Opportunities, a mighty *Spanish Carack* came in View, call'd *The Mother of God*, which was a hundred and sixty five Foot in length from the Stem to the Stern, and seven Decks in Height, laden with rich Merchandize, and with six hundred Men on Board. This bulky Vessel they took, and in it to the Value of a hundred and fifty thousand Pounds Sterling, besides the great Quantities which the Commanders and Seamen imbezell'd. In that matter, no Orders from the Government nor Oaths could restrain them, boldly saying, *They had rather trust their Souls to a merciful God by Perjury, than their Fortunes to the Hands of unmerciful Men.*

The Queen goes to Oxford. This Year the Queen in her Summer Progress, pass'd through the University of *Oxford*, and stay'd there several Days; where she was agreeably entertain'd with eloquent Orations, Plays and learned Disputations, and with a splendid Treat by the Lord *Buckhurst* Chancellor of the University. At her Departure she courteously took her leave of them in a *Latin* Speech, professing, That she preferr'd the Cordial Respects of that learned Body to all their Entertainments, tho' they were highly pleasing to her; for which she return'd them all hearty Thanks, made a short Prayer, and left some good Advice with them. The Prayer was, *That as she desir'd nothing more earnestly, than the Safety, Honour and Happiness of the whole Kingdom; so she pray'd that the University, one of the great Lights of it, might flourish, and daily rise to a greater Lustre.* Her Advice

Advice was, *That they would first serve God, not after the curious and novel Fashions of some, but according to the Laws of God and the Land; that they would not run before the Laws, but follow them; not dispute the Goodness, but observe the Authority of them, and obey their Superiors, and embrace each other in Brotherly Piety and Unanimity.*

In the following Year, upon the nineteenth Day of February, a new Parliament met at *Westminster*, and enacted several Laws, for Restraining of Schismatics and Popish Recusants; concerning the Lands and Possessions of Monasteries invested in King *Henry* the Eighth; for relieving of distressed Soldiers and Seamen, and concerning divers other Matters. And when they had seriously consider'd how obstinately the Enemies were resolv'd upon the Destruction of *England*, by suppressing its Allies in *France*, *Scotland* and the *Netherlands*, and seizing the most convenient Places for the Invading the Kingdom, they thought it necessary to grant the Queen sufficient Supplies. Therefore, 'Acknowledging and extolling the great and Heroick Magnanimity of their Queen; a Woman, together with her provident Care, and singular Goodness towards her Subjects, who had in a War carry'd on with such happy Success against a rich and powerful Nation, expended more Money out of her own Treasury, than any of her Predecessors, not only in defending her own Kingdom, but also in justly relieving her Confederates; they with most thankful and ready Hearts granted two entire Subsidies from the Clergy, and three from the Laity, with six Fifteenths and Tenths. On the last Day of the Session, her Majesty after a most graceful and charming Manner, made an eloquent Speech to both Houses, in which she declar'd, *That tho' this Kingdom had been blest with many noble and victorious Princes, to whom in Wisdom and Fortitude she would not compare her self; yet in Love, Care, Sincerity and Justice, she would compare her self to any that ever did or shall sit upon the Throne.* Then to show that she wanted not Courage, having been inform'd, that upon the *Spanish* Invasion some upon the Sea-Coasts forsook their Towns, and left the Country naked, she swore by the living God, *If she knew those Persons, or any that would do the same again, she would make them know and feel what it was to be fearful in so urgent a Cause.* Then thanking them for their Bounty and Loyalty, and passing fourteen publick Bills, she dissolv'd the Parliament on the tenth Day of April.

The Queen was ever careful of the Happiness of her own Subjects at home, and her Reputation abroad; and at this Time, by reason of her Correspondence with the *Turk*, to preserve a free Trade in those Parts, it was maliciously reported by some, that she had excited the *Turk* to a War against the Christians. This caus'd her to write to the Emperor, shewing him the Falseness of this Report, in which she gave him full Satisfaction. But her greatest Concern at this Time was for the King of *France*, of whom she heard a Report, that he had already, or would certainly embrace the *Romish* Religion. Upon which discouraging News she immediately sent over *Thomas Wilks* into *France*, with Reasons to divert him from it, if it were not already too late. But before his Arrival, the King had actually and openly profess'd the *Romish* Religion in the Church of *St. Denis* in *Paris*; of which Change he declar'd the Causes and Reasons to him at large, and laid before him the Necessity of it, unless he would suffer himself to be entirely driven out of his Kingdom. In the mean Time *Morlante* inform'd the Queen of the same, and with the most specious Expressions offer'd her all Kindness in Behalf of his Master. She being extremely disquieted for one she had so great an Honour, snatch'd up her Pen, and wrote thus to him, *Alas! what deep Sorrow, what vehement Grief, what Sighs have seiz'd my Heart, for the News that Morlante brought? Was it possible that any secular Consideration could move you to lay aside the Fear of God? Can any Happiness succeed such a Fact? Or could you think that he, who has hitherto with his Right Hand supported and preserv'd you, would now abandon you?*

A. D.

1593.

Reg. 35.

The Eighth
Parliament in
this Reign.The Queen's
Speech.The French
King changes
his Religion.The Queen's
Letter to the
French King.

you ? It is a dangerous Expedient to do Evil that Good may come of it. In the mean Time I will pray for you, and beg of God, that the Hands of Esau may not lose you the Blessing of Jacob. To allay this Grief she us'd the Holy Scriptures, the Writings of the Fathers, and even the Books of Philosophers ; translating about that Time for an Amusement, *Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, into elegant *English*. As to the *French King* he acknowledg'd himself oblig'd to her both for the Safety of his Person and Royal Dignity, and promis'd to take the Protestants into his special Care and Protection.

A Plague.

Still the Queen took care of her People against the *Spaniards*, and strengthen'd the Isle of *Silly* with a new Fort, as also the Isles of *Garnsey* and *Jersey*, and other Places with great Charge, and much Willingness, tho' the Times were somewhat sad and discouraging. For all this Year *London* was grievously afflicted with the Pestilence ; of which almost eighteen thousand Persons dy'd : *Bartholomew Fair* was not kept, and *Michaelmas-Term* was held at *St. Albans*, twenty Miles from *London*. At which Town one *Richard Hasket* was condemn'd and executed for Treason ; who being privately sent by the *English Fugitives*, persuaded *Ferdinand Earl of Derby* to assume the Title to the Crown, deriving his Right and Claim from his Great-Grand-Mother *Mary*, Daughter to King *Henry the seventh*, and made him large Promises of Men and Money from the *Spaniard* ; likewise threatening the Earl with sudden and assur'd Destruction, if he did not join in the Proposal, and conceal it. But the Earl, fearing lest some Snare was laid for him, impeach'd *Hasket* ; who by his own voluntary Confession acknowledg'd his Crime at the Bar, detesting and cursing those who had given him the Counsel. However his Threatnings were too prophetically verify'd, for the Earl dy'd about four Months after, in a most deplorable Manner, with all the Infernal Appearances of Magick and Poison.

A. D.

1594.

Reg. ³⁶/₃₇.

A new Design of the Papists.

The mutual Love and Amity between the Queen of *England* and King of *Scotland*, the immovable Constancy of the latter in Matters of Religion, which could not be overcome by all the Intreaties, Promises and Arts of the Papists, and the granting of Supream Authority to the King by the Estates of *Scotland*, did all so damp the Hopes of restoring the *Popish Religion* in *Scotland* and *England*, that some in *England*, who had formerly been great Asserters of King *James's* Title, began to think of substituting some *English Papist* into the Succession. When they could not agree upon a proper Person of their own Religion, they cast their Eyes upon the Earl of *Effex*, who always appear'd a very moderate Man : And him they pretended to have some Right to the Crown, by Descent from *Thomas of Woodstock*, Son to King *Edward the Third*. But the *English Fugitives* were all for the *Infanta of Spain* ; and desiring to set the King of *Scotland* and the Earl of *Effex* at Variance, they publish'd a Book, dedicated to *Effex*, under the Name of *Doleman*, but was written by *Doleman's* great Adversary *Parsons* the Jesuit, Cardinal *Allen*, and *Francis Englefield*. The Scope of which Book was, to exclude from the Succession all Persons, tho' never so near ally'd to the Crown, that were not *Roman Catholics* ; contending further for the Right of *Isabella Infanta of Spain*, as being descended from *Constance*, Daughter of *William the Conqueror* ; from *Eleanor* eldest Daughter to *Henry the Second*, marry'd to *Alphonso* the Ninth King of *Castile* ; and from *Beatrix*, Daughter to King *Henry the Third* : Titles obsolete, mistaken, and exceeding the Bounds of Heraldry to discuss. But while these Fugitives were finding an Heir in *Spain*, God sent a Son to King *James* in *Scotland* on the nineteenth of *February* ; who was christen'd by the Name of *Henry*, and Queen *Elizabeth* her self was his God-Mother, who sent over the Earl of *Suffex* for her Deputy.

As some study'd by their Pens to advance the *Infanta of Spain* to the Crown of *England*, so others of their Religion were making the same Use of their

Swords,

Swords, sending certain Assassins to murder Queen *Elizabeth*, while some *Spaniards* attempted to poison her. The *Spaniards* not daring to trust the *English* in a Matter of that Consequence, apply'd themselves to *Roderick Lopez* a *Jew*, and Physician to the Queen, with *Stephen Ferreira*, *Emanuel Loxie*, and other *Portuguese*, who were numerous in *England*, upon the Account of *Don Antonio* the exil'd King. These being discover'd by intercepted Letters of theirs, were arraign'd at *Guild-Hall*, and by their own Confessions convicted of Conspiring against the Life of the Queen; they were all condemn'd and executed at *Tyburn*; where *Lopez* profess'd *he lov'd the Queen as well as he lov'd Jesus Christ*, which coming from the Mouth of a *Jew*, mov'd the Laughter more than the Pity of the Spectators. The next Day after them was condemn'd *Patrick Cullen*, an *Irish* Fencing-Master, sent over by the *English* Fugitives to Assassinate the Queen, who was immediately executed, tho' he was ready to die of a languishing Sickness. Thus the *English* Fugitives, as well Priests as other villainous Persons, out of a pernicious Principle, *That Princes Excommunicate are to be destroy'd*, and the *Spanish* Ministers out of a virulent Hatred, did by all Means and Inventions set themselves to effect the Ruin of the Queen. But she continu'd undaunted, and with a masculine Courage, and provident Caution, condemn'd their treacherous Practices; often reflecting upon that Passage of the Royal Psalmist, *Thou art my God, my Times are in thy Hands*.

A Plot discover'd and punish'd.

About this Time, *Sir John Norris* having sustain'd a vigorous Conflict at Sea against the *Spaniard*, where the valiant *Sir Martin Forbisher* receiv'd his Death's Wound, was now call'd home, with a Design to send him into *Ireland*. Before which Time, *Richard Hawkins* Son to *Sir John Hawkins* the famous Sea-Captain, had been sent forth with three of the Queen's lesser Men of War, and two hundred Men in them; of which one of them at the Isle of *St. Anne* was fir'd by Chance; another of them, separated by Storms, return'd into *England*; himself in the third, pass'd the Straits of *Magellan*, being the sixth Person, according to the *Spanish* Account, that had perform'd that Voyage. And having sail'd into the vast Southern Ocean, he took five *Spanish* Ships laden with Merchandize, one of which he carry'd away, and the rest were suffer'd to ransom themselves for two thousand Ducats. But at last making toward *Arica*, he was attack'd by *Bertrand di Castro*, sent out by the Vice-Roy with eight Ships against him; and after three Days severe Battery, he yielded upon honourable Terms; yet nevertheless, he was sent into *Spain*, and kept Prisoner for several Years. But *James Lancaster* had better Success in another Part of *America*; for being sent out by some *London* Merchants with three Ships and a long Boat, he took thirty nine *Spanish* Ships. Then joining with *Venour* an *Englishman*, and others, at *Fernambuc* in *Brasil*, where the Riches of an *East-Indian* Carack were lately unloaden, he desperately ventur'd on Shoar, held the Place thirty Days, loaded fifteen Ships with the Treasure of the Carack, and with Sugar, *Brasil-Wood*, and other Merchandize, and then safely and victoriously return'd into *England*.

Several lesser Expeditions.

About this Time a constant Rumour was blown abroad from all Parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were again preparing an Expedition against *England*, with a far greater Fleet than that in *Eighty Eight*, and that it was ready to put to Sea: Whereupon Soldiers were levy'd with all Diligence, and plac'd on the Sea-Coasts; two Navies were made ready, one to wait for them in the *English* Channel, and the other to go for *America* under the Conduct of *Drake* and *Hawkins*. But this Rumour soon began to sink and vanish, and no greater Fleet appear'd than four *Spanish* Ships, who coming from the Coasts of *France*, and landing early in a Morning in *Cornwall*, fir'd a Church standing alone in the Fields, and three Villages of Fishermen, *Moufe-hole*, *Neulin* and *Pensans*, and then immediately retir'd, without taking or killing any one Person: And these were the first and last *Spaniards* that ever made any Hostile Landing

A. D.

1595.

Reg. 37.

Landing in *England*. So that the Queen had no further Fear from the *Spaniard* this Year, for all her Concern was from *France*, where Mischiefs daily increas'g, many perswaded that King to conclude a Peace with *Spain*, and the Queen her self began to be apprehensive of such a Design, especially having lately receiv'd Intelligence out of the Pope's Conclave, that he was receiv'd into the Bosom of the Church of *Rome*, with the Pope's particular Benediction, and upon Conditions prejudicial to the Protestants in general.

Raleigh's Expedition.

And therefore at this Time were promoted several Expeditions of the *English* against the *Spaniard*: The first was undertaken by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, now Captain of the Queen's Guards, who having seduc'd a Maid of Honour, whom he afterwards marry'd, had lost the Queen's Favour, and was kept in Prison for some Months: But being set at Liberty, tho' banish'd the Court, he undertook a Voyage to *Guiana* in the *West-Indies*. Setting Sail from *Plimouth* in *February*, he arriv'd at *Trinidad*, where he took *St. Joseph's Town*, but found no Mony in it. From hence with Boats, and a hundred Soldiers, he enter'd the vast River *Orenoque*, and rang'd up into *Guiana* four hundred Miles; but gain'd little more than Experience and new Discoveries. In his Return he fir'd *Cumana*, and some other Places, that refus'd to redeem themselves with Mony. In like manner, *Amyas Preston* and *Somers*, plunder'd several of the *Spanish* Towns in those Parts; and three Ships of the Earl of *Cumberland* set upon a vast Carack, which in the Battel took Fire and consum'd all the Goods and most of the Men. These and some other Exploits were perform'd by private Men: But the Queen being inform'd that great Quantities of Treasure for the King of *Spain's* Use were convey'd to *Porto-Rico*, in *St. John's Island*, sent out *Hawkins*, *Drake* and *Baskervill*, with Land-Forces; furnishing them with six Ships out of her own Navy, and twenty other Men of War. These set Sail from *Plimouth* the last of *August*, and twenty seven Days after arriv'd at *Grand-Canary*, which being strongly fortify'd they did not think fit to attack. A Month after they arriv'd at the Isle of *St. Domingo*; where five *Spanish* Ships being sent out to watch the *English*, fell in with one of the small *English* Ships, stray'd from the Company, and putting the Master and Seamen to the Torture, understood by them that the *English* Fleet was bound for *Porto-Rico*. Whereupon they us'd all possible Speed to give Notice to the Place, that they might put themselves in a Posture of Defence. And thereupon, as soon as the *English* had cast Anchor in the Road of *Porto-Rico*, the *Spaniards* thunder'd upon them from the Shoar with unexpected Success; and Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and *Brute Brown* dy'd of their Wounds. *Hawkins* himself, and also *Drake*, partly of Sickness, and partly out of Grief for their ill Success, dy'd shortly after. At the End of eight Months, the Fleet return'd home, after they had fir'd some few Towns and Ships, but receiv'd infinite Damage themselves; and lost two such Sea Captains, as were not left perhaps in *England* or all *Europe*. For the *Spaniards* having of late Years sustain'd great Damages from the *French* and *English*, had now better secur'd themselves with Fortifications not easily and suddenly taken.

The Death of Drake and Hawkins.

During these remote Transactions, the frugal Queen laid before the Confederate States of the *Netherlands* the immense Sums she had expended in relieving them ten Years successively; for which she expected some considerable Recompence. The States acknowledg'd all their Safety and Happiness to have risen from her, but alledg'd their great Expences in the Year *Eighty Eight*, and since by repelling the *Spaniards* in her Cause; but however to prevent any Misapprehensions, they were content to ease the Queen of her usual Charges in their Country, and to allow some reasonable Retribution; but yet for the present nothing material was concluded. Likewise at this Time the Hanse Towns in *Germany* made complaint to the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire,

Empire, That the Immunities from Customs anciently granted them by the Kings of *England*, began to be antiquated, and that a Monopoly of *English* Merchants was erected in *Germany*: To which the Queen by Sir *Christopher Perkins*, first shewing the Cause of the Original Grant, and the Reason of Queen *Mary's* succeeding Prohibition, gave them so satisfactory an Answer, that those very *Hanse-Towns* that had complain'd, brought into *England* at this Time Quantities of Corn, it prevented a Mutiny which was like to have happen'd in *London*, through the Scarcity of that Commodity.

In this Year dy'd *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who was condemn'd in 1589, and pardon'd by the Queen, *William* Lord *Vaulx* a zealous Papist; Sir *Thomas He- neage* Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Dutchy; Dr. *William Whit-aker*, Master of St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*, and the Queen's Professor of Divinity; and lastly Sir *Roger Williams* and Sir *Thomas Morgan*. So that this Year was noted for the Deaths of two great Lords, one exquisite Courtier, one profound Scholar, and two famous Soldiers. and of several great Men.

London.
Spenswood
Nunston.
Barnes.
1589.

XIII. For seven Years together, after the famous *Eighty Eight*, the *Spaniards* had receiv'd and sustain'd mighty Damages from the *English*, in several Parts of the World; but those were generally in the Nature of private Expeditions: But this Year it was thought necessary by the Queen to make a more publick Attempt against that inveterate Enemy, which had been many Years plotting the Ruin of the Queen, often join'd with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and had lately become more formidable by taking of *Calais* from the *French*. Therefore to divert the King of *Spain* from farther Attempts, the Queen and Council judg'd it most proper to make an Invasion of his Dominions. Whereupon a noble Fleet of a hundred and fifty Sail was made ready, of which seventeen were Capital Ships, and twenty two *Dutch* Men of War. In these were above six thousand Soldiers under Pay, one thousand Volunteers of the Nobility and Gentry, and almost seven thousand Seamen, besides those of the *Netherlands*. *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles* Howard Lord Admiral of *England*, who were at great Expences themselves, were made Commanders in chief with equal Authority, under the Title of Generals; yet so that the Admiral should be superior at Sea, and the Earl of *Essex* at Land. To these were join'd for a Council of War, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Coniers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the Admiral commanded the First, the Earl of *Essex* the Second, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the Third, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* the Fourth. The Officers of the Army were Sir *Francis Vere* Lieutenant-General, Sir *John Wingfield* Quarter-Master-General, Sir *George Carew* Master of the Ordnance, and Sir *Coniers Clifford* Serjeant-Major. The Colonels were *Robert* Earl of *Suffex*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*; Sir *Edward Wingfield* was Commander of the Volunteers, and *Anthony Ashley*, Secretary to the Council of War, was to Register their Acts and Consultations. The Commissions being drawn, the Queen gave them excellent Instructions, displaying both her Piety and Policy, and withal deliver'd them a short Prayer of her own Composing, to be daily us'd in every Ship.

A. D.
1596.
Reg. 38.
39.

A grand Expedition against Spain under the Earl of Essex, &c.

This powerful Fleet set Sail from *Plimouth* at the beginning of *June*, with secret Orders not to be open'd 'till they had pass'd Cape *St. Vincent*, near which Place they met with an *Irish* Ship, the Master of which inform'd them, That at *Cales* they were under no Apprehensions; that there was only a small Garrison in the Place, and that in the Harbour were several Gallies, Gallies, Men of War, and many Merchants Ships laden for the *Indies*. On the twentieth Day of *June*, they cast Anchor on the West Side of the Island of *Cales*, and within two Days after they agreed to attack the *Spanish* Ships, at which the Earl of *Essex*, full of youthful Ardour, threw up his Hat for Joy. This Enterprize was allotted to the lesser Ships, because the Road was too shallow for the rest. They attack Cales.

The Gallies soon gave way, and creeping along the Shore, all but one or two secur'd themselves by Flight; but the *Spanish* Men of War that lay at the Point of Land call'd *Puntal*, turn'd their Broad-sides, and a furious Fight began, which lasted from Morning 'till Noon. The Bravery of *Effex* and the *English* soon prevail'd, and the Galleons being miserably torn and shatter'd, and many Men slain, the *Spaniards* resolv'd to fire all their Vessels, or run them on Ground. The Admiral of the *Spaniards*, a Ship of fifteen hundred Tun, was burnt by a *Moor*, and two other Ships near her took Fire, and perish'd together. A dismal Confusion arose, great Numbers of Seamen threw themselves over-board, some gain'd the Shore, some were taken, and some drown'd; others as they swam cry'd out for Quarter, whom out of Pity the *English* Admiral sav'd, and by his particular Care took and secur'd the two great *Spanish* Ships call'd the *St. Matthew* and the *St. Andrew*.

Effex enters the Town.

Which yields

The Sea-Fight being ended, the valiant *Effex* landed eight hundred Men at the *Puntal*, a League from the Town of *Cales*; and advancing within half a Mile of the Town with several brave Commanders, the *Spanish* Horse and Foot shew'd themselves, and soon retir'd; but shortly after came out in greater Numbers. Upon which the Earl order'd his Forces to make a fair Retreat, and by that means having entic'd out his Enemies, he turn'd upon them with such an impetuous Torrent, as drove them to the very Gates of the Town. *Effex* immediately got upon a new Work lately rais'd near the Gate, from whence he discover'd an Entrance into the Town, but so high and steep, that the Men must leap down a Pike's Length. To excite their Courage therefore, he threw down his own Colours into the Place; upon which *Evans* Lieutenant to *Suffex*, *Savage* Captain of the Earl's Company, *Bagnal*, *Pooly*, and others leap'd down; while Sir *Francis Vere* broke down the Gate, and rush'd into the Town with the General and the rest. After a sharp Fight in the Streets, wherein many of the *English* were hurt from the Tops of Houses, in half an Hour they made their way into the Market Place, where Sir *John Wingfield* was shot in the Head, and *Savage* and *Bagnal* cover'd with Wounds and Blood, were Knighted in the Place. At the same Instant the Lord Admiral and the rest entering the Town, the *Spaniards* desisted, and retir'd to the Castle and Town-House. The next Day they yielded, upon Condition 'That the Citizens should depart in Safety with their 'wearing Garments, and the rest should go to the Soldiers for Plunder; that 'four hundred and twenty thousand Ducats should be paid for their Ransom, 'and for Security, forty of the principal Citizens should be sent as Hostages in- 'to *England*. Shortly after Proclamation was made, that no Violence should be offer'd to the *Spaniards*, who were all convey'd in *English* Vessels to *Port St. Mary*; the Ladies and Gentlewomen first, who were suffer'd to depart in their richest Apparel and Jewels: And the Generals in Person stood by the Water-side to see them shipp'd off, without Violence or Dishonour from the ruder sort of Soldiers.

It is plunder'd and demolish'd.

The Damage to the Spaniards.

In the mean Time Sir *Walter Raleigh* was commanded with his Vessels to fire the Merchant Ships lying at *Port-Real*, upon which they immediately offer'd two Millions of Ducats to redeem them: But this Offer was rejected by the Admiral, who said, *He was sent to destroy Ships, not to ransom them for Mony*; and accordingly they were all burnt, to the infinite Damage of the Merchants. Thus in an Instant a Fleet full of Men, Merchandize, Provisions, Armour, and twelve hundred Pieces of Ordnance, all valu'd by themselves at twelve Millions of Ducats, was suddenly sunk, consum'd or taken; and the Town also was plunder'd, every Soldier bringing some Portion of its rich Spoils into *England*, to shew the Service he had perform'd at *Cales*. They laid the Town in Ashes, except the Churches, batter'd the Walls, demolish'd the Towers, pillag'd and burnt the Island it self, and laid all waste before them, leaving the Rubbish to declare the Ruins the *English* had made in *Spain*. The whole Damage that the *Spaniard* sustain'd from this Expedition, was fairly computed

at no less than twenty Millions of Ducats; and all this with the Loss of only one Man of Note, Sir *John Wingfield*, who slew a *Spanish* Commander with his own Hand. Then sixty Men being knighted for their Valour, and the rich Spoils got on Shipboard, on the fifth of *July* the whole Fleet set sail from thence, with this Commendation given them by the *Spaniards*, *That tho' in sacred things the English had shew'd themselves Hereticks, yet in all other Matters, they behav'd themselves like valiant Soldiers, wise Counsellors, and Men of Honour.* After some little Cruisings on the *Spanish* Coasts, they return'd safe into *England*, contrary to the Inclinations of the Earl of *Essex*, who not only would have kept *Cales*, but also have undertaken some new Expedition this Year.

The Queen receiv'd them at their Return with singular Affability, and gave particular Thanks to those who had best signaliz'd themselves, especially to *Essex* and the Admiral, whose Acts and Conduct she highly applauded. And now considering with her self which of her Commanders to make Governor of the *Bril*, which was given up by the Confederate States as a Caution-Town for Money due, she made Choice of Sir *Francis Vere*, altho' the Earl of *Essex* had recommended others to her for that Post. But another thing he took with greater Dissatisfaction, that in his Absence she had preferr'd the Lord *Burleigh's* Son, Sir *Robert Cecil*, to be Secretary of State, where he had formerly with great Earnestness recommended Sir *Thomas Podley*. Shortly after, the King of *Spain*, that he might retrieve the Honour he had lost at *Cales*, rigg'd out a new Fleet for *England* and *Ireland*, with a great Number of *Irish* Fugitives. But being at Sea, most of his Ships were by Storms cast away upon Rocks, and overwhelm'd in the Ocean: So that the very Elements seem'd to fight for the glorious Queen, who heard of her Enemies Fate, before she was inform'd of their Design. Essex disgusted.
The Spanish Fleet ruin'd.

At this Time the Queen, for the better Security of her People, enter'd into a League Defensive and Offensive with the *French* King, against the King of *Spain*, upon certain Conditions on both Sides; which League she confirm'd by Oath, in the Chappel at *Greenwich*, the twenty ninth Day of *August*, laying her Hand upon the Hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*, and Marshal of *France*; the Bishop of *Chichester* holding out the Evangelists, surrounded by a great Number of the Nobility. In *September* following, *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury* was sent Ambassador into *France*, to take the *French* King's Oath, and to present Sir *Anthony Mildmay* for the Queen's Ambassador in Ordinary, in the room of Sir *Henry Unton* lately deceas'd, and likewise to invest the King with the Noble Order of the Garter: To which Order, design'd originally for the Honour of Military Men, the Queen had chosen him as a Prince highly renown'd for Martial Glory. And not long after Sir *Thomas Baskerville* went over into *Picardy* with two thousand *English* Foot, according to the Agreement for this Year. A League with France.

In the following Year, the Queen was inform'd, that the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet against *Ireland*; whereupon she also prepar'd a Navy of one hundred and twenty Sail, which were divided into three Squadrons, the first Commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, the second by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the third by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; in which also several of the Nobility and Gentry were embark'd. On the ninth Day of *July* they set Sail from *Plimouth*, directing their Course to *Farol* and the *Groyne*; but before they had sail'd forty Leagues, they were toss'd with such a terrible Storm for four Days, that the best Seamen were almost distracted, and with great Difficulty recover'd *Plimouth*, where they were detain'd by contrary Winds for a whole Month. On the seventeenth of *August* they got to Sea again, but before they came in view of *Spain*, they were dispers'd by another dreadful Tempest, in which, one of the two great Ships taken at *Cales* was dash'd in pieces. At the Isles call'd *Azores*, the Fleet met again, where *Raleigh* wanting Water, went on Shore with- A. D.
1597.
Reg. 39.
A new Expedition against Spain.

without Leave; and before he could be furnish'd, was commanded to follow *Essex* to *Fayall*: But not finding him there, he observ'd the Port, and calling a Council, the Commanders advis'd him to attack the Place. Upon which *Raleigh* with some of his prime Volunteers landed, and soon won the Town, but found no such considerable Booty, as they expected in it. The next Day *Essex* came thither, whom *Merrick* maliciously inform'd that *Raleigh* had made this Attempt to prevent his Lordship in the Honour of the Exploit. Whereupon some persuaded the Earl to call a Council of War and cashier him; and others even to take off his Head for Landing without the Leave of his chief Commander. This Matter was soon adjusted by the Mediation of the Lord *Howard*; but from this and other Matters arose such an unhappy Contest and Emulation between these two great Men, that never could be thoroughly extinguish'd but by Death it self.

A Fowl be-
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From hence the Fleet set Sail for *Gratiosa*, where the Inhabitants crav'd Mercy and obtain'd it; and here *Essex* would have tarry'd in Expectation of the *Spanish Indian* Fleet, but *Graves* the Pilot dissuaded him because of the Badness of the Harbour. This prov'd unfortunate Advice, for the *English* were not gone above an Hour or two, before the *Spanish* Fleet, consisting of forty Sail, arriv'd at the Place; but hearing that the *English* were in these Parts, they directed their Course to *Tercera*, where all gain'd the Harbour except three Ships which fell into the Hands of the *English*; who design'd to have set upon the rest in the Port: But finding the Attempt impracticable, they sail'd from thence to *St. Michael's*, where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Bredon* and *Dockwray* were Knighted. And then *Essex* landed within six Miles of the chief Place, near *Villa-Franca*, a fair Town, and well furnish'd with Merchandize, Wine, Wood and Corn; where they tarry'd six Days, and the common Soldiers found good Booty. At the same Time a rich Carack was discover'd coming from the *Indies*, which by Means of a Warning Piece from a *Dutch* Vessel, perceiving the *English* to be near, run her self a-shore, unloaded the Merchandize, and then fir'd her self. Thus the *English* met with Disappointments in all Places; and on the ninth of *October* they set Sail for *England*: But within two Days, a violent Storm from the North dispers'd them, and likewise the *Spanish* Fleet at the same Time, which had set out from the *Groyne* with great Preparations against *England*; so that they never came in View of each other. Not one of the *English* Ships perish'd, but many of the *Spaniards* were lost; one of 'em was cast upon *Dartmouth*, where the half-starv'd Seamen confess'd that the *Spaniards* design'd to have seiz'd upon some Port in *Cornwall*, which being near the Mouth of the Channel, might be convenient to receive Forces from *Spain*. But Providence now kept these two Nations asunder, and disappointed both their Designs, when they were hast'ning to each others Ruin.

Both Nations
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The warm Earl of *Essex* at his Return found some Promotions made which infinitely disgusted him; Sir *Robert Cecil* was made Chancellor of the Dutchy; and what more sensibly affected him, the Lord Admiral *Howard* was created Earl of *Nottingham*, with a Relation in his Patent of the Victory in *Eighty Eight*, and his great Services at *Cales*. This Glory he envy'd him, and besides was much disoblig'd, that he must now take Place of him: For it was Enacted in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, That the chief Officers of the Kingdom should have Precedence of all Men of their Degree. Whereupon the Queen, who had a singular Value for *Essex*, to satisfy him, created him Earl-Marshal of *England*; by which he recover'd his Place again.

Essex ad-
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Shortly after an Ambassador came into *England* from the King of *Poland*; who, when the Queen expected he should return her Thanks for procuring a Peace between the King his Master and the great *Turk*, on the contrary expostulated with her for Breach of Privileges in Trading with *Spain*, requiring a present Redress, or else the King his Master would do himself Justice.

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The Queen with Indignation reply'd *extempore* in *Latin*, *How have I been deceiv'd! I expected an Ambassador, and behold a Herald; such! a Speech I never heard before.*—And after some farther checking him for his too great Freedom, she referr'd him to her Council, and retir'd with Displeasure. But upon the Ambassador's more submissive Behaviour, all Affairs were soon adjusted. In the same Year the Chancellor of *Denmark* came into *England* to restore the Garter, with which the Queen had invested the King's Father, and withal offer'd his Master's Mediation to make a Peace between the Queen and the *Spaniard*. The Queen thank'd him, but design'd not to use his Mediation for what she did not desire, and especially now, when he had lately invaded the *French* King her Allie, and had taken *Amiens*, the chief and strongest Place in *Picardy*. For which Reason the King of *France* urg'd the Queen for a new Aid of four thousand Men; intimating to her, That he was now offer'd by the Pope's Nuntio a very advantageous Peace, if he would abandon her Interest. But while these Matters were negotiating, *Amiens* was happily recover'd again by the great Valour of *Baskervill* and *Savage*, as the King in his Letters to the Queen thankfully acknowledg'd.

The Queen now to fortifie her self against all Inconveniences, call'd a new Parliament, that met at *Westminster* on the twenty fourth Day of *October*, and was open'd with a Speech by Sir *Thomas Egerton*, made Lord-Keeper, in the Room of *Puckering* deceas'd. In this Parliament the Queen pass'd several Laws very acceptable to the People; namely, For recovering Depopulations, committed upon Country Farms; For prohibiting Arable Land and Tillage from being turn'd into Pasture; Against imbezeling Lands and Goods given to Charitable Uses; Concerning the Building of Hospitals and Work-Houses for the Poor; For preventing of Frauds in the Queen's Tellers, Receivers, &c. For building Houses of Correction to punish Rogues and Vagrants; For the Restraining Extortions and Rapes; For Confirmation of the Deposing those Popish Bishops in the Beginning of the Reign. 'For these Laws pass'd, the true Religion restor'd, the Republick most happily govern'd, the Nation deliver'd from the Fear of Enemies, *Ireland* defended, and the *French* King and the *Netherlands* reliev'd, the Parliament most heartily congratulated her Majesty: 'And that she might not want sufficient Aids in Time of Necessity, the Clergy voluntarily granted three Subsidies, and the Laity pray'd her to accept of three Subsidies, and six Fifteenths and Tenths; beseeching her as in the Year 1593, that such extraordinary Contributions might not be drawn into a Precedent, unless it were upon the like urgent Necessity. After this the Parliament was dissolv'd on the ninth Day of *February* in the following Year.

The ninth Parliament in this Reign.

Great Aids granted.

The Queen now understanding, as she had some Time suspected, That the *French* being importun'd by the Pope, and his own Subjects, began to incline to a Peace with *Spain*, immediately sent Sir *Robert Cecil* and others into *France*, to dissuade the Negotiation; and after that by Letters charg'd the *French* King with Ingratitude, declaring, *That if he gain'd any reasonable Terms from the Spaniards, he was oblig'd to the English Succours for it; and That solemn Oaths and mutual Compacts were never design'd for Snares, unless by the worst of Men.* But notwithstanding all her Endeavours, and those of the Confederate States, he with some Compliments and Acknowledgments to the Queen of *England*, concluded a Peace with the King of *Spain*, which is call'd the Treaty of *Vervin*. And now that King, who hitherto flourish'd in Martial Glory, began from this Time to restore and promote the Welfare of *France*, by maintaining and supporting Religion, as well the *Roman* as the *Reformed*, reviving the Laws, cherishing Learning, restoring Commerce, and beautifying the Kingdom with splendid Edifices, insomuch that he far surpass'd all the Kings of *France* before him, and gain'd himself the Name of *Henry the Great*.

A. D.

1598.

Reg. 40.

A Peace between France and Spain.

In the mean Time the Queen carefully providing for her own and her Peoples Safety, sent Sir *Francis Vere* to the Confederate States, to know if they were willing

A Fowl be-
tween Essex
and Raleigh.

without Leave; and before he could be furnish'd, was commanded to follow *Essex* to *Fayall*: But not finding him there, he observ'd the Port, and calling a Council, the Commanders advis'd him to attack the Place. Upon which *Raleigh* with some of his prime Volunteers landed, and soon won the Town, but found no such considerable Booty, as they expected in it. The next Day *Essex* came thither, whom *Merrick* maliciously inform'd that *Raleigh* had made this Attempt to prevent his Lordship in the Honour of the Exploit. Whereupon some perswaded the Earl to call a Council of War and cashier him; and others even to take off his Head for Landing without the Leave of his chief Commander. This Matter was soon adjusted by the Mediation of the Lord *Howard*; but from this and other Matters arose such an unhappy Contest and Emulation between these two great Men, that never could be thoroughly extinguish'd but by Death it self.

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Shortly after an Ambassador came into *England* from the King of *Poland*; who, when the Queen expected he should return her Thanks for procuring a Peace between the King his Master and the great *Turk*, on the contrary expostulated with her for Breach of Privileges in Trading with *Spain*, requiring a present Redress, or else the King his Master would do himself Justice. The

The Queen with Indignation reply'd *extempore* in *Latin*, *How have I been deceiv'd! I expected an Ambassador, and behold a Herald; such! a Speech I never heard before.*—And after some farther checking him for his too great Freedom, she referr'd him to her Council, and retir'd with Displeasure. But upon the Ambassador's more submissive Behaviour, all Affairs were soon adjusted. In the same Year the Chancellor of *Denmark* came into *England* to restore the Garter, with which the Queen had invested the King's Father, and withal offer'd his Master's Mediation to make a Peace between the Queen and the *Spaniard*. The Queen thank'd him, but design'd not to use his Mediation for what she did not desire, and especially now, when he had lately invaded the *French* King her Allie, and had taken *Amiens*, the chief and strongest Place in *Picardy*. For which Reason the King of *France* urg'd the Queen for a new Aid of four thousand Men; intimating to her, That he was now offer'd by the Pope's Nuntio a very advantageous Peace, if he would abandon her Interest. But while these Matters were negotiating, *Amiens* was happily recover'd again by the great Valour of *Baskervill* and *Savage*, as the King in his Letters to the Queen thankfully acknowledg'd.

^{d'Enu.} The Queen now to fortifie her self against all Inconveniences, call'd a new Parliament, that met at *Westminster* on the twenty fourth Day of *October*, and was open'd with a Speech by Sir *Thomas Egerton*, made Lord-Keeper, in the Room of *Puckering* deceas'd. In this Parliament the Queen pass'd several Laws very acceptable to the People; namely, For recovering Depopulations, committed upon Country Farms; For prohibiting Arable Land and Tillage from being turn'd into Pasture; Against imbezeling Lands and Goods given to Charitable Uses; Concerning the Building of Hospitals and Work-Houses for the Poor; For preventing of Frauds in the Queen's Tellers, Receivers, &c. For building Houses of Correction to punish Rogues and Vagrants; For the Restraining Extortions and Rapes; For Confirmation of the Deposing those Popish Bishops in the Beginning of the Reign. 'For these Laws pass'd, the true Religion restor'd, the Republick most happily govern'd, the Nation deliver'd from the Fear of Enemies, *Ireland* defended, and the *French* King and the *Netherlands* reliev'd, the Parliament most heartily congratulated her Majesty: 'And that she might not want sufficient Aids in Time of Necessity, the Clergy voluntarily granted three Subsidies, and the Laity pray'd her to accept of three Subsidies, and six Fifteenths and Tenths; beseeching her as in the Year 1593, that such extraordinary Contributions might not be drawn into a Precedent, unless it were upon the like urgent Necessity. After this the Parliament was dissolv'd on the ninth Day of *February* in the following Year.

The ninth Parliament in this Reign.

Great Aids granted.

The Queen now understanding, as she had some Time suspected, That the *French* being importun'd by the Pope, and his own Subjects, began to incline to a Peace with *Spain*, immediately sent Sir *Robert Cecil* and others into *France*, to dissuade the Negotiation; and after that by Letters charg'd the *French* King with Ingratitude, declaring, *That if he gain'd any reasonable Terms from the Spaniards, he was oblig'd to the English Succours for it; and That solemn Oaths and mutual Compacts were never design'd for Snares, unless by the worst of Men.* But notwithstanding all her Endeavours, and those of the Confederate States, he with some Compliments and Acknowledgments to the Queen of *England*, concluded a Peace with the King of *Spain*, which is call'd the Treaty of *Vervin*. And now that King, who hitherto flourish'd in Martial Glory, began from this Time to restore and promote the Welfare of *France*, by maintaining and supporting Religion, as well the *Roman* as the *Reformed*, reviving the Laws, cherishing Learning, restoring Commerce, and beautifying the Kingdom with splendid Edifices, insomuch that he far surpass'd all the Kings of *France* before him, and gain'd himself the Name of *Henry the Great*.

A. D. 1598. Reg. 40. 41.

A Peace between France and Spain.

In the mean Time the Queen carefully providing for her own and her Peoples Safety, sent Sir *Francis Vere* to the Confederate States, to know if they were willing

A Consultation about a Peace with Spain. ling to join in a Treaty of Peace with the *Spaniard*: And if otherwise, what they would afford towards a War; and to urge them concerning the Repayment of Monies due to her from them. During the Negotiations, there was a grand Consultation held at home, in which it was accurately debated, Whether it would be to the Benefit and Advantage of the Queen and Publick to make a Peace with the *Spaniard*; and many nice and curious Reasons were urg'd on both Sides. The wise and sedate Lord *Burleigh* declar'd for Peace, as most eligible and necessary in this critical Juncture. But the vigorous and valiant Earl of *Essex* stily maintain'd, that no Peace could be made with the *Spaniards* but such as would be dishonourable to *England*, and fraudulent on their Side. Infomuch that *Burleigh* was provok'd to say, *That he breath'd out nothing but Slaughter and Blood*: And after a warm Dispute about this Subject, in a strange presaging Manner, the Treasurer drew out a Psalm-Book, and without speaking any more Words, pointed him to this Verse, *The bloody-minded Man shall not live out half his Days*. This Debate occasion'd *Essex* afterwards to publish an Apology for himself, with Reasons in Justification of his Opinion.

The Queen strikes Essex. In carrying on this Business of Peace, and chusing a fit Person to manage the Affairs in *Ireland*, which were now in great Disorder, there arose a hot Debate between the Queen and the Earl of *Essex*, in the Presence only of the Lord Admiral, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and *Windebank*, Clerk of the Seal. The Queen thought Sir *William Knolls*, Uncle to the Earl, to be the fittest Person to be sent into *Ireland*, and *Essex* obstinately asserted, that Sir *George Carew* was fitter than him; and since he could not persuade her Majesty to be of his Opinion, quite forgetting himself and his Duty, uncivilly and in Contempt turn'd his Back upon her, and gave her a scornful Look. Which so rous'd the Female Spirit of the Queen, that not induring such rude Behaviour, she gave him a Box on the Ear, and bad him *begon with a Vengeance*. He immediately in a Rage laid his Hand upon his Sword, while the Admiral stepp'd between, and swore *That he neither could nor would put up so great an Indignity; nor would he have taken it from her great Father Harry*; and in a violent Fury withdrew himself from the Court. In his Retirement the Lord-Keeper by a Letter advis'd him to submit to the Queen his Sovereign, and to remember that Passage of *Seneca*, *If the Law punish one that is Guilty, he must submit to Justice; if one that is Innocent, he must submit to Fortune*. He answer'd his Letter with great Violence, and us'd these and the like Expressions, *I know what I owe as a Subject, and what as an Earl and Marshal of England; but know not how to serve as a Drudge and a Slave. If I should acknowledge my self Guilty, I should injure the Truth, and God the Author of it. My whole Body is wounded by that single Blow; and having receiv'd this Indignity, it were Impiety to serve longer*. However, not long after, he became more Submissive, obtain'd his Pardon, and was receiv'd into Favour; the Queen being of such an excellent Disposition, that she always thought it less misbecoming her Majesty to exasperate a Man, than to hate him. Yet from this Circumstance his Friends began to date his Fall, who had observ'd, That Fortune seldom cares'd her slighted Favourites, and Princes more rarely the Persons they had offended.

His Resentment. Not long after his Opposer the Lord *Burleigh*, being worn out with Labour of Mind, the Gout and old Age, and falling sick, wrote a Letter to the Queen for her leave to lay down his Offices. The Queen visited and comforted him; but within a few Days, having liv'd long enough for Nature, long enough for his own Glory, but not long enough for his Country, he peaceably resign'd his Soul to God, in the seventy eighth Year of his Age: A Man of extraordinary Worth and Abilities, who, not to mention his venerable Presence, his calm and serene Deportment, was so dispos'd by Nature, so polish'd by Education, and so enrich'd with Learning, that

The Lord Burleigh's Death and Character.

that for Wisdom, Integrity, Gravity, Industry, Temperance and Piety, he had no Superior ; and was one of those Few in the World who both liv'd and dy'd in Glory. His Saying was, *Prudens qui Patiens*; and, *That nothing was truly for a Prince's Profit, that was not for his Honour*. The knowing Queen had such Esteem for him, that she would always cause him to sit down in her Presence, saying, *My Lord, we make use of you, not for your Legs, but for your Head* : And visiting him in his Sickness, and the Servants at the Chamber-Door desiring her Majesty to stop, she answer'd, *For your Master's sake I will stoop, but not for the King of Spain*. One great Service he did his Country a little before his Death, which was to bring the Confederate States to a Composition, for the Payment of eight hundred thousand Pounds, by thirty thousand Pounds *per Annum*; and likewise to the Conclusion of a new League; by which the Queen, besides the receiving her Debts, was eas'd of a yearly Expence of a hundred and twenty thousand Pounds. The Death of this great Support of the Nation was immediately succeeded by the Death of its most potent Enemy, *Philip King of Spain*, in the seventy first Year of his Age; a Prince of great Wisdom and Patience, through his Father's Instructions and his own Experience; but in Matters of War for the most part Unfortunate: For being naturally weak, he was wary in taking Advice, and trusted to others in his Wars; by which the three Keys of the *Spanish Empire*, which his Father taught him to watch carefully, *Guletta in Africa, Flushing in the Netherlands, and Cales in Spain* were neglected; one being taken by the *Turks*, another by the *Hollanders*, and the third by the *English*, to the great Damage and Dishonour of so great a Monarch: So that it was not without Cause that he advis'd his Son *Philip* to compose all Differences with the *English* and the *Netherlanders*.

His Services.

The Death and Character of Philip King of Spain.

No Year was now free from Treasons and Conspiracies from the *Romanists*; and in this a new Traitor was discover'd, one *Edward Squire*, who had first been an ordinary Scrivener, afterwards a Groom in the Queen's Stable; and going as a Soldier in Captain *Drake's* last Expedition, was taken Prisoner and carry'd into *Spain*, where he came acquainted with one *Walpole* an *English* Jesuit, who caus'd him to be put into the Inquisition for a Heretick. This Man to avoid further Misery, was easily induc'd to turn Papist, and afterwards to attempt any wicked Act for the Catholick Cause. His Ghostly Father taught him that it would be a very meritorious Act to destroy the Queen and the Earl of *Essex*; and sent him into *England* with a peculiar Poison, to anoint the Pommel of the Queen's Saddle, and the Chair where the Earl of *Essex* should sit; which he exactly perform'd, but neither of them took Effect. Whereupon *Walpole*, suspecting the Fidelity of *Squire*, was resolv'd to revenge it, and sent a Person into *England*, who in general Terms should cast this Aspersions upon him. This caus'd *Squire* to be apprehended and arraign'd for Treason, who not imagining that his Confessor would detect him, directly deny'd all at first; but finding himself really betray'd, confess'd the whole Matter, and suffer'd Death.

Squire's Conspiracy.

Ireland had often been in Rebellion against the *English* in this Reign, but never in so formidable a Manner as in this Year: For the Head of the Rebels, the Earl of *Tyrone*, notwithstanding he had lately obtain'd his Pardon for numerous Disturbances, suddenly besieg'd the Fort of *Blackwater*, and engaging with Marshal *Bagnal* his mortal Enemy, he gave the *English* such a Defeat, as they had scarcely sustain'd the like since they first set footing in *Ireland*; for besides the General, thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Soldiers were slain in this Encounter: By which the *Irish* gain'd Arms, Provisions, Ammunition, and Reputation, and the Fort of *Blackwater*; so that the *English* were reduc'd from an offensive to a defensive War. This provok'd the Queen, who sent to the brave Earl of *Ormond*, then Lieutenant-General, to clear the Army of all the *Irish*; and she sent two thousand Foot, and

Tyrone's Rebellion and Successes in Ireland.

and a hundred Horse to recruit the Army. After this *Tyrone*, whose Fame increas'd daily, sent four thousand *Kerns* into *Munster*; and the President being not able to resist them, by reason of the Smallness of his Forces, that whole Province also rebell'd, and began to kill, rob and ravage the *English*, without Measure or Mercy. Thus the Rebellion became in a manner general, and grew to that Height, that it became formidable to the Queen. *Tyrone* in the mean Time sent submissive Letters to the Earl of *Ormond*, but with his usual Treachery promis'd the *Spaniards* that he would accept of no Conditions from the *English*, magnifying his Victories beyond all Truth and Reason. So that now, by long use it was grown to a destructive Custom in *Ireland*, that Rebels might with the Mony and Spoils they gain'd from the *English*, procure themselves Protection and Pardon.

A. D. 1599. Reg. 41. To extinguish this increasing Flame, the Queen thought of sending *Charles Blunt Lord Montjoy*, to be Deputy of that Kingdom; but the Earl of *Essex* intimated that he was a Man but of a mean Estate, of no Experience, and too Bookish for such a martial Employment; and in forming the Character of a Man fit for that Office, he so artificially drew his own Picture, that the Queen immediately resolv'd to make him Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, and General of the Army. All this he made a shew of Refusing, praying the Queen to bestow those Honours upon some abler Person, yet if any other Person was nam'd, he still made Objections against him, and behav'd himself in such a manner, as gave his Enemies the Advantage of saying, *He wanted nothing but an Army at his Command, to set up a Title to the Crown*, which his Friends and Flatterers had drawn up for him. Other Courtiers, who desir'd the Absence of this Favourite, push'd him forwards to accept the Command, knowing his youthful Ardour, and Thirst of Glory, would hasten his Ruin; there being no way so certain to destroy a popular and aspiring Man as forcing him upon Business improper for his Management. But tho' he was somewhat anxious, and fearful of his Father's Fate, yet he did or would not perceive all these Arts; therefore with the general Applause of Queen and Council, he was made Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*. He had a greater Army allotted him than ever appear'd in *Ireland*, twenty thousand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horse; and whatever else he could desire was obtain'd by the officious, but deceitful Intrigues of his secret Enemies, who were raising him on high, that his Fall might be the greater.

The Earl of Essex made Lord-Deputy of Ireland.

The unfortunate Earl went over into *Ireland* in the Month of *March*, and having receiv'd the Sword according to Custom, he immediately made the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horse; and contrary to his Instructions, he march'd towards *Munster* against the inferior Rebels, neglecting *Tyrone*, the most considerable Enemy in the Kingdom, against whom he was particularly sent over; and all this without acquainting the Queen with his Reasons for so acting, which caus'd her to be extremely dissatisfy'd with his Conduct. Two considerable Defeats the *English* suffer'd in *Ireland*; and at length the Earl, contrary to Order, treated secretly with *Tyrone*, and concluded a Peace with him. When the Queen had notice of this, and that with so strong an Army, in so long a Time, and so great Expence of Mony, *Essex* had in effect done nothing, she was highly incens'd, blam'd his Actions and Counsels, as over-rash, unfortunate and disrespectful to her self, and freely said, *That he had something else in his Thoughts besides doing his Prince and Country Service in Ireland*. Nor were her Suspicions ill grounded; for now he began to project a wicked Design of returning into *England* with a Party of select Men to reduce his Adversaries to his Power by Force of Arms, being perswaded that many would join with him, either out of Affection, or the Desire of Novelties: And had certainly attempted it, if the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Christopher Blunt* had not deterr'd him from it, as an impious, bloody and dangerous Design. It does not fully appear whether the Queen had Intelligence of

He is unsuccessful and suspicious.

of this Matter, tho' it is reasonable to believe she had; for at this time an Army of six thousand Men were rais'd in *London*, of which three thousand were appointed to guard the Queen's Person, and the rest to be always near and ready upon all Occasions, under the Command of the Earl of *Nottingham*; but a few Days after the Army was disbanded.

Within a Month the Earl of *Essex* posted into *England*, and accompany'd with several select Friends, went to *Nonefuch*, where the Queen then lay; and early in the Morning presented himself on his Knees before her Majesty in her Privy-Chamber, when she had no Expectation of him. She receiv'd him somewhat graciously in a short Conference, but not with so pleasing a Countenance as formerly; and at his Departure commanded him to keep his Chamber: For as she was before displeas'd with his ill Conduct, he had now incurr'd her further Displeasure by leaving the Kingdom of *Ireland* without her Leave. Afterwards his Actions and Proceedings being generally dislik'd by the Council, and aggravated besides by the Fictions and Inventions of his Adversaries, he was committed to the Custody of the Lord-Keeper, that he might not be further withdrawn from his Duty by seditious Counsels. Here entering into Consideration of his Case, he gave himself wholly to Divine Contemplations, and wrote remarkable Letters to his Friends concerning the Vanity of Human Affairs.

He returns into England.

He is committed to custody.

To return to the Affairs of *Ireland*, where the six Weeks Truce was scarce expir'd, before *Tyrone* prepar'd again for open Hostilities, and being accus'd by the Council of *Ireland* for Breach of Faith, he declar'd he had just Cause to renew the War, since the Earl of *Essex*, on whom he depended for his Life and Safety, was committed to Custody in *England*; nor would he for the future be concern'd with the *Irish* Council, which had heretofore dealt fraudulently with him. In the mean Time Rumours were spread abroad among the Rebels, that *England* in a short Time would be imbroil'd in Civil Commotions, therefore he gave new Incouragement to the *Irish* Rebels to join with him, to the Destruction of the *English* Power in *Ireland*; to which he was farther encourag'd by the *Spaniards*, who had sent him both Mony and Ammunition, and also by the Pope, who excited him by large Promises and Indulgences; all which Rebellious Practices in *Tyrone*, were either directly or indirectly charg'd upon the Earl of *Essex* by his Enemies. In the Depth of the Winter the Queen sent *Montjoy* her Deputy into *Ireland*; who with great Care and Industry fortify'd the most important Places in that Kingdom, and so harras'd and manag'd *Tyrone* with continual Skirmishing, that he soon chang'd the Fortune of the War, drove that Arch-Rebel into his Fastnesses and absconding Places, subdu'd the Rebels in *Ulster* and *Leinster*, and in all Places prov'd victorious. Nor had Sir *George Carcw* less Success in *Munster*, against the Titular Earl of *Desmond*; and so fully quieted and subdu'd those Parts, that not so much as one Fort held out against the Queen.

Montjoy made Deputy of Ireland.

In *England* a new Consultation was debating, concerning a Peace with the King of *Spain*, which was desir'd both by him and the *French* King, and by *Albert* the Arch-Duke, who was now return'd into the *Netherlands* out of *Spain*, where he was marry'd to the *Infanta*. The Queen consenting to the Treaty, left it to the *French* King to nominate both the Time and the Place for the Meeting of the Commissioners, who appointed the Month of *May*, and the Town of *Boloign* in *France*: But foreseeing that a Question would arise about Precedency, some Persons were appointed to search ancient Records concerning that Point. These Persons found in the Book of the *Ceremonies of the Court of Rome*, which according to the Canons gave Rule to the Christian Princes, 'That among Kings, the first Place was due to the King of *France*, the second to the King of *England*, and the third to the King of *Castile*, the chief Title of the Kings of *Spain*; and that the *English* quietly held this Privilege in the General Councils of *Basil*, *Constance*, and others. Accordingly

A. D. 1600. Reg. 42. 43.

A Treaty with Spain.

Pope

‘Pope *Julius* the Third gave Sentence for *Henry* the Seventh, King of *England*, against *Ferdinand* then King of *Castile*. At the appointed Time the Commissioners met at *Boloign*; Sir *Henry Nevil*, Sir *John Herbert*, Sir *Thomas Edmunds* and *Robert Beal*, for the *English*; and a proportionable Number of others for the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Duke. The *English* had Instructions first to insist strictly upon Precedency; yet if the *Spaniards* contended the Matter, then to put it to the Decision of Lots, rather than dissolve the Treaty; and for the rest, to propose and mention the renewing the ancient *Burgundian* League, Freedom of Commerce, &c. At the Meeting, when they had severally shown their Commissions, the *English* challeng’d the Precedency, and the *Spaniards* did the same, and in such a peremptory manner, that without that obtain’d, they would break up the Treaty. Hereupon the *English* made a Proposal to drop the Question concerning Precedency, and to transact the Business by Writing, and Messengers between both Parties; or that the Treaty might be prorogu’d for sixty Days, so that it might rather seem discontinu’d than dissolv’d. But all this, and several new Proposals came to no Effect; so that after the Space of three Months, the Treaty of *Boloign* came to nothing.

But to no Effect.

In the mean Time the Confederate States were so far from regarding a Peace, that at this Time they were resolv’d upon reducing the Sea-Coasts of *Flanders* into their Command. Accordingly they landed an Army into that Country of fourteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, under the Command of Prince *Maurice* of *Nassaw*; and fifteen hundred of the *English* under the Command of the two valiant Brothers Sir *Francis* and *Horatio Vere*. At which Time there was fought the famous Battel of *Newport*, where Sir *Francis* order’d his *English* to throw off their Cloaths, telling them, *That shortly they should need none, or get better*; and here nine thousand *Spaniards* were slain, and the Victory by the Valour of the *English* fell to the Confederate States: For so forward and courageous were the *English* in the Battel, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred were slain or sore wounded, eight Captains kill’d, and all the rest hurt but two.

The Battel of Newport.

All this Year, and the last, several Contests and Complaints arose between the *English* and *French*, concerning the Reprizals of Goods taken from each other by Pirates of either Nation; also concerning Customs and Impositions, contrary to the Treaty of *Blois*, and corrupt and deceitful taking of *English* Cloaths, to the great Discredit of the Nation. With *Denmark* also arose Controversies concerning Commerce, and the Fishing of the *English* upon the Coast of *Island* and *Norway*. The Queen likewise at that Time, for the Increase of Navigation and Commerce, founded the Company of *East-India* Merchants, who having large Privileges granted them, settled several Factories in those Parts, and carry’d on a great Trade even in this Reign. In the same Year, Pope *Clement* the Eighth, perceiving the Queen to be declining in Years, sent two bold *Breves* into *England*, the one to the Popish Clergy, the other to the Laity, in which he pretended to authorize no Person whatsoever to assume the *English* Crown after the Queen’s Death, but such a one as should promise by Oath to use his utmost Endeavours to promote the Catholick Religion, tho’ he was never so near ally’d to the Blood Royal of *England*. This was design’d chiefly against the present King of *Scotland*; and as *Camden* observes, was the Foundation of the famous Powder-Plot in the next Reign.

The Pope’s Designs against England.

Thus, with a Year of extraordinary Scarcity of Corn, concluded the Sixteenth Century; in which there occur’d more famous Varieties in Church and State, both in *England* and all Christendom, than in any Age since the first Propagation of the Gospel and Christianity.

Camden.
Speed.
Baker.
Spilford.
Baker.
1601.

XIV. All Things being in a reasonable Degree of Peace and Security, the Seventeenth Century in *England* began with the fatal Tragedy of the gallant Earl of *Essex*, who was hurry'd on to his ruin by a Temper too violent and impetuous. He had been six Months in Custody under the Lord-Keeper, and now out of his own good Nature, the Sense of his Afflictions, and the good Advice of his Friends, he began to repent of his ill Designs, and made such a shew of Piety, Patience, Modesty and Humility, that his Friends hop'd for his Conversion, his Adversaries envy'd him, and the Queen, mollify'd with his submissive Letters, suffer'd him to retire to his own House, under the free Custody of Sir *Richard Berkley*, often protesting, *That she would do nothing against him for his Ruin, but only for his Reformation.* But since the vulgar Sort had openly proclaim'd his Innocency; that her Majesty might not be suspected of Prejudice or Injustice, she thought fit to have his Cause heard, not in the Star-Chamber, lest he should be severely fin'd, but in the Lord-Keeper's House, before the Queen's Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges, and that some Censures should be taken of his Actions, yet without any Charge of *Perfidiousness*. The Heads of his Accusation were, 'That contrary to his Commission he had made the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horse, had drawn his Forces into *Munster*, neglected the chief Rebel *Tyrone*, and held a private and suspicious Parlee with him, contrary to the Dignity of the Queen's Majesty, and the Person of a Vice-Roy, which he represented: And some Aggravations were made by the Lawyers of some abrupt Sentences in his Letter written to the Lord Privy-Seal. The Earl kneeling at the Table, gave Thanks to God for his Mercies, and to his gracious Princess, that proceeded so mildly against him, professing, *He would not contend with her, nor excuse the Errors of his Youth, either in whole or in part; That he always meant well, tho' it happen'd otherwise in Appearance, but now he would bid the World Farewel.* And shedding a Flood of Tears, which caus'd many to sympathize with him, the Lord-Keeper in Conclusion proceeded to Sentence, which was, That he should be remov'd from the Place of Privy-Counsellor, suspended from his Offices of Earl-Marshal and Master of the Ordnance, and be detain'd in Custody during the Queen's Pleasure. This Censure was approv'd by all the rest; and many were in hopes that he would be restor'd to Favour, since the Queen had expressly commanded, that he should not be suspended from being Master of the Horse, and that this Censure should by no means remain upon Record.

A. D.

1601.

Reg. 43.

The Earl of
Essex's Cause.

He is censur'd.

After this the Earl made a shew of extraordinary Humility, which so pleas'd the merciful Queen, that she remov'd his Keeper from him, set him at Liberty, and gave him leave to retire into the Country; but admonish'd him now to make Discretion his Keeper, and by no means to come to the Court, or near her Person. But as soon as his Servant *Cuffe* had Access to him, he began to poison his Ears, and to tax him with Cowardice and Weakness; which provok'd the Earl to command his Name to be struck out of the Roll of his Servants, but *Merrick* his Steward, who was of the same Opinion, prevented it. And the Earl going into the Country, remember'd himself to the Queen by the Lord *Henry Howard*, in these Words, *That he kiss'd the Rod, and the Queen's Hand, which had only corrected, and not ruin'd him; yet he should never enjoy real Comfort, 'till he might behold those blessed Eyes, which had been his propitious Stars to guide him in his Course, while he steer'd at a law-ful Distance. But now he resolv'd to feed in the Field like Nebuchadnezzar, 'till it should please his Queen to restore him to his Sense.* The Queen secretly rejoycing at these Expressions, said, *Would to Heaven his Actions were answerable to his Words, He has long try'd my Patience, I must now try his Humility.* And now the Earl grew so confident of the Queen's Favour, that he became a Petitioner to her for the Farm of the sweet Wines, which

The Queen
is reconcil'd.

was

was a Place of great Profit; but she to try his Temper, return'd him Answer, *That she must first understand the Value of it; That Benefits were not to be bestow'd blindfold; That a furious Horse must be kept short of Provender to bring him to due Management;* commending the Aphorism of the Physicians, *That corrupt Bodies are injur'd by feeding plentifully.* These unexpected Answers so inrag'd the Earl that they threw him into his former Frenzy, fir'd him with Indignation, and caus'd him blindly to hearken to the Suggestions of *Casse, Merrick*, and other Incendiaries, whose implacable Malice hurry'd them to their own and their Master's Destruction. Their exasperating Speeches caus'd him often to join with them, and to drop passionate and indiscreet Words, which coming to the Queen's Knowledge with aggravating Comments and Inferences, alienated her Affections from him. But what most sensibly provok'd her, and made the Breach irreparable, was his indecent reflecting upon her Majesty's Person, saying, *That the Queen was now grown an old Woman, no less crooked and distorted in her Mind, than in her Body:* Which some of the Court Ladies, whom he had formerly deluded in Matters of Love, taking up at the Rebound, so spitefully represented it, that it blew up new Flames of Discontent between them, and so stung his distracted Mind, that he began to revive the clandestine Designs he had form'd in *Ireland*, made court to the Puritans and their Ministers, and also to the Papists, by seeming to commiserate their Afflictions. He secretly entertain'd Soldiers, and daring Prodigals, whose Poverty made them ready for any unlawful Enterprize. He and his particular Friends, the Earl of *Southampton*, *Sir Charles Danvers*, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, *Sir John Davis*, and *John Littleton of Franke*, held their private Cabals in *Drury House*, where they enter'd upon Resolutions, To seize the Tower, the Court, the Queen's Person, and call a Parliament to erect another Government. These frequent Assemblies, and the great Resort to *Essex's House* under Pretence of hearing Sermons, increas'd the Suspicions the Court had entertain'd of him, and caus'd him to be call'd before the Council, which he refus'd to obey, being resolv'd to preserve his Liberty, tho' with the Price of his Blood, and to that end had gather'd to his own House *Sands, Parker* and *Monteagle*, with about three hundred Gentlemen of good Quality.

Essex relapses.
He raises Soldiers.

The Queen having order'd the Lord Mayor to keep the Citizens in due Obedience, sent the Lord-Keeper, the Earl of *Worcester*, *Sir William Knolls*, and Lord Chief Justice *Popham*, to know the Cause of this unusual Assembly. They were admitted with much Difficulty into *Essex's House* through the Wicket; and in the Court-Yard they found a confus'd Multitude, with *Essex* in the middle of them, together with *Southampton* and *Rutland*. The Lord-Keeper demanded the Cause of the Tumult, and assur'd him that if any had injur'd him, he should have equal Justice against the Persons; to which *Essex* answer'd, *There was a Plot against his Life;* and when the Lord-Keeper urg'd him to be particular, the Multitude interrupted him, crying out, *Away, let us begon, they come to betray you, kill them, throw away the Broad-Seal, secure them in Prison.* Upon which *Essex*, retiring with them into the House, commanded the Doors to be shut, saying to the Lords, *Have Patience, I will go into the City and advise with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and return immediately.* Coming inconsiderately into *London*, with about two or three hundred in his Company, he cry'd out with the utmost Heat, *For the Queen, for the Queen! a Plot is laid for my Life!* and went directly towards Sheriff *Smith's House* in *Fen-Church Street*; and seeing the Citizens run about in a Maze, he bid them *Arm themselves, or they could do him no Good:* But not one Man took up Arms for him; and the Sheriff in whom he confided, hearing of his coming, withdrew himself out at a Back-Door, to the Lord Mayor's House, and would not see him. In the mean Time *Essex* by a Herald was proclaim'd a Traitor in all Parts of the City; and seeing none would espouse his Cause, and that his own Party began to desert, he gave *Gorges* leave to set

He imprisons the Privy-Counsellors,

and excites the Citizens to Rebellion.

the

the Privy-Counsellors at liberty, who did it, and went with them to the Court by Water. *Effex* returning to his House, found a Chain drawn cross the Street at *St. Paul's*, and Pikes and Musketeers planted against him by the Bishop of *London*, under the Command of *Sir John Levison*. The Earl in a Rage drew his Sword, and commanded *Blunt* to fall on; which he did with great Resolution, kill'd one *Waite*, and was himself desperately wounded, and taken Prisoner. There fell also *Henry Tracy*, a young Gentleman for whom the Earl had a tender Affection, and one or two Citizens. Being thus repuls'd at this Place, his Hat shot through, and many secretly deserting him, he return'd to his House by Water, burnt several Papers, *That they might tell no Tales*, and fortify'd his House on all Sides.

Immediately the House was invested by Land by the Lord *Thomas Howard* His House besieg'd. the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Burleigh*, the Lord *Compton*, and others; while the Lord Admiral, the Lord *Effingham* his Son, the Lord *Cobham*, *Sir John Stanhop*, *Sir Robert Sidney*, and *Sir Fulk Grevil* enter'd into the Garden by the *Thames* Side; and being ready to attack the House, he summon'd him by *Sidney* to yield. *Southampton* ask'd, *To whom they should yield? If to their Adversaries, their Ruin would be inevitable; If to the Queen, their Guilt would be apparent; but if the Lord Admiral would give them Hostages for their Security, they would appear before her Majesty, or else they would sell their Lives as dear as they could.* The Lord Admiral answer'd, *That such Conditions were not to be propos'd by Rebels*; but in Commiseration, to the weaker Sex, he would permit the Countess his Wife, the Lady *Rich* his Sister, and their Women, who fill'd the Air with their dismal Outcries, to depart in Safety. This the Earl took as a Favour, and only desir'd the Space of an Hour or two to fortifie the Place, through which they should pass, which was granted. Now the Earl of *Effex* looking upon all Things as desperate and lost, after two or three Persons were kill'd on each Side, once resolv'd to force his Way through his Enemies, to which he was particularly encourag'd by the old Lord *Sands*, who declar'd, *That the bravest Courses were the safest, and that it was more honourable for a Nobleman to die by the Sword, than the Axe.* But *Effex* fluctuating in his Resolutions, and having the Lord Admiral's Promise that all should be civilly treated, all the Noblemen at ten a Clock at Night, falling upon their Knees deliver'd up their Swords, and themselves Prisoners to him. *Effex* and *Southampton* were first confin'd to *Lambeth-House*, and shortly after with *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Monteagle*, *Sir Charles Danvers*, and *Sir Henry Bromley*, were committed to the Tower. The next Day, *Thomas Lea*, Captain of a Company in *Ireland*, intimating to one *Cross* a Sea-Captain, how noble an Exploit it were for six brave Soldiers to go to the Queen, and forcibly compel her to release *Effex* and *Southampton*, was immediately apprehended, examin'd, found guilty, and executed. He yields.

Upon the nineteenth of *February*, the two Earls, *Effex* and *Southampton*, were brought to their Trials in *Westminster-Hall*, before many of their Peers, where the Treasurer *Buckhurst* was made Lord High-Steward for that solemn Occasion. They were jointly indicted of High-Treason, namely, 'That they had plotted to deprive the Queen of her Life and Kingdom, to surprize her in her very Palace; and that they broke out into open Rebellion, by imprisoning the Counsellors of the Kingdom, by exciting the Citizens with vain Fictions, by assaulting the Queen's loyal Subjects, and by defending of *Effex's* House against her Majesty's Forces: To all which they pleaded *not guilty*, and *Effex* averr'd, *That he had done nothing, but what was agreeable to the Law of Nature, and upon urgent Necessity.* *Yelverton* the Queen's Sergeant, and *Edward Coke* her Attorney, open'd the Indictment, and according to the Custom of Lawyers, upbraided *Effex* with the Queen's Favours, compar'd him to *Catiline*, and as some thought made too indecent Reflections and Insults upon Men of their Quality and unhappy Circumstances: For *Coke* ended his Harangue with this

The Trial of him and his Associate.

this severe Conclusion : *It were to be wish'd that this Robert, Earl of Essex, might be the last of this Name, who affected to be Robert the first of that Name King of England.* The Earl of Essex with great Courage and Modesty answer'd, *That this Art of scandalous Oratory was common to Men of their Profession, who accounted it their Glory to depress innocent Men with Multiplicity of Words, and therefore pray'd the Lords not to regard their Clamours and noisie Suggestions, but weigh the Matter according to Truth, and not by Rigour and Quirks of Law.* The Evidences against them being heard, Southampton endeavour'd to excuse himself out of his Love to Essex, and his Ignorance of the Laws, and with great Humility begg'd the Queen's Mercy, whom he had always esteem'd as the lively Image of the Divine Goodness, and against whom his Heart had never harbour'd a disloyal Thought. Essex, when the Heat was over between him and Cecil, answer'd more calmly, *That he had no Design but to repel Force by Force ; nor would he have enter'd the City inconsiderately, if he had not thought his Life in Danger ; nor with so small a Number, if he design'd any thing but to defend himself against his private Enemies.* After this the Lords withdrew, and in an Hour return'd to their Places, where every one of them pronounc'd Essex and Southampton guilty ; who being brought again to the Bar, and acquainted with it, Essex humbly begg'd the Lords Favours, that they would intercede with her Majesty for Southampton's Pardon, who might do her good Service, But, added he, *for my own Life I value it not ; for I desire nothing more than to lay it down with sincere Faith to God, and Loyalty to my Prince, tho' the Law has made another Interpretation of it. Yet I would have none to tell the Queen that I slight her Mercy, tho' I believe I shall never servilely beg it : And I beseech you, my Peers, tho' you have condemn'd me by Law, that you would absolve me in your Consciences, who never design'd any Ill against my Prince.*

They are condemn'd.

The next Day Sir Robert Vernon, Sir William Constable, Sir Edmund Bainham, Knights ; John Littleton, Henry Cusse the Earl's Secretary, Captain Whitlock, John and Christopher Wright, and Orel an old Soldier, were arraign'd ; and as soon as they had held up their Hands, and the Queen was inform'd they were unwarily drawn into this Plot, she commanded that none but Littleton, Bainham and Orel should be try'd, and that the rest should be remanded to Prison ; and tho' Sentence pass'd against those that were try'd, yet at last all their Lives were spared. Bainham redeem'd his by a Sum of Money paid to Sir Walter Raleigh, Littleton dy'd of a Distemper, and Orel was pardon'd.

Essex's Confession.

In the mean Time the sorrowful Earl of Essex, disturb'd in his Conscience, and terrify'd by the attending Minister, desir'd to discourse with some of the Privy-Council, and particularly with Secretary Cecil. Upon which Request, the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Admiral and Cecil went to him ; and after he had ask'd Pardon of the Lord-Keeper and Cecil for what he had done or said against them, he assur'd them, *That the Queen could never be safe as long as he liv'd,* and therefore begg'd that he might be executed privately in the Tower. He discover'd several of his Associates in the Conspiracy ; and desiring to speak with Blunt and Cusse, as soon as he saw them, he cry'd out, *Ah Cusse ! Ask Pardon of God and the Queen ; for you were the Persons that chiefly provok'd me to this Disloyalty.* Nor was he satisfy'd with this verbal Confession, but in Writing discover'd the Conspirators, which were then in several Countries, as Scotland, Ireland, and the Netherlands.

The twenty fifth of February was appointed for the fatal Day of Execution, when Thomas Montford and William Barlow Doctors of Divinity, with Ashton Minister of the Tower Church, were sent to him early in the Morning, to prepare him for Death. In the Presence of these Men he gave Thanks to God, *that his Designs, so dangerous to the Publick, had no Success.* He freely told them, *That he had now look'd seriously into his Sins, and was*

heartily

Bromley, Lord Chancellor, declar'd this Fact of the Earls, and then commanded the Attorney-General to publish the Cause of his Imprisonment, and the Manner of his Death. Whereupon, *Popham* first, and then *Egerton* the Queen's Solicitor, in long Orations lay'd open all his Treasons, and how for fear of his Family, he had laid violent Hands upon himself.

And now the Queen knowing that the Seeds of these Treasons proceeded from abroad, she sought to strengthen her self by Foreign Alliances: And first to oblige the *French* King, whom the Year before she had chosen into the Order of the *Garter*, she sent the Earl of *Derby* into *France* to invest him with the Robes and Ornaments, with great Pomp and Solemnity. And then understanding that the *Guises* had engag'd in a dangerous League against the Protestant Religion, the *French* King and her self, she resolv'd to enter into another with the Princes of *Germany*: And to this Purpose she sent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmark*, to the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, to the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Wittenberg*, *Bünmswick* and *Lunenburgh*, to the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, and the Lantgrave of *Hesse*; and into *Scotland*, she sent Sir *Edward Wotton*, to let the King understand how sincerely she stood affected to him, and withal to persuade him into a League of mutual Defence and Offence, and to recommend to him the King of *Denmark's* Daughter in Marriage. The King was very inclinable to the Substance of the League, but at present the Negotiation was interrupted by the Death of *Francis Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, slain at a Meeting appointed to compose a Difference between the Borderers, by a sudden Tumult of the *Scots*, but the Author of the Fact was unknown. The *English* charg'd it upon the Earl of *Arran*, and the Lord *Fernihurst* Governor of the Middle-Borders. Whereupon at the Queen's Complaint, the Earl of *Arran* was confin'd, and *Fernihurst* committed to Prison at *Dundee*, where he dy'd; being a Man of great Valour and Resolution, and one who was always firm to the Interest of the Queen of *Scotland*.

The Queen's
Alliances.

But Queen *Elizabeth* not thus satisfy'd, by way of Contrivance gave leave to the *Scotch* Lords, the *Hamiltons*, *Angus*, *Marre*, *Glames*, and other Exiles in *England*, to return secretly into *Scotland*, supplying them with Mony to suppress the Earl of *Arran*. For *Maxwell*, lately made Earl of *Bothwell*, Baron *Humes*, and others in *Scotland*, had already promis'd them their Assistance, even in the very Court; where by *Wotton's* Policy, Sir *Patrick Gray*, *Belenden* the Justice-Clerk, and *Maitland* the Secretary, were persuaded to join against *Arran*. The Exile Lords, upon their first Entry into *Scotland*, commanded all Persons in the King's Name, to aid them for Conservation of the Truth of the Gospel, for freeing the King from corrupt Counsellors, and for maintaining of Amity with the *English*; so that they were soon join'd with about eight thousand Men. The Earl of *Arran* hearing of this, hasten'd to the King, and accus'd *Patrick Gray* as Author of this Commotion; but while *Arran* was making Provision for the Defence of the Town, his Enemies were ready to scale the Walls: Upon which *Arran* being inform'd, that they only aim'd at his Head, he secretly fled with one Servant, and the rest retir'd to the King in the Castle; from whence the King sent *Gray* to demand the Reason of their Coming; they answer'd, *To submit themselves, and most humbly to kiss the King's Hand*. The King offer'd Restitution of all their Possessions, if they return'd in Peace; but they desir'd to be admitted into his Presence, which was granted upon these Conditions: 'That they should not attempt any Thing against the King's Person, or those he should nominate, nor make any Innovations in the Government. They protested themselves ready to sacrifice their Lives for the King's Safety; and of any Innovations, they had not so much as a Thought; only they requested to have their Adversaries, and the Forts of the Kingdom, put into their Hands. After a Days Consultation, they were admitted into the King's Presence; and immediately the Earls of *Montross*, *Crawford* and *Roths*, Colonel *Stuart*, *Downs*, *Arran's* Brother, and others,

The Affairs in
Scotland.

A great
Change in that
Kingdom.

were deliver'd into their Hands: The Earl of *Arran*, who had fled into the Western Islands, was call'd home; and themselves were pardon'd, and pronounc'd good Subjects. *Hamilton* was made Governor of *Dunbritton*, *Humes* of *Edinburgh* Castle, *Angus* of the Castle of *Tontallon*, *Marre* of *Sterlin*, and *Glames* Captain of the King's Guard. Upon this all Proscriptions and Outlawries against all Persons since the King's Inauguration, except some few by Name, were call'd in; and with an unanimous Consent of all Parties, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of *England* was determin'd, and Commissioners nominated for that Purpose.

A great Commotion in Ireland.

In *Ireland* likewise was a great Commotion this Year; first the *Burks*, provok'd by the severe Government of *Richard Bingham* Governor of *Connaught*, rais'd a Rebellion; but this was soon suppress'd, for *Thomas Burk* dy'd fighting, and his two Brothers were taken and executed. After this the *Clan-Gibbons*, the *Clan-Donels*, and the *Joyes*, combin'd in great Numbers, and openly declar'd, That they would have one of the *Burks* to rule over them, or some other Lord out of *Spain*, and thereupon harra's'd all the Country with Fire and Sword: And neither by the Persuasions of the Arch-Bishop of *Tuam*, nor by the Intreaties of the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, would they be appeas'd, till *John Bingham*, the Governor's Brother, follow'd them into the Woods, drove away five thousand Head of their Cattle, so that after forty Days, half starv'd, they came forth and submitted themselves. But the Disturbances did not end here; for now the Governor understood, That two thousand *Scotch* Islanders were landed, and ready to break into *Connaught*; upon which he gather'd his Men to give them Battel: But they flying into Bogs and Woods, he retreated with all the Signs of Fear, 'till drawing them out into firm Ground, he with his whole Force set upon their increas'd Body, and kill'd to the Number of three thousand Men; among whom were the two Sons of *James Mac-Conel*, who had long disturb'd these Parts, and the rest of the *Burks* who were the Authors of this Rebellion. This was a famous Victory, for the Good of the present and future Times; for by this the Name of the *Mac-Williams*, or principal Lord in *Connaught* was utterly extinct, and the insolent Attempts of the *Scotch* Islanders absolutely suppress'd.

Happily ended.

The States of Holland fly for Succour to the Queen.

In the *Netherlands* at this Time the Confederate States were under great Difficulties; so that they held a solemn Consultation, whether to fly for Protection, to the *French* King, or the Queen of *England*. The *French* Ambassador shew'd many Advantages, and gave many Reasons, why they should rather fly to the *French* King; the *English* on the other Side urg'd as many Arguments why they should address themselves to the Queen of *England*: But in Conclusion, they had first Recourse to the King of *France*, and afterwards being neglected by him, to the Queen of *England*. Therefore in *England* it was nicely consulted and debated, Whether it was convenient to protect them; in which the Council was divided: Some were of Opinion, 'That it was necessary to relieve them, 'for that the *Spaniard* by conquering them, would greatly indanger the Kingdom 'of *England*: Others again thought, They were to be accounted no better 'than Rebels to their lawful Sovereign, and therefore unworthy of Assistance. So that after a long debate upon the Matter, the Queen refus'd them her Protection; Yet nevertheless to raise the Siege of *Antwerp*, then invested by the Prince of *Parma*, she was willing to supply them with four thousand Soldiers, provided the Town of *Sluce*, with all the Ordnance, were given into her Hands: But while this was discussing, the City of *Antwerp* was forc'd to surrender to the *Spaniard*. This gave new Concern to the generous Queen, who more seriously considering the Consequences, partly as fearing the Growth of the King of *Spain's* Power, and partly in Commiseration of the distressed Condition of the Protestants, she at last resolv'd to undertake their Protection, 'and 'to supply them with five thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, under a sufficient General, and to pay them during the War: Upon Condition on their side

She takes them into her Protection.

Side, that by way of Pledge and Security for Repayment of all Charges, they should deliver into her Possession the Town of *Flushing*, and the Castle of *Ramekins*, and the Isle of *Brill*, with the City and two Forts. All which was concluded; and the Queen set forth a large Declaration to justify her Actions. Thus the Heroick Queen openly undertook the Protection of the *Netherlands*, while all the Princes of Christendom admir'd at such Female Fortitude, which durst provoke so puissant a Monarch: Insomuch the King of *Sweden* said, *That Queen Elizabeth had now taken the Crown from her Head, and adventur'd it upon the doubtful Chance of War.*

The wise Queen knowing how much she had incens'd the King of *Spain*, judg'd it best to turn his Anger to distant Regions; and thereupon sent out Sir *Francis Drake* and *Christopher Carlisle*, with a Fleet of twenty one Sail towards the *West-Indies*, in which were two thousand Volunteers and Mariners. These first surpriz'd the Town of *St. Jago*, afterwards *St. Domingo*, where twenty five thousand Crowns were given them to spare the Town from burning, and after that *Cartagena*, which they held seven Weeks, till the *Spaniards* redeem'd it for a hundred and ten thousand Crowns. After this the *Calenture* growing hot, and diminishing their Forces, they return'd towards *England*, passing by *Virginia*, a Colony that Sir *Walter Raleigh* had there planted; from whence *Drake* brought home with him *Ralph Lane*, who was the first that brought *Tobacco* into *England*, which the *Indians* took against Crudities in the Stomach. In this Expedition were lost about seven hundred Men, who chiefly dy'd of *Calentures*; and their Booty amounted to threescore thousand Pounds Sterling, besides two hundred and forty great Brasses and Iron Pieces of Cannon. These Things were transacted under the *Torrid Zone* in *America*; when at the same time Captain *Davis* with two Ships, at the Expence of *William Sanderson* and other Citizens of *London*, found out a Way to the *East-Indies*, by the Northern Parts of *America*, under the *Frigid Zone*.

Expedition against the Spanish-Indies.

During these Maritime Adventures, the Earl of *Leicester*, fired with Ambition of Command and Glory, and fearing his many Enemies at home, obtain'd Liberty of the Queen to go over into *Holland* with the Title of *General of the Queen of England's Auxiliary Forces*. He was accompany'd with the young Earl of *Essex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Russel*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Bassett*, Sir *Walter Waller*, and Sir *Gervase Clifton*, besides five hundred Gentlemen. Landing at *Flushing*, he was first entertain'd by his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney* the Governor, and after that by the Towns of *Zealand* and *Holland*, after a most magnificent Manner: And coming to the *Hague* in *January*, the States by Patent committed to him the Command and absolute Authority over the United Provinces, with the pompous Titles of *Governor and Captain General of Holland, Zealand, and the Confederate Provinces*. So that now being attended with a noble Guard, call'd by all Men *Your Excellency*, sooth'd with Flatteries, and seated in the highest Degree of Honour, he began ambitiously to assume the Port and Behaviour of a real King; But *Queen Elizabeth*, who knew how to check the Exorbitancies of her greatest Favourites, to allay his Aspirings, positively wrote to him, *That she admir'd how a Man, whom she had rais'd out of the Dust, should so contemptuously violate her Commands*; and therefore charg'd him upon his Allegiance, *strictly to observe the Injunctions she sent him by Hencage her Vice-Chamberlain*. In the other Letters she expostulated with the States, *That to her great Dishonour, they had thrown upon the Earl of Leicester, her Subject, the absolute Command over the United Provinces, without her Privy; when she had refus'd it her self*; and therefore directed them to divest him of that absolute Authority, to whom she had set such Bounds, as he should not pass. The States return'd Answer, *That they were heartily sorry they should incur her Displeasure, by conferring such Authority upon the Earl, without her Knowledge, but begg'd her to consider the Necessity of it; since to avoid Con-*

The Earl of Leicester made General in the Netherlands.

A. D.
1586.
Reg. 28.

His great Ambition.

fusion, that Authority must be thrown upon some Person: Nor was there any thing shocking in the Word Absolute, since the Power and Government still rested upon the People. By these Letters, and Leicester's artificial Submission, the Queen was gradually appeas'd.

*His Actions in
the Nether-
lands.*

The Earl of *Leicester* all this time receiv'd Contributions and Rewards from all Provinces, and made Martial Laws; and endeavouring likewise to raise new Customs upon Merchandize, he incurr'd great Dislike among the common People. His first Service was to relieve *Grave*, a Town in *Brabant*, which Count *Mansfield* had besieg'd; to which Place he sent Count *Hohenlo* a German, and *Norris* General of the *English* Foot, but notwithstanding all their good Service, the Town at length was taken; but *Hemart* the Governor, for his cowardly Submission, lost his Head. After this, the Prince of *Parma* march'd into *Gelderland*, and sat down before *Venlo*; where *Skenk* a *Free-slander*, and *Roger Williams* a *Welshman* perform'd a great Exploit; yet that Town was also taken shortly after. But in the mean time, the Lord *Willoughby*, Governor of *Bergen-op-Zone*, cut off the Enemies Convoys, and seiz'd their Provisions; and Sir *Philip Sidney*, and *Maurice* Son to the Prince of *Orange*, upon a sudden Attack bravely took *Axel*, a Town in *Flanders*. From *Venlo*, the valiant Prince of *Parma* march'd to *Berke*, garrison'd by twelve hundred *English*, under the Command of Colonel *Morgan*, and laid Siege to the Place; which the Earl of *Leicester* came to raise, but finding his Numbers too small for the Attempt, by way of Diversion he invested *Duisburgh*, which he took before the Prince of *Parma* could come to relieve it. And now the Prince of *Parma*, fearing lest *Zutphen* should be in Danger, commanded Provisions to be sent thither, which the *Spaniards* carrying in a Fog, the *English* by chance met them, defeated a Troop of their Horse, slew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and several others. But in this Skirmish they lost the Glory of the *English* Nation, Sir *Philip Sidney*, who having his Horse slain under him, and mounting another, was shot into the Thigh, and after twenty five Days Torture he dy'd in the Flower of his Age, using these last Words to his Attendants, *Govern your Will and Affection by the Will and Word of your Creator; in me behold the End of this World and all its Vanities.* He had all the admirable Qualifications and Accomplishments, that could belong to a Man, a Soldier, a Schollar, a Gentleman and a Christian: His Obsequies were magnificently solemniz'd at St. *Paul's* Cathedral, *James* King of *Scotland* made his *Epitaph*, and both the Universities display'd the utmost of their Wit and Parts in celebrating his Memory.

*The Death and
Character of
Sir Philip Sid-
ney.*

*Complaints a-
gainst Leice-
ster.*

After this the Earl of *Leicester*, full of Sorrow for his Nephew's Loss, attack'd the Sconces near *Zutphen*, where setting upon a Fort he took it after a peculiar manner: For one *Edward Stanley*, catching hold of a *Spaniard's* Launce with which he had charg'd him, held it so fast, that he was drawn up by that into the Fort; which so terrify'd the *Spaniards*, that immediately they quitted it. The Earl Knighted *Stanley* for this Act, gave him forty Pounds in present Mony, and an annual Pension of a hundred Marks during Life. And now the Season being far advanc'd, *Leicester* would not lay a formal Siege to the Place, but thought it sufficiently block'd up by the Garrisons in the Towns surrounding it. Therefore he return'd to the *Hague*, where the States receiv'd him with great Complaints, 'That their Mony was not carefully manag'd, that the Numbers of the *English* Supplies were not compleat, that Foreign Soldiers were levy'd without their Consent, that the Privileges of the United Provinces were disregarded, and new Projects for Contributions invented; for all which Mischiefs, they requested him to provide some present Remedy. And now designing for *England*, he gave a friendly Answer to these Complaints; but upon the very Day of his Departure, he first intrusted the Government of the Provinces to the Council of State, and at the very same Instant privately made another Act of Restriction, reserving to him-
self

self the whole Authority over the Governors of Provinces, Cities and Forts; and besides, took away the usual Jurisdiction from the Council of the States, and Presidents of the Provinces; and then sail'd over into *England* upon the third Day of *December*. He returns into England.

At home the active Queen was very careful for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion; and she caus'd the Earl of *Arundel*, who had been in a Prison a whole Year, to be brought to the Star-Chamber, where being charg'd with harbouring of Priests, corresponding with *Allen* and *Parsons* the Jesuit, and offering to leave the Kingdom without Licence, he was fin'd ten thousand Pounds, and condemn'd to Imprisonment during the Queen's Pleasure. At the same Time the Queen supply'd the King of *Navarre* with a large Sum of Money; through whose Side the *Guises* endeavour'd to wound the Reform'd Religion in *Scotland*. But her most intente Care was how to unite *England* and *Scotland* in one intire Friendship: To which End she sent *Thomas Randolph* into *Scotland*, who making Proposals to the King, concerning a League Offensive and Defensive, tho' the King at first requir'd some Additions, and the *French* Ambassador violently oppos'd the whole, yet at last he consented to it. And in *July* following, there met at *Berwick*, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Ewer*, and *Thomas Randolph* for the Queen of *England*; and *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, and *Humes* for the King of *Scotland*. Here the *Scotch* mis-liking the Word *Offensive*, the League was concluded under the Name of *The League of strict Amity*, containing several Articles; First for the maintaining of the Reform'd Religion, and then other such Articles, as were usual in the most friendly Alliances. Arundel fin'd in the Star-Chamber. A League between England and Scotland.

X. We have hitherto seen the Queen of *Scotland* languishing under the Miseries of eighteen Years mysterious Confinement; but now, when all Things seem'd in a peaceable Condition, a new Accident occur'd, which brought this unfortunate Queen to the last Act of her fatal Tragedy; and this was the Discovery of a dangerous Conspiracy against the Queen and Nation. The Beginning was from one *John Savage*, who by the Persuasion of *Gifford*, a Doctor of Divinity, and others, was induc'd to believe, That it was a meritorious Work to take away the Lives of Princes Excommunicate, and thereupon vow'd to kill Queen *Elizabeth*. But to throw the Queen and Council into a State of Security, at the same Time they wrote a Book, exhorting the Papists in *England* to attempt nothing against their Prince, and to use only the Christian Weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching and Fasting. About *Whitsontide*, one *Ballard* a Seminary Priest of *Rheims*, being acquainted with *Savage's* Vow, having treated in *France* with *Mendoza* and *Charles Paget*, about invading *England*, came over in the Habit of a Soldier, and was by a feign'd Name call'd Captain *Foscu*. Here he discover'd the whole Design to one *Anthony Babington*, a hopeful young Gentleman of *Derbyshire*, who by the Bishop of *Glasco*, the *Scotch* Queen's Ambassador in *France*, had been recommended to her, as one worthy of her Affection; so that between that Queen and him, there often pass'd Letters in unknown Characters. In a short Time, *Babington* by his Management had drawn into the Plot several other Gentlemen, zealous for the *Romish* Religion; as *Edward Windsor*, Brother to the Lord *Windsor*, *Thomas Salisbury*, of a good Family in *Devonshire*, *Charles Tilney* one of the Queen's Pensioners, *Chydiack Tichburn* of *Hampshire*, *Edward Abington* Son to the Queen's Cofferer, *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*, *John Travers* and *John Charnock* of *Lancashire*, *John Jones*, *Barnwel* of a noble Family in *Ireland*, *Henry Dunne*, Clerk in the First-Fruit Office, and *Savage* formerly mention'd. One *Pollie* also insinuated himself into their Company, a Man thoroughly acquainted with the Affairs of the *Scotch* Queen, who was thought daily to reveal all their Consultations to *Walsingham*. To these Gentlemen *Babington* communicated his Affairs, but not all the Particulars to every A. D. 1586. Reg. 29. Babington's Conspiracy. His Associates.

Their Proceed-
ings.

every one; to *Ballard*, *Tichburn* and *Dunne*, he shew'd the Letters that pass'd between him and the Queen of Scotland; *Tilney* and the rest were to be his Assistants. The Conspirators often met at Taverns, where they every Day consulted Expedients, and drunk and feasted highly, pleasing themselves with the Expectations of great Honours, and were arriv'd to such an extream Vanity, that the Men appointed to be the Assassins, were pictur'd to the Life, and *Babington* in the midst of them; with these Words, *Quorsum hæc alio properantibus*. This Picture was said to be privately shown to the Queen, who knew none of their Faces but *Barnwell's*, who had been often in Court. It happen'd when the Queen was once walking abroad, she espy'd this *Barnwell*, and turning to *Hatton*, Captain of the Guard, said, *Am not I well guarded, that have not a Man in my Company that wears a Sword?* Thus much *Barnwell* himself told the rest of the Company, and shew'd how easie it had been to have dispatch'd her if the rest had been present.

The Plot discover'd.

Walsingham's
rare Managem-
ent.

This Plot did not continue long undiscover'd, which was first done by the fore-mention'd Doctor *Gifford*. This Person was a Gentleman of a good Family at *Chellington* in *Staffordshire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Scotch Queen was now kept Prisoner; and was lately sent by the English Fugitives into *France*, under the feign'd Name of *Luson*, to remind *Savage* of the Vow he had made, and to convey Letters between them and the Queen of Scotland. But being now troubled in Conscience, corrupted with Money, or terrify'd with Fear, he went privately to *Walsingham*, discover'd who he was, for what End, and by whom he was sent into *England*. The subtle *Walsingham* entertain'd him very courteously, and sent him into *Staffordshire*, to perform the Work he had undertaken: Here *Gifford* with a few Pieces of Gold bribing the Brewer of the House, where the Scotch Queen was lodg'd, so projected the Matter with him, that by a Hole in the Wall, usually fill'd up with a loose Stone, he should give in and receive out Letters; all which by Messengers purposely laid in the Way came directly to *Walsingham's* Hands, who broke them open, and copy'd them out; and by the singular Skill of one *Thomas Philips* discover'd the Meaning of the private Characters, and by the nice Art of *Arthur Gregory* so curiously seal'd them, that no Man could imagine them to have been open'd, and always sent them to the Parties to whom they were superscrib'd. In the like manner were the former Letters from the Queen of the Scots to *Babington* intercepted; as also other Letters written at the same Time to *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador, *Charles Paget*, the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Francis Englefield*, and others.

As soon as the Queen by these Letters understood what a dreadful Storm hung over her Head, both at home and abroad, she commanded *Ballard* first to be apprehended, who was suddenly taken in *Babington's* House, when he was ready for *France*. Hereupon *Babington* became told with a thousand Uncertainties of an unresolv'd Mind, and at last repair'd to *Walsingham*, with whom he had long been a Suitor, for a Licence to go into *France*, promising to perform great Services in discovering the Practices of the Fugitives. *Walsingham* with subtle Promises drove the young Gentleman off from Day to Day; and at length persuaded him to lodge at his own House at *London* for a small Space till he could get his Licence seal'd, where they might have secret Intercourse without Suspicion. Thus far had *Walsingham* spun the Thread alone, without acquainting the rest of the Queen's Council; and would have drawn it longer, but the Queen would not permit it, Lest, as she said, *by not avoiding Danger when she might, she should rather seem to tempt, than to trust Providence*. Whereupon *Walsingham* sent a Note to his Man *Scudamore*, that he should more strictly observe *Babington*; which Note was deliver'd in such a Manner, that *Babington* sitting by a Table when *Scudamore* read it, overlook'd him, and read the same. Hereupon suspecting all was discover'd, the following Night, when he and *Scudamore* with two more of *Walsingham's* Servants

had supp'd plentifully in a Tavern, he arose suddenly from the Board, and leaving his Cloak and Sword behind him; hasten'd in the Dark to *Westminster*, where *Gage* chang'd Cloaths with him, and immediately put on those of *Char-nocks*; and then they withdrew themselves into Sir *John's* Wood near the City, whither also *Barnwell* and *Dunne* made their Retreat. In the mean Time they were proclaim'd Traitors all over *England*; which drove them into Woods and private Recesses: They shav'd *Babington's* Head, and disfigur'd his natural Beauty with the Rind of green Wallnuts; and when they were half starv'd, they repair'd to the Houses of the *Bellamies*, near *Harrow on the Hill*; where they were hid in Barns, and put in Country Habits. But notwithstanding all their Shiftings, they were discover'd within ten Days, and brought to *London*, to the great Joy of the Citizens, who publickly express'd their Satisfaction for the Safety of their beloved Queen. The other Accomplices were soon after apprehended, most of them in the Suburbs of the City; *Salisbury* and *Travers* in *Cheshire*, and *Jones* in *Wales*, and *Bellamy*, who had harbour'd them in his House, after he knew they were proclaim'd Traitors, was likewise taken; only *Windsor* was never found. Many Days were spent in their Examinations, whilst they ruin'd each other by their Confessions, and discover'd the whole Truth of the Conspiracy.

Babington and the rest are taken.

All this busie Time, the Queen of *Scotland* and her Servants were so strictly observ'd by *Powlet*, that she knew nothing of all these Transactions. As soon as the Conspirators were apprehended, and in safe Custody, *Thomas George* was sent to acquaint her with the whole Affair; which he did not perform, 'till she was mounted on Horseback to ride a Hunting, and was not then permitted to return, but under a shew of Honour, was led about to see the Houses of the neighbouring Gentry. At the same Instant, Sir *John Manners*, Sir *Edward Aston*, Sir *Richard Bagot*, and *William Wade*, seiz'd upon *Narve* and *Curle*, the *Scotch* Queen's Secretaries, and the rest of her Servants, and deliver'd them to separate Keepers and Places, that they might have no Discourse between themselves, nor with their Lady the Queen of *Scotland*. Next they broke open all Doors and Locks, and upon such Desks and Boxes as had Papers in them, they set their Seals, and sent them to the Queen: In which, before her Majesty's Presence, were found a great Number of Letters from Foreign Parts, likewise the Copies of Letters sent to several Persons, and at least sixty Alphabets of private Characters; as also, Letters to her from some of the *English* Nobility, containing great Proffers of Love and Service: All which Queen *Elizabeth* disssembled in Silence, according to her usual Motto, *Video & Taceo*, I see, and say nothing. *Gifford*, who had all this Time serv'd their purpose, was now sent into *France*, as if he had been banish'd out of *England*: But before his Departure, he left an indented Paper with the *French* Ambassador in *England*, with Instructions, that he should deliver no Letters from the Queen of the *Scots* or the *English* Fugitives, but to that Person who should shew the Counter-part thereof; which Counter-part was privately sent by him to Sir *Francis Walsingham*.

The Scotch Queen's Servants and Papers seiz'd.

On the thirteenth of *September* seven of the Conspirators were arraign'd, and confess'd their Crime, viz. *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage*, *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney* and *Abington*; and the other seven, two Days after, pleaded not guilty, but were condemn'd upon Trial: Only *Pollie*, tho' he was privy to all Passages, yet, because he had discover'd many Things to *Walsingham*, was not call'd in Question. *Babington* was executed with great Severity, and while he was cutting up, cry'd out, *Parce mihi, Domine Jesu!* *Savage* broke the Rope, and was cut up alive without any Hanging; which two, with *Ballard*, *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney* and *Abington*, were executed with great Rigour, on the twentieth of *September*, in *St. Gile's* Fields. The next Day the other seven at the same Place were executed with more Mercy, the Queen detesting the cutting them up alive, as had been done the Day before: These were *Salisbury*, *Dunne*,

The Trial and Execution of the Conspirators.

The Queen of the Scots accused by her Servants. *Danne, Jones, Charnock, Travers, and Gage, and with them Bellamy, who had conceal'd Babington after he was proclaim'd Traitor, whose Brother had strangled himself in Prison. When these Men were executed, the Scotch Queen's two Secretaries, Narve a Frenchman and Curle a Scotchman, were examin'd concerning the Letters, the Copies of Letters, and private Characters found in the Queen of the Scots Closet; and they under their own voluntary Subscriptions acknowledg'd, that they were their own Hand-writings, dictated in French by the Queen her self, taken by Narve, turn'd into English by Curle, and copy'd out in secret Characters. Hereupon Sir Edward Wotton was sent immediately into France, to lay before the King the whole Order of the Conspiracy, and shew him the Copies of the Queen of the Scots Letters, confirm'd by the Testimony of several of the English Nobility; so that the French King might be sensible to what Dangers the Queen of England had been reduc'd by the Practices of Morgan, Paget, and others in France.*

Great Debates concerning her. After the Punishment of inferior Persons and Subjects, a grand Debate arose how they should proceed against a crown'd Head, the Sovereign Queen of Scotland, as she was accounted by all her Friends; in which those of the Council had various Sentiments. Some conceiv'd it was hard and improper to use any rigorous Course against her, but only to detain her in safe Custody; both because she was not the Author of the Conspiracy, but only an Accessary; and because she was infirm, and not like to live long. Others, out of a peculiar Care of Religion, were of Opinion, that she should be arraign'd and executed according to Law; and Leicester, according to his Methods, advis'd to have her poison'd, and sent a Divine to Walsingham to prove it lawful, but he honourably protested against all such Actions. Next there arose a Difference in Council, concerning what Law they were to use against her; whether the Statute of the twenty fifth of Edward the Third, 'That pronounc'd all guilty of Treason who plotted the Destruction of the King, rais'd Wars in his Dominions, or adher'd to his Enemies; or else by the twenty seventh of the present Queen, enacted a Year before. At length it was carry'd by those who thought she was rather to be try'd by this last Act, as being made for this very Purpose and Occasion, and therefore to be put in Execution. Whereupon, above forty of the Nobility and chief Men of the Nation were authoriz'd by the Queen's special Commission, 'To inquire by virtue of that Law, and pass Sentence against all such as rais'd Rebellion, invaded the Kingdom, or attempted any Violence against the Queen: All which solemn Commission was design'd for to hear and determine the famous Cause of the Queen of Scotland.

The Commissioners meet at Fotheringay. Accordingly these great Commissioners, with many Lawyers and Attendants, upon the eleventh Day of October, repair'd to Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire, where the Scotch Queen was then detain'd Prisoner. The next Day they sent to her Sir Walter Mildmay, Powlet, and Edward Barker a publick Notary, who deliver'd her the Queen's Letters; which she receiv'd with a compos'd and majestick Countenance, and answer'd to this Effect, *That it was very surprising, that the Queen should lay her Commands upon her, to submit to a Trial, as tho' she were a Subject, when she was a Queen, no less absolute than her self; therefore she would never act any thing prejudicial to Persons of her Dignity, nor to her Son the King of Scotland.* The next Day some Deputies from the Commissioners came to her, with Persons learned in the Civil and Canon Law, to demonstrate to her, 'That neither her Imprisonment, nor her Royal Prerogative, could exempt her from answering in the Kingdom of England, and therefore advis'd her to hear what would be objected against her: Otherwise they threaten'd, *That by the Authority of the Law, they could and must proceed against her, tho' she was absent.* To which she answer'd, *That she was no Subject, and would die a thousand Deaths, before she would acknowledge her self to be one; by which she should*

She denies their Authority over her.

both

both injure the Majesty of Princes, and subject her self to the Laws, and even to the Religion of England. Nevertheless, she was ready to answer in a full and free Parliament; but as for this Assembly, it was, as she perceiv'd, contriv'd against her, to give some Colour to a legal Proceeding; but she desir'd them to examine their Consciences, and remember, That the Theatre of the whole World was larger than the Kingdom of England. After several Messages and personal Conferences, Hatton the Vice-Chamberlain deliver'd himself after this plausible manner; *Madam, you are accus'd, but not condemn'd: You say you are a Queen, be it so; the Royal Dignity is not exempted from answering, either by the Civil or Canon Laws, nor by the Laws of Nations and Nature: If you are Innocent, you injure your Reputation in declining a Trial: You protest your self Innocent; the Queen fears to the contrary with the deepest Sorrow and Affliction. To examine your Innocency are these honourable, prudent and upright Commissioners appointed, who will all rejoice to find you guiltless. The Queen her self will be transported with Joy, who affirm'd to me at my Departure, That she never met with a greater Affliction, than to find you charg'd with such a Crime. Wherefore, laying aside the bootless Claims of Royal Dignity, which now can be of no use to you, appear in Judgment, and display your Innocence; lest by avoiding Trial, you draw upon your self a Suspicion, and stain your Reputation with an indelable Aspersion.* This Speech, with some others, had such Influence upon her, that at last with great Reluctancy she submitted to a Trial. yet at last submits to a Trial.

Upon this the Commissioners assembled themselves in the Presence-Chamber, where at the upper End was plac'd a Chair and Canopy of State for the Queen of England; and over-against that, below and at some distance, stood a Chair for the Queen of Scotland. By the Walls on both sides were plac'd Benches, upon which, on the one side sat the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Oxford, Kent, Darby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke and Lincoln, and Viscount Montague; on the other side the Lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Gray, Lumley, Stourton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John, Compton and Ckeiney. Nigh these sat the Knights of the Privy-Council, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Amias Powlet. Right before the Earls sat the two Chief Justices, and the Lord Chief Baron; on the other side the two Barons, and the other Judges, with Dale and Ford, Doctors of the Civil Law; and at a Table in the midst, Popham the Queen's Attorney-General, Egerton her Solicitor, Gawdy her Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Publick Notaries. With this Formality, and to this remarkable Assembly, the Queen of Scotland presented her self with all Majesty and Decency; and being plac'd in her Seat, and Silence proclaim'd, Bromley Lord Chancellor declar'd to her, *That the Queen of England had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could answer to the Crimes laid to her Charge; assuring her, That nothing could cause more real Joy to the Queen, than to hear that she had prov'd her self Innocent.* Upon this, she rising up said, *That tho', as an absolute Princess, she could not be compell'd to appear before these Commissioners, yet to manifest her Innocency, she did condescend to appear.* Then Serjeant Gawdy open'd every Specialty of the Law lately made, against which she had taken Exceptions; and shew'd at large by Babington's Confession, by Letters pass'd between them, by the Confessions of Ballard and Savage, by the Confessions of her Secretaries Narve and Curle, That she was privy to their Conspiracies, and consented to the Invasion of England, and the Destruction of the Queen. She readily and acutely answer'd to all Particulars, tho' very numerous, and alledg'd, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted, and her condemn'd Accusers, in hopes of Life, might be induc'd to confess more than the Truth; and in this she peremptorily insisted, 'That she never consented to any At-

The Queen appears and answers.

S f f f f

tempts

‘ tempts against the Queen’s Person, and whatever she had done was to free
 ‘ her self from the Miseries of a long and unjust Imprisonment. After many
 other Charges by the Commissioners, and as many Replies, which she made
 with no less modest Behaviour than Presence of Mind, she in Conclusion re-
 quested, ‘ That she might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen
 ‘ her self, and her Council.

Sentence pass’d
against her.

After this the Court was adjourn’d ‘till the twenty fifth of *October* to the
 Star-Chamber at *Westminster*, where the Commissioners met; and after *Narve*
 and *Curle* had upon Oath *Vivâ Voce*, voluntarily avow’d, affirm’d and justi-
 fy’d, all the several Letters, and Copies of Letters before produc’d, to be true
 and real, Sentence was pronounc’d against the Queen of *Scotland*, confirm’d
 under the Seals and Subscriptions of the Commissioners, and the Reason for it
 recorded to this Effect, ‘ That since the first Day of *June*, in the twenty seventh
 ‘ of this Reign, divers Matters had been compos’d and imagin’d within the
 ‘ Realm of *England*, by *Anthony Babington* and others, with the Privy
 ‘ of the said *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to
 ‘ the Hurt, Death and Destruction of the said Lady the Queen of *England*.
 ‘ And also the aforesaid *Mary* had also her self compos’d and imagin’d divers
 ‘ Matters tending to the Hurt, Death and Destruction of the Queen of *En-*
 ‘ *gland*, contrary to a Statute specify’d in the foresaid Commission. This Sentence,
 which depended chiefly upon the Credit of the *Scotch* Queen’s two Secretaries,
 occasion’d variety of Discourse and Censure; while some thought them Persons
 worthy of Belief, and others of no Credit in this Matter. However the same
 Day a Declaration was publish’d by the Commissioners and the Judges of the
 Land, ‘ That the said Sentence did not prejudice *James* King of *Scotland*, in
 ‘ his Title or Honour; but that he was in the same Place, Degree and Right,
 ‘ as if the said Sentence had never been pronounc’d.

The sixth Parli-
ament in this
Reign.

A few Days after, upon the twenty ninth of *October*, a new Parliament met
 at *Westminster*, which was begun by Authority from the Queen, deriv’d to the
 Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Darby*; and
 that not without former Precedents. At this Parliament the Proscriptions of
 the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, Sir *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*,
Anthony Babington, and the rest of the late Conspirators, were confirm’d, and
 their Goods and Possessions adjudg’d Confiscate. The Estates of the Realm,
 having by their Votes approv’d and confirm’d the Sentence given against the
 Queen of *Scotland*, unanimously presented a Petition to the Queen by the Hand
 of the Lord Chancellor; in which they earnestly besought her, ‘ That for the
 ‘ Preservation of Christ’s true Religion, the Quiet and Security of the Realm,
 ‘ the Preservation of her Majesty’s Person, and the Safety of themselves and
 ‘ their Posterity, the Sentence given against *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* according
 ‘ to Law might be publish’d. The more to induce her, they call’d to her Re-
 membrance the terrible Examples of God’s Vengeance upon King *Saul* for spa-
 ring of *Agag*, and upon *Ahab* for sparing the Life of *Benhadad*. The Queen
 with great Majesty both of Elocution and Countenance, answer’d to this Effect,

They petition
the Queen for
Execution.

Her Answer.

‘ That she acknowledg’d God’s miraculous Preservation of her, and she rejoic’d
 ‘ that after twenty eight Years Possession of the Throne, she found the Love
 ‘ of her People the same, if not greater than ever, *which if she once lost, she*
 ‘ *might be said to breath, but not to live.* And tho’ her Life had been dan-
 ‘ gerously struck at, yet she protested that nothing so sensibly griev’d her as
 ‘ that one of the same Sex and Quality, and of the same Race and Blood, should
 ‘ fall into such a Misdemeanor. Therefore if her own Life alone depended
 ‘ upon it, and not the Safety and Welfare of her dear People, she would wil-
 ‘ lingly pardon her, and if *England* might by her Death obtain a more flou-
 ‘ rishing Condition, and a better Prince, she would gladly lay down her own
 ‘ Life; but for her People’s sakes she only desir’d to live. After this she pro-
 ‘ ceeded to tell them a Secret, *That lately with her own Eyes she had seen an*
Oath

Oath wherein some bound themselves to kill her within a Month. Yet after all, she desir'd some Space to consider and weigh a Matter of so great Nicety and Importance, concluding, *That whatever the best of Subjects might expect from the best of Princes, that they might always expect to receive from her.*

Twelve Days after, having often revolv'd the Matter in her Mind, distracted with doubtful Thoughts and Cares, and in great Conflicts how to proceed in so difficult an Affair, she sent Messengers to both Houses of Parliament, Desiring them again to consider of this important Cause, and find out a more grateful Expedient, by which both the Queen of Scotland's Life might be spar'd, and her own Security preserv'd. After long and serious Debates, judging that both the Welfare and Detriment of their Queen concern'd all the Subjects, they unanimously concurr'd in their former Opinion, declaring, *That the Queen's Life could not be in Safety, while the other Queen liv'd; unless the other repented and acknowledg'd her Crimes, or were kept in strict Custody, or bound by Oaths and Obligations, or gave Hostages, or lastly departed the Kingdom: And since none of these would probably be Remedies, it remain'd that only her Death could be the Nation's Security: Repentance in her was little to be expected, who would not own her self guilty; close Imprisonment, Obligations, Oaths and Hostages, would all vanish, if the Queen of England once lost her Life; and if she departed the Kingdom, she would soon find Means to Invade it.* These Reasons were urg'd to the gentle Queen by the Lord Chancellor and Puckering Speaker of the House of Commons; and she being harrafs'd with various Thoughts and melancholy Apprehensions, protested, *That her most earnest Desire had been, That for her People's Security, and her own Safety, some other Expedient might have been invented, than what they had propos'd; but since it was now evident, that her own Safety, without the other's Destruction, was altogether precarious, she was violently affected with inward Sorrow; That she, who had pardon'd so many Rebels, and by Connivance or Silence had neglected so many Treasons, should be compell'd at length to exercise Cruelty against a near Kinswoman and a Queen. Therefore considering the great Conflicts in her Breast, she desir'd them to accept of an Answer without an Answer; concluding her Speech in these Words: If I should say I will not answer your Desires, I might perhaps say more than I intend; and if I should say I will do it, I might plunge my self into as great Inconveniencies as you endeavour to prevent; which I am confident your Wisdoms will not desire, when you consider the Circumstances of Place, Time, and the Manners and Conditions of Mankind.* After this the Parliament broke up for a few Days.

She is under great Conflicts about it.

The Parliament urge her again.

Her uncertain Answer.

About the same Time the Lord Buckhurst and Beal were sent to the Queen of Scotland to inform her, *That Sentence was pronounc'd against her, and confirm'd by Authority of Parliament as just and lawful, and that the Execution of it was instantly desir'd by the States of the Realm, out of due Regard to Justice, Security, and Necessity; and therefore they perswaded her, That before her Death she would acknowledge her Offences against God and the Queen, For if she liv'd, the establish'd Religion in England could not subsist.* At this she seem'd to triumph with more than usual Joy, thanking God, and congratulating her own Felicity, *That she should be accounted an Instrument for the Re-establishing Religion in this Island;* and earnestly requested, *That she might have a Catholick Priest allow'd her to direct her Conscience, and administer the Sacraments to her.* A Bishop and a Dean being recommended to her for that purpose, she utterly rejected both, and severely retorted upon the English Nation, *That they were accustomed to put their Kings to Death, no Wonder therefore if they exercis'd their Cruelty upon her who was of the same Blood.* At the earnest Desire of some Courtiers, in December the Sentence against her was first proclaim'd in London, and then throughout all the Kingdom; in which Proclamation the Queen solemnly protested, *That this Pro-*

Notice of Death given to the Queen of the Scots.

Sentence a-
gainst her pub-
lish'd.

She writes to
Queen Eliza-
beth.

mulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her against her own Inclina-
tions, by the Importunity of the whole Body of the Kingdom. The *Scotch*
Queen being inform'd of this, seem'd no ways dejected; but writing to Queen
Elizabeth, without any Intercession for her Life, in the most pathetick Terms
begg'd of her, ' That she might be oblig'd to her, and none else, for three par-
ticular Favours: First, That when her Adversaries had satiated themselves
with her innocent Blood, her Body might be convey'd into some Catholick
Land for its Burial, particularly into *France*, where her Mother slept un-
disturb'd; for in *Scotland* the Tombs of her Ancestors were violated, and the
Churches prophan'd; and in *England*, where lay both their common Progeni-
tors, all Catholick Rites would be deny'd her: *So might her Body at last rest*
in Peace, which while it was join'd with the Soul, could never find Rest or
Quiet. Secondly, That she might be put to Death in private, without her
Knowledge, but in the Sight of her Servants and others, who might give Testi-
mony of her Behaviour, and prevent all Aspersions of her Memory. And
Thirdly, That her Servants might freely and peaceably depart whether they
pleas'd, and enjoy those Legacies which she had bequeath'd them by her Will
and Testament. But whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth's*
Hands, is uncertain.

Great Inter-
cessions made
for her from
abroad.

The Condemnation of the Queen of *Scotland* became the Subject of every
Mouth and Tongue in the Nation, which caus'd vast Variety of Opinions and
Censures; and as the Thing was strange and surprizing, it soon spread to distant
Nations, and Intercessions arriv'd from many Countries; and first from *Scot-*
land, where King *James* labour'd daily to save her Life, and omitted nothing
that became a pious Son, and a prudent King. But the *Scots* were at this
Time torn by intestine Factions, and more at that Time favour'd the Reign-
ing than the Captive Queen; infomuch that some of them secretly solicited
Queen *Elizabeth* by Letters to hasten her Execution, which had been deferr'd
above two Months, since Sentence was first pass'd. The King of *Scotland's*
Agents were daily interceeding, and all Arguments were us'd that might per-
suade her Reason, or move her Pity: To which he answer'd, *That she was un-*
measurably sorry that no Means could be found to save the Life of their
Queen, and to secure her own. But afterwards when they began to mix Threat-
nings with their Intreaties, she with some Warmth said, *Tell your King what*
I have done for him, to keep the Crown on his Head since he was born, and
that for my Part, I design to keep the League between us; which if he break,
it shall be a double Fault. Sir *Robert Melvil*, finding her in a Passion, re-
quested for eight Days Respite of Execution; to whom she reply'd, *Not an*
Hour. The *French* King also became an Intercessor for the unfortunate Queen,
and by his extraordinary Ambassador propos'd some Expedients, but to no
Effect.

A. D. And now when the Necessities of the State, and the grand Stream of the
1587. Nation, seem'd to obstruct and over-bear all Means for Clemency and Pity, the
Reg. ²⁹/₃₀. *French* Ambassador *L'Aubespain* fell from Arguments to Actions, and thought
no way so effectual for saving the Life of one Queen, as taking away that of
the other; and thereupon he first dealt secretly with *William Stafford*, a young
Gentleman, prone to ambitious Expectations, whose Mother was of the Bed-
Chamber to the Queen, and his Brother at this Time Lieger Ambassador in
France; and afterwards proceeded more openly with *Trappe* his Secretary, to
murder Queen *Elizabeth*. This *Stafford*, tho' not daring enough to act such
a Villany himself, yet recommended one *Moody* to him, a resolute and despe-
rate Man, who for Money would certainly effect it. Upon this *Stafford* brought
Trappe to *Moody*, who was then in the Common Jail, and upon *Trappe's*
Offers undertook the Attempt: But then the Consultation was, by what
Means it should be effected. *Moody* propos'd Poison, or else to lay a Bag of
Gunpowder under the Queen's Bed, and suddenly fire it; but *Trappe* approv'd
of

of neither of these Methods, but chose rather to have it done, as the bold Person did who shot the Prince of *Orange*. But while they were thus consulting about the Means of performing the Infernal Exploit, *Stafford* discover'd all to the Lords of the Council: Whereupon *Trappe*, who was ready for *France*, was suddenly apprehended, and upon Examination confess'd the whole Plot. This also caus'd the Ambassador to be sent for to *Cecil-House*, on the twelfth Day of *January*; where by the Queen's Appointment he was met by the Lord *Burleigh*, the Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and *Davison*, one of the Secretaries; who acquainted the Ambassador with every Particular that *Stafford*, *Moody* and *Trappe* his Secretary had confess'd. As soon as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to speak, the Ambassador interrupted him, and with Reproaches and Asseverations declar'd, that *Stafford* had first propos'd it to him; when *Stafford* falling upon his Knees, made fearful Imprecations, that the Ambassador first propos'd it himself. After *Stafford* had withdrawn, *Burleigh* gently reprov'd the Ambassador for being conscious or accessary to so vile a Fact; to which he immediately reply'd, *That if he had known of any such thing, yet being an Ambassador, he ought to give no Notice of it but to his own King*. After much Reasoning, *Burleigh* admonish'd him to beware how he offended hereafter in this Kind; and provoke the Clemency of a Queen, who knew how to punish an ill Ambassador; and that he was not acquitted from the Guilt, tho' the Queen might at this Time spare his Punishment.

Upon this new Conspiracy, the Scotch Queen's Enemies rais'd many Terrors in Queen *Elizabeth's* Mind, forming Reports, 'That the Spanish Fleet was arriv'd at *Milford Haven*; that the Scots had made an Irruption into *England*; that the Duke of *Guise* with a numerous Army was landed in *Suffex*; that the Queen of the Scots was escap'd out of Prison, and had rais'd an Army; that the Northern Parts were up in Rebellion, with other such formidable Relations. With such terrifying Arguments as these, they so gain'd upon the Queen's wavering and perplexed Mind, that she sign'd a Warrant for putting the Sentence of Death in Execution, and one of the Persons that push'd her upon this Extremity, was said to be *Patrick Gray*, a Person sent by the King of *Scotland* to dissuade her from it, yet he was frequently using this Expression, *Mortua non mordet, The Dead never bite*. The Queen notwithstanding, began to weigh with her self, Whether it was really better to free her self from her, or else to spare her Life; and many remarkable Reasons offer'd themselves on both Sides; but those for sparing of her were generally Speculative, while those for destroying her were Practical, and enforc'd by great Numbers. The Courtiers were continually urging the same Point; some Preachers, more severely than became their Functions, aggravated the Matter; and the vulgar Sort, out of Hope or Fear, insolently exercis'd their Wits and Pleasure upon the same deplorable Subject.

In the midst of these fluctuating and perplex'd Imaginations the Queen abandon'd her self to a solitary and melancholy Life, sitting in a silent and thoughtful Posture, and often Sighing out, *Aut fer, aut feri, Either bear, or strike*: At length from this Sentence, *Ne feriare, feri, Strike, lest you be stricken*, she deliver'd a Writing sign'd with her own Hand to *Davison*, one of her Secretaries, commanding a Warrant under the Great Seal of *England* to be drawn up for the Execution; but only to lye in Readiness, if any Commotion should arise, and commanded him to discover it to no Man. But the next Day, while Fear made her apprehensive of her own Thoughts, her Mind chang'd, and she commanded *Davison* by *William Killigrew* that the Warrant should not be drawn; but *Davison* came to the Queen, and told her Majesty, *It was already drawn, and under the Seal*. The Queen seem'd extremely concern'd, and blam'd him for his hasty Officiousness: Notwithstanding, he acquainted the Council with the Warrant and the whole Matter, and easily persuaded them

It is discover'd.

Queen Elizabeth signs a Warrant for the Execution of the Queen of the Scots.

She changes her Mind.

them, who were ready to believe what they desir'd, that the Queen had commanded it should be executed. Hereupon *Beal*, who in Respect of Religion, of all others was the *Scotch* Queen's greatest Enemy, was without Delay sent down with one or two Executioners, and a Warrant, wherein Authority was given to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others to see her executed: And all this without the Queen's Knowledge, nay expressly against her Order; for she had told *Davison*, *That she would take another Course with the Queen of the Scots*, yet he would not command *Beal* to desist and return: And this carries us to the last Act of this fatal Tragedy.

The Warrant sent without her Knowledge.

The Queen of the Scots Behaviour.

As soon as the Earls were arriv'd at *Fotheringay*, they together with Sir *Amias Powlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, her chief Keepers, came to her, read over the Warrant, and in few Words admonish'd her to prepare her self to die the next Day. She with an undaunted and compos'd Spirit, made this Answer: *I did not think the Queen my Sister would have consented to my Death, who am not subject to her Laws; but since it is her Pleasure, Death is most welcome to me; for I account that Soul unworthy of everlasting Joys, whose Body cannot bear one Stroke of the Executioner.* She desir'd to have Conference with her Almoner, her Confessor, and *Melvil* the Master of her Household; but her Confessor was positively deny'd her, and the Bishop and Dean of *Peterborough* recommended to comfort her. Upon her Refusal of these, the Earl of *Kent* in a vehement Zeal, broke out into these Words, *Your Life will be the Death of our Religion, and your Death will be the Life of it.* When the Earls were departed from her, she commanded Supper to be hasten'd, and sitting down eat after her usual temperate Manner. Then observing her Servants, both Men and Women, weeping and deploring her hard Fate, she comforted them with a brave Courage and Magnanimity, commanding them, *Rather to rejoice that she was soon to be freed from a World of Miseries.* Towards the End of her Supper, she drunk to all her Servants, who pledg'd her in Order upon their Knees, mingling Tears with their Wine, begging Pardon for their Neglect of their Duty, as she also in like manner did of them. After Supper she perus'd her Will, read over the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and wrote down the Names of those to whom she gave any Legacies. She put the Gold she had in as many little Pursees as she had Servants, more or less in every Purse, according to their Qualities and Merits. She wrote a Letter to her Confessor, that he would make Intercession for her to God in his Prayers; and also wrote Letters of Recommendations for her Servants to the *French* King and the Duke of *Guise*. At the ordinary Hour she went to her Repose, and slept quietly some Hours; and then Waking, she spent the rest of the Night in Prayer.

She comes out to Execution.

The fatal Morning being come, which was on the eighteenth of *February*, she dress'd her self in State, as she us'd upon the highest Festivals; and calling her Servants, order'd her Will to be read, praying their Acceptance of the small Legacies she had given them, having no Ability to extend her Kindness in greater Matters. Then retiring to her Oratory, she continu'd in Sighs, Groans and Prayers, 'till *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriff of the County, about eight a Clock, acquainted her, *That all was ready*: She answer'd, *I am so likewise*, and came forth in State, with a majestick and compos'd Countenance, a chearful Look, and in a modest Habit; her Head cover'd with a Linnen Veil hanging down to the Crown, her *Beads* at her Girdle, and an Ivory *Crucifix* in her Hand. In the Porch she was met by the Noblemen, where *Melvil* her chief Servant, falling on his Knees, and melting into a Flood of Tears, bitterly deplor'd his miserable Fate, that he must be the unhappy Messenger to *Scotland*, of the most unfortunate End of his Queen and Mistress. She comforted him, and bad him *Rejoice for he should presently see Mary Stuart freed from all her Miseries.* Then she order'd him to tell them, *That she dy'd constant in her Religion, and firm in her Affection towards Scotland and France: And* she

she appeal'd to the omniscient God, how greatly she desir'd that the Kingdom of England and Scotland might be united in one. Next she desir'd him to pray her Son to serve God, defend the Catholick Religion, govern his Kingdom in Peace, and never put himself into the Power of another, as she had done; to certifie him that she had done nothing prejudicial to the Crown of Scotland, and to desire him to keep Friendship with the Queen of England. With these Words, and some Tears falling from her Eyes, she urg'd him To be a faithful Servant to her Son, and bad him several Times Farewel.

Then turning to the Lords, she desir'd that her Servants might be civilly us'd, and quietly enjoy the Legacies she had given them; that they might stand by her at her Death, and afterwards be safely convey'd into their own Country. When the Earl of *Kent* scrupled their being present at her Death, for fear of some superstitious Ceremony, the Queen said, *Fear it not, these harmless Souls only desire to take their last leave of their Mistress; and I know my Sister Elizabeth would not deny the Presence of my Women, for the Honour of our Sex. I am her near Kinswoman, descended from her Grandfather, Queen Dowager of France, and the anointed Queen of Scotland.* Then it was granted that such of her Servants should be present, as she should please to name, which were *Melvil*, *Burgoign* her Physician, her Apothecary, her Surgeon, two of her Women and others; among whom *Melvil* bore up her Train. Thus, the Gen-
She ascends the Scaffold.
 tlemen, two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County going before her, she came to the Scaffold, which was two Foot high, and twelve broad, erected in the Middle of the Hall; on which was plac'd a Chair, a Cushion and a Block, all cover'd with black Cloath. Here *Beal* read the Warrant, and *Fletcher* Dean of *Peterborough* began a long Speech, concerning the Condition of her Life past, present and future. But the Queen interrupted him once or twice, desiring him not to trouble himself, and protesting *she was immovably fix'd in the Roman Catholick Religion, and now came to shed her Blood for it.* When the Dean perswaded her to a sincere Repentance, and by Faith to rely upon the Merits of Christ, she answer'd, *That in that Religion she was born and educated, and now would die in it.* The Lords then said they would pray for her, to whom she reply'd, *I shall thank you heartily if you will pray with me; but for me to join in Prayer with you, who are of another Persuasion, would be a bainous Sin.* Then the Lords order'd the Dean to pray, with whom, while the Multitude in the Hall were praying, she fell upon her Knees, and holding the *Crucifix* before her, pray'd in *Latin* with her Servants, out of a Book call'd *The Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.* When the Dean had finish'd his Prayers, she in *English* recommended the Church, her Son, and Queen *Elizabeth* to God's Protection and Benediction; forgave all her Enemies, and kissing the *Crucifix*, and signing her self with the Cross, she said, *As thy Arms, O Christ, were extended upon the Cross, so, Lord, receive me with the extended Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive me my Sins.* Then beginning to disrobe her self, the Executioners offer'd their help; but she put them back, saying, *She was not accuslom'd to be serv'd by such Grooms.* While her Women with melting Eyes were performing that Office, she affectionately kiss'd them, sign'd them with the Cross, and with a pleasant Countenance bid them *forbear their Womanish Lamentations, for now she should rest from all her Sorrows.* Having cover'd her Face, and laying her self down to the Block, she repeated the Psalm, *In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust, let me never be confounded;* then stretching forth her Body, she many Times said, *Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit!* And at two Strokes her Head was sever'd from her Body, She is beheaded. which appear'd to be somewhat gray, tho' she was but forty five Years of Age. At the same Moment the Dean cry'd out, *So let the Enemies of Queen Elizabeth perish!* The Earl of *Kent* answer'd *Amen;* but the Multitude reply'd with nothing but Sighs and Lamentations. Her Body was Embalm'd, and with Regal Obsequies interr'd in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough;* but her Cloaths, the

the Block, and every thing else that had receiv'd a Drop of her Blood, were burnt, to prevent superstitious Consequences.

Her Character.

This deplorable End had *Mary Queen of Scotland*, a Lady firm and constant to her Religion, of singular Piety towards God, invincible Magnanimity of Mind, Wisdom above her Sex, and admirable Beauty; yet toss'd and cross'd with the Frowns and Varieties of Fortune beyond all the former Examples of crown'd Heads; which some believ'd to have proceeded from the Vengeance of Heaven, for such secret Crimes of hers, as perhaps can never be either excus'd or prov'd 'till the great Day of Judgment; and others, for her violent Adherence to Superstition, and Severity to those of a contrary Persuasion. But tho' we cannot nicely determine this mysterious Affair; yet we may here presume, with a great Man, to observe and admire at the wise Disposition and Ordering of the Divine Providence. For those very Things which both the Queens most of all desir'd, and propos'd to themselves in all their Councils, were by this Means effected and accomplish'd. Queen *Mary*, as she declar'd at her Death, desir'd nothing more ardently than that the divided Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* might be united in the Person of her dear Son: And there was nothing which Queen *Elizabeth* more industriously endeavour'd, than the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Safety and Security of her People: And that the great God granted both their Prayers, *England* saw with unexpected Satisfaction.

Queen Elizabeth afflicted.

The Death of this Princess however reflected upon the Fame and Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth*, who little imagin'd such Severity had been acted; and she receiv'd the News with such a Mixture of Grief and Indignation, that her Countenance grew pale, her Speech falter'd, her Spirits fail'd, and she was under such an Astonishment and Confusion that she had no Enjoyment of her Life, Company seem'd a Burden to her, insomuch that she abandon'd her self to Grief and Melancholy, put on deep Mourning, shed abundance of Tears, severely rebuk'd her Council, commanded them out of her Presence, and order'd *Davison* to be try'd in the Star-Chamber. Thus she continu'd for some Space; but as soon as Grief would give her leave, she wrote a Letter in haste with her own Hand to the King of *Scotland*, and sent it by Sir *Robert Cary*, beginning in these Words: *My dearest Brother, Would to Heav'n you knew, but not felt, the inexpressible Grief that overwhelms my Mind, upon this deplorable Accident, which has happen'd contrary to my Meaning and Intention; which since my Pen trembles to mention, you will fully understand by this my Kinsman. I request you, that as God and many others can witness my Innocency in this Matter, so you will also believe, that if I had commanded it, I would never deny it.—That as I know this has happen'd deservedly on her Part; so if I had intended it, I would not have charg'd it upon others.—There is not any that loveth you more dearly, and taketh more Care for the Good of you and your Affairs.—God preserve you long in Health and Safety.*

She writes to the King of Scotland.

Davison cited in the Star-chamber.

While *Cary* was on his Journey to *Scotland*, *Davison* was cited to the Star-Chamber, before the two Arch-Bishops and several Lords and Judges of the Land, appointed Commissioners for that purpose; where he was charg'd with Contempt of the Queen's Majesty, and a Violation of his Trust, in causing the Execution of the Queen of *Scotland*, without the Knowledge and Consent of his own Sovereign; which Charge was much aggravated by the Pleadings of *Popham*, *Egerton*, *Gawdy* and *Puckering*. *Davison* answer'd, *That if he should confess himself guilty of the Crimes objected against him, he should injure his own Reputation, which was dearer to him than his Life; and if he should contest with the Queen in his own Defence, he should do what was misbecoming the Obedience of a Subject, the Behaviour of a Servant, and the Trust and Office of a Secretary. He protested before God and the Commissioners, That he had acted nothing in this Matter, but what he had persuaded*

suaded himself was the Queen's Will and Pleasure; in which, if he had wrong'd himself either through Ignorance or Negligence, he could not but be exceedingly afflicted, and patiently submitted himself to the Censures of the Commissioners. After many Debates, the Commissioners generally agreed That *Davison* was an honest Man, and that in this Act he had done the Nation great Service; but for the Manner and Management of it without the Queen's Knowledge, they fin'd him ten thousand Pounds, and Imprisonment during the Queen's Pleasure; and he never could recover her Favour, but only sometimes to have his Wants reliev'd. Thus was *Davison*, an ingenious Man, but a Stranger to the Artifices of Courts and Courtiers, brought upon the Stage, as some thought, purposely to serve a Turn; but miscarrying in the last Act, was thrust off again, and not without the Pity of many thinking Men, detain'd a long Time in Prison. *He is fin'd and imprison'd.*

By this Time Sir *Robert Cary*, who was sent with the Queen's Letter, arriv'd at the Borders of *Scotland*, but was not permitted to set Foot in that Kingdom: King *James* would scarce hear him by a third Person, and with much Difficulty receiv'd his Letters: He likewise recall'd his Ambassador from *England*, and breath'd out nothing but Resentments and Revenge. Upon which the Queen labour'd by her able Ministers and Agents, which she never wanted, to appease his Mind, and divert him from the War he intended. These working with Art and Privacy upon the King's chiefest Counsellors, and those of his Chamber which he most affected, they kept him off from breaking out into open Hostility, which was every Day expected. First Secretary *Walsingham* by a long Letter to the Lord *Thirlstane*, who was then most in Credit, and had the chief Administration of Affairs, propos'd divers weighty and important Considerations to divert the King from violent Resolutions. Soon after the Lord *Hunsdon*, Governor of *Berwick*, admonish'd the King, 'How dangerous it would be for him now to begin a War against *England*, and what little Aids he could justly expect from either *Spain* or *France*: But if he continu'd his Amity with *England*, he might be sure that Queen *Elizabeth* would most lovingly account him as her own Son. Then that he might be assur'd that the Queen his Mother suffer'd without her Privy, she sent him the Sentence against *Davison*, under the Hands of all the Commissioners, and attested under the Great Seal of *England*; and likewise another Instrument sign'd by the Judges of *England*, in which they averr'd, *That the Sentence against the Queen of Scotland could no ways prejudice his Right to the Succession.* All these gradually gain'd upon his Reason and Judgment; and he soon began to be satisfy'd with Arguments of *Walsingham* and *Hunsdon*, the fair Promises of the Queen, and the Hopes of being a Successor in *England*; which last, considering his present Circumstances among a divided Nobility, a factious Clergy, a discontented People, and a barren Country, was alone an answerable Argument to induce that King to consult his own Interest, and compound the Matter without the Hazards of an unequal War. *The King of Scotland's Resentments.*

XI. The mighty Queen *Elizabeth* was now freed from her Rival in Government, and the Head of a contrary Religion, who at different Times had given her great Disquiets for near thirty Years: But these Domestick Storms were scarce allay'd, when others more formidable threaten'd the Nation from abroad, arising from the swelling Ambition and superstitious Resentments of the most powerful Monarch in *Europe*, the King of *Spain*. This Prince, upon several Pretences, had many Times form'd Designs of invading the Kingdom of *England*; but at this Time he began to exert his utmost Power, and made such vast Preparations, as both surpriz'd and kept all *Europe* in Suspence, not knowing over what Nation the Storm would break, tho' it was most generally thought to be design'd against the *Netherlands*. For the Discovery of this great Secret, *Walsingham* employ'd his nicest Faculties and Endeavours, and with *He is reconcil'd to Queen Elizabeth.*

answerable Success. This great Statesman was famous for his Spies, his secret Intelligence, and wondrous Management; and is believ'd to have laid the Foundation of the Civil Wars both in *France* and the *Netherlands*, so advantageous to *England* in this Reign: Upon which he told the Queen, *That tho' the Spaniard had a strong Appetite and a good Digestion, he had given him such a Bone, as would take him twenty Years to manage, and break his Teeth at last.* But now his Business was to discover the present Aims of the King of *Spain*, which were unknown to any but himself; 'till this Year he had Intelligence from *Madrid*, that King *Philip* had told his Council, That he had dispatch'd an Express to *Rome*, with a Letter writ with his own Hand to the Pope, acquainting him with the true Design of his Preparations, and begging his Blessing upon it; which for some Reasons he could not yet disclose to them, 'till the Return of the Courier. The Secret being thus lodg'd with the Pope, *Walsingham*, by the Means of a *Venetian* Priest retain'd at *Rome* as a Spy, got a Copy of the Original Letter, which was stolen out of the Pope's Cabinet by a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, who took the Keys out of the Pope's Pocket while he slept. After this, by his dextrous Management, he caus'd the *Spanish* Bills to be protested at *Genoa*, which should have supply'd them with Money for these extraordinary Preparations; by which Means he happily retarded this threatening Invasion for a whole Year.

Walsingham's Policy.

Drake's Expedition.

And Cavendish

In the mean Time to divert and molest the *Spaniard*, the Queen sent out the famous Captain *Drake*, with four of her Royal Ships and some others, to the Coast of *Spain*, to surprize and destroy his Ships in his Havens, and intercept his Provisions. *Drake* faithfully perform'd his Office, and entering into the Port of *Cales*, sunk, took and fir'd about a hundred Sail of Ships, in which were great Quantities of Ammunition and Provisions: Then returning to Cape St. *Vincent*, he set upon three Forts, and compell'd them to surrender: Thence setting Sail to the Western Islands, call'd the *Azores*, by good Fortune he met with a vast and rich Carack, call'd St. *Philip*, returning from the *East-Indies*, and easily took it; whereupon the Seamen on both Sides, from the Name of *Philip*, judg'd it portentous to the King of *Spain*. At the same Time *Thomas Cavendish* of *Suffolk*, in the other Part of the World, who two Years before had set Sail from *England* with three Ships, passing through the Straits of *Magellan*, along the Coasts of *Chile*, *Peru*, and *New-Spain*, fir'd a great Number of *Spanish* Towns, and took and plunder'd nineteen great Ships, and among them a rich Ship of the *Spanish* King's nigh *California*, in North *America*; and so by the *Philippine* Islands, the *Moluccos*, the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the Island of St. *Helen*, return'd home this Year, being the second after *Magellan* that had sail'd round the Globe.

The Treachery of Stanley and York.

As *Drake* and *Cavendish* at this Time gain'd great Fame and Renown, so two other *Englishmen* in the *Netherlands* purchas'd as much Infamy and Disgrace; these were *William Stanley* and *Rowland York*. This last was a *Londoner*, an audacious Man, and of loose Behaviour; noted for first bringing in the Use of the Rapier into *England*, whereas before Sword and Buckler were the only Weapons in Duels, and it was thought cowardly either to turn the Point, or strike below the Girdle. He suffering some Affront from the Earl of *Leicester*, fled, and for a Time serv'd under the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, 'till being reconcil'd to *Leicester*, he was made Governor of the Fort near *Zutphen*; but being brib'd, he not only surrender'd the Place to the Enemy, but also by the like Treachery drew in *William Stanley* to betray *Daventer* to the *Spaniards*, a rich and strong Town: As a Reward of their Treasons, the *Spaniards* set *York* and *Stanley* at Variance, and poison'd the former and seiz'd his Effects, whose Carcass was three Years after digg'd up by the States, and hang'd upon a Gibbet 'till it rotted: *Stanley* went into *Spain* in Hopes of Advancement, but no Man would trust him, according to a Saying in that Country, *It is sometimes lawful to give Honour, but never Credit*

to a *Traitor*. These treacherous Proceedings brought the Earl of *Leicester* into much Envy with the Confederate States, because the Traitors were intimate with him; and in long Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, they accus'd her Favourite for his publick Mismanagement of Mony and Merchandize, as well as Military Affairs, and imputing the Mischiefs arising from *Tark* and *Stanley* all to his Credulity. The Queen, for the examining and composing the Matter, sent over, *Thomas Sackville*, Lord *Buckhurst*, *Norris* and *Bartholomew Clerk*: But when the officious Diligence of *Buckhurst* seem'd to bear hard upon *Leicester's* Reputation, his Favour with the Queen prov'd of that Force, that *Buckhurst* at his Return was confin'd to his Houle for several Months.

Afterwards *Sluce* being invested by the Prince of *Parma*, the States sent to the Earl of *Leicester* into *England* to come and relieve it. The Town being furiously batter'd with seventeen thousand great Shot, and a large Breach made, was defended for a while by Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere*, and Captain *Nicholas Baskerville*, with great Valour and Reputation; but when *Leicester*, who came to its Succour, thought fit to retire, it surrender'd to the Prince of *Parma*. And indeed the States durst not commit any great Army to *Leicester's* Command, who they knew had a Design to seize *Leyden*, and some other Towns into his own Hands, and to make himself absolute Governor of those Parts. Whereupon the States us'd such Means with Queen *Elizabeth*, that *Leicester* was call'd home with Disgrace; being succeeded by *Maurice* of *Nassaw*, Son to the Prince of *Orange*, now but twenty Years of Age. *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*, a worthy Commander, was by the Queen made General of the *English* Forces in the *Netherlands*, to whom she gave Command to reduce the *English* Factions to the States Obedience; which by the Assistance of Prince *Maurice* he easily effected. And now the haughty *Leicester* being come home, derided and exploded for his Title of *Excellency*, and perceiving that Accusations were preparing against him by *Buckhurst*, and others; he privately with Servile Tears cast himself at the Queen's Feet, and begg'd, *That as she had sent him out with Honour, she would not receive him back with Disgrace; and that she would not bury him alive, whom she had rais'd from the Dust*. This so far prevail'd upon her, that the next Day being call'd to Examination before the Lords, he took his Place amongst them; and when the Secretary began to read the Heads of his Accusation, he interrupted him, saying, *That the publick Instructions he had receiv'd were limited with private Restrictions*; and making his Appeal to the Queen, eluded the whole Complaint, to the great Disappointment of his Adversaries. Thus was the mighty Favourite restor'd, and gain'd so much Ground, that shortly after he procur'd a Patent to be Vice-Gerent in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*; but *Burleigh* and *Hatton* prevented this aspiring Attempt, by shewing the Queen the Danger of it. And being disappointed of his ambitious Designs, he retir'd into the Country, and dy'd the next Year; having his Goods seiz'd on by the Queen's Order, and publicly sold for the Payment of Debts due to the Crown. And this was the End of this prodigious Man; who is describ'd as the most subtle and impious Courtier, and the most aspiring and prevailing Favourite that *England* ever saw. Tho' as to the latter Part, this great and wise Queen knew how to humble and reduce him; and once told him with a severe Frown and Oath, *That he must not expect to Monopolize her Favours, but she would give and take back as she pleas'd; and as she had no Master her self, she would make him know that he had a Mistress*.

This Year 1587 was noted for the Death of several other great Persons, as *Henry Nevil* Lord *Abergavenny*, Great Grand-Child to *Edward Nevil*, who in the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth, gain'd that Title in the Right of his Wife; *Anne Stanhope*, Dutches of *Somerset*, ninety Years of Age, who was the Wife of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerset* and Protector of *England*; Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Chancellor of the *Dutchy*, and the last Banneret of *England*, in *Camden's* and

Baker's Time; and lastly *Thomas Bromley* Chancellor of *England*, who was succeeded in his Place by *Sir Christopher Hatton*, who for his Honesty and Sense of Equity was preferr'd before more able Lawyers.

A. D.

1588.

Reg. ³⁰₃₁

The great
Year Eighty
Eight.

We are arriv'd at the thirtieth Year of this renown'd Reign, *Eighty Eight*, which a *Koningsberg* Astronomer above a hundred Years before, foretold should be a *Year of Wonders*, and the *German* Chronologers presag'd would be the *Climacterical Year of the World*. The Rumours of Wars, which had been feeble and remote, now daily encreas'd, and resounded through the World, That a most prodigious Navy was rigg'd and prepar'd in *Spain* against *England*; and that the most famous Captains, renowned Commanders and expert Soldiers were sent for from *Italy*, from *Sicily*, and from as far as *America*, to manage this vast Enterprize. Yet at the same Time a Treaty of Peace was depending between *England* and *Spain* in the *Netherlands*: The Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Sir James Cross*, *Dale* and *Rogers*, Doctors of Law, were Commissioners for Queen *Elizabeth*; the Count *Aremberg*, *Champignie*, *Richardot*, *Mais* and *Garvyer*, were for the Prince of *Parma* and the *Spaniard*; and all had their continu'd Meetings near *Ostend*. But it appear'd that the *Spanish* Commissioners design'd more to lull the *English* into a Security, that they might make no Provisions for War, than that they had any Intentions of real Proceedings; since they rejected all reasonable Conditions that were offer'd, and trifled and protracted Time, 'till the *Spanish* Fleet was come upon the Coast, and the Sound of the great Guns from Sea broke up the Assembly, and dismiss'd the *English* Commissioners.

The great Spa-
nish Armada.

The Preparations of the King of *Spain* were extraordinary, his Fleet consisting of a hundred and thirty four Sail; whereof seventy two Galeasses and Galleons, vast bulky Ships like floating Castles; in which were about twenty thousand Soldiers, eight thousand Mariners, two thousand Gally-Slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty Great Guns; besides prodigious Quantities of Bullets, Powder, Field-Pieces, Muskets, Pikes, Halberts, Carriages, Horses, Mules, Torches, Lanthorns, Canvas, Hides, Lead, Chains, Whips, Butchering-Knives, and whatever else could serve for Ostentation or Terror. In this Fleet were also about a hundred Monks and Jesuits, under the Superintendency of Cardinal *Allen* an *Englishman*, who took care to translate the Pope's Bull into the *English* Tongue: And there were above a hundred and twenty Noble Men Volunteers of great Account; nor was there a Noble Family in *Spain*, but had a Son, Brother, or Nephew in this Expedition, in Hopes of Riches and Revenues in *England*. For the greater Holiness of the Action, twelve of their Ships were call'd by the Name of the *Twelve Apostles*; and their Cause and their whole Force were recommended to the Pope, and the Prayers of all good Catholicks, and set forth in a Book in Print, in which all their Preparations were recited; which were so extraordinary throughout all *Spain*, *Italy* and *Sicily*, that the *Spaniards* themselves were amaz'd at the Fleet, and with the utmost Confidence stil'd it, *The Invincible Armada*. As this Pope *Sixtus Quintus* had Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, absolv'd all her Subjects, and consecrated the Expedition, as a *Croisado* against *Turks* and Infidels; it occasion'd the Duke of *Savoy*, and some other Catholick Princes, to list themselves Volunteers in so meritorious an Enterprize. Nor was this all, for the Prince of *Parma* in the *Netherlands* had made his utmost Preparations for the same Attempt, and was appointed to be ready with fifty thousand old Soldiers, with all other Accoutrements to join the *Armada* on the Coast of *Flanders*, and by his Shipping to transport the whole Army, and land them at the Mouth of the *Thames*.

The Queen's
Preparations.

On the other side, the undaunted Queen, with indefatigable Industry, made all suitable Preparations against such a formidable Invader, which she manag'd with a Masculine Skill and Bravery. The Command of the Fleet was given to the Admiral the Lord *Charles Howard* of *Effingham*, a
Man

Man nobly qualify'd for such a Work; who with the valiant Sir *Francis Drake* the Vice-Admiral, was appointed to be ready at *Plimouth*: And the Lord *Henry Seymour*, second Son to the Duke of *Somerset*, was order'd to lye upon the Coasts of *Flanders*, with forty *English* and *Dutch* Ships, to hinder the Prince of *Parma* from coming out with his Forces. Twenty thousand Soldiers were dispos'd along the Coasts for the Land-Service: Besides which, two Armies were rais'd of well-experienc'd Men; the one consisting of twenty two thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, under the Earl of *Leicester*, which incamp'd at *Tilbury*; and the other under the Lord *Hunsdon*, consisting of thirty four thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, to guard the Queen's Person. *Arthur* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Francis Knolls*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and other excellent Soldiers, were chosen to make a Council of War, and consult about the ordering of the Land-Service. These declar'd, among other Particulars, That the Places most convenient for the Enemies Landing, as *Milford Haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Portland*, the Isle of *Wight*, *Portsmouth*, the *Downs*, the *Thames Mouth*, *Harwich*, *Tarmouth*, *Hull*, and such others, should be well mann'd and fortify'd: That the Train'd Soldiers of those Shires, which lay near the Sea-Coast, should defend those Places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing; and if they did Land to lay the Country waste, that they might find no Subsistence, and by continually crying *Arm, Arm*, give the Enemy no rest; but yet they were not to give Battel, 'till more Commanders and their Soldiers were come up. At the same Time, many fearing the Papists at home, no less than the *Spaniards* abroad, perswaded the Queen to take off the Heads of some of the chief of them; but she generously detesting such Cruelty, only took Order, that some of them should be confin'd to *Wisbech Castle*. And having her piercing Eyes and capacious Mind every way, she quicken'd the Confederate States, secur'd the Affairs of *Ireland*, and procur'd the King of *Scotland* to stand against the Power of the *Spaniard*.

All things being in Readiness on the *Spaniard's* Side, the wondrous *Armada* set Sail from the Mouth of the *Tago*, on the twenty ninth Day of *May*,^{The Armada set Sail.} under the Command of Don *Alphonso* Duke of *Medina*, and under him *John de Recalde*, an experienc'd Sea Captain. Never did the Western Ocean behold such a pompous and magnificent Spectacle before it appear'd with all the Ornaments of Delight, and Horrors of Destruction. But this vast moving City, as it was call'd, was suddenly dispers'd by a great Storm; so that with great Difficulty they met some few Days after near the *Groyne* in *Gallicia*, but could not proceed in their Voyage before the twelfth Day of *July*. Before which Time, the *English* Fleet set forwards out of *Plimouth*, standing towards the Coast of *Spain*; but partly by reason of contrary Winds, and partly upon Advice that the *Spaniards* were return'd, and upon some Doubt also, that they might pass by them towards *England*, while they were seeking them at a Distance, they return'd back to *Plimouth*. At which Time, a confident tho' false Report came to the Admiral, that the *Spaniards* could not possibly proceed in their Design this Year; upon which the *English* Officers were in Expectations of being disbanded, and many of the Men went a Shoar; when suddenly the famous *Armada* was discover'd near the Mouth of the *British* Channel. Upon which the Lord Admiral, finding the Winds contrary, tow'd out the Fleet into the main Sea, with singular Diligence and Industry, and with admirable Alacrity of the Seamen, whom he encourag'd, by performing their meanest Offices with his own Hands. The next Day the *English* discover'd the mighty Navy, with provid' Turrets like Castles, in Front like a Half-Moon, with Wings extending seven Miles in Length, creeping with slow Pace, tho' with full Sails; as tho' the Winds grew faint with moving them, and the Ocean groan'd under the Vastness of the Burden.

It enters the
British Chan-
nel.

The

The first Fight. The *English* Admiral wisely suffer'd them to stalk by him, that he might chace them in the Rear with a full Wind; and on the twenty first of *July*, sending a Pinnace before call'd the *Defiance*, denounc'd War by discharging her Ordnance, and without fearing their Numbers immediately fell in and thunder'd with the utmost Fury upon the *Spanish* Admiral, as he thought, tho' it prov'd to be *de Leva's* Ship. He was bravely seconded by the gallant Commanders, *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbisher*, who pour'd in such Volleys and Broad-sides upon the hindmost Squadron, commanded by *Recalde*, that he was soon forc'd to fly to the main Fleet for Succour; finding that the *English* had a great Advantage, not only in the Wind, but in the Lowness of their Ships, and their extraordinary Celerity in tacking and moving as they had Occasion. The Night following a vast Ship of *Biscay*, where the King of *Spain's* Treasure was kept, took Fire by Chance or Treachery, but was timely extinguish'd by other Vessels, and the Treasure remov'd. This fell into the Hands of the *English* next Day, and a great Galleon with four hundred and fifty Men, having broken her Fore-mast, was taken by Sir *Francis Drake*, and fifty five thousand Ducats in Gold which he found in her were distributed among his own Men. On the twenty third Day of the Month, there was a second Engagement, with terrible Thunders on both Sides, in which most of the *Spanish* Shot flew over the *English* Ships without Damage; only *Cock* an *English* Captain dy'd valiantly, who with his little Vessel bravely charg'd into the midst of his Enemies. The next Day they rested on both Sides; in which Time the *English* Admiral rang'd his whole Fleet into four distinct Squadrons; the first commanded by himself, the second by *Drake*, the third by *Hawkins*, and the fourth by *Forbisher*. Thus on the twenty fifth Day they came to a third Engagement, in which the *English* by their extraordinary Management and Bravery, had again the Advantage: So that from this Time the *Spaniards* held on their Course, and dispatch'd a Messenger to the Prince of *Parma*, requiring him immediately to join with the *Armada*, and withal to send them Bullets. The Day following, the Lord Admiral knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townsend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbisher*, for their brave Services; and holding a Council of War, they resolv'd not to attack the Enemy, till they came to the Strait of *Calais*, where the Lord *Henry Seymour*, and Sir *William Winter*, with a new Squadron waited for their Arrival. And now the *English* were so far from being terrify'd with this Invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and Gentry hir'd Ships at their own Charges, and came to the Admiral; as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambrose Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorge*, and others of considerable Note.

*The Armada
anchors before
Calais.*

On the twenty seventh of this Month, the grand *Armada* came to Anchor before *Calais*, and was follow'd within Cannon-shot by the *English* Admiral, to whom *Seimour* and *Winter* join'd their Ships; so that the *English* now consisted of a hundred and forty Sail, all nimble and serviceable Vessels, and furnish'd with active and courageous Seamen; yet only fifteen of them did chiefly sustain the Brunt of the Engagement. And now again the *Spaniards* sent repeated Messengers to the Prince of *Parma*, to send them forty Fly-Boats, without which they were not able to fight with the *English*, by Reason of the Bulk and Unweildiness of their Ships; and they urg'd him immediately to put to Sea with his great Army. But he was unprepar'd in many Respects, and his Flat-bottom'd Boats were leaky, and his Men not gather'd together; and besides, the *Hollanders* lay cruising before the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, in such a Manner and Condition, that he durst not venture out. And yet, being an expert and industrious Commander, he seem'd to omit nothing that lay in his Power, through the vehement Desire he had to conquer *England*.

But

But Queen *Elizabeth's* wife Foresight prevented both his Diligence, and the credulous Hopes of the *Spaniards*: For by her Command, the Day after the *Spaniards* had cast Anchor, the Admiral made ready eight of his worst Ships, cover'd with Wild-Fire, Pitch and Rosin, and fill'd with Sulphur, and other combustible Matter, and sent them flaming down the Wind among the *Spanish* Fleet in the darkest Time of the Night, under the Command of *Young* and *Prowse*. This unusual Sight, which represented the Ocean and Skies in one Conflagration, rais'd a prodigious Fear in the *Spaniards*, as tho' these Ships were fill'd with unheard of Engines of Destruction; and with a dismal Outcry, they cut all their Cables, and put to Sea with the greatest Precipitation and Confusion. One of the largest Ships broke her Rudder, and floating without Command, was the next Day taken by *Preston*, *Gerrard* and *Harvy*, who slew the Commander *Moncada*, and four hundred Soldiers, deliver'd three hundred Gally-Slaves, and took fifty thousand Ducats in Gold; but the Vessel and Ordnance became Wreck to the Governor of *Calais*. *Drake* and *Fenner* in the mean Time perceiving the *Spanish* Fleet gradually to gather together before *Graveling*, attack'd them with great Bravery, and began a fourth Engagement; and being join'd by the Admiral, and several other Commanders, they did vast Damage to the Enemies tall Ships, without receiving any considerable Hurt themselves. The Galleon call'd *St. Matthew* was severely batter'd by *Seymour* and *Winter*, driven towards *Ostend*, attack'd by the *Zelanders*, and at last taken by the *Flushingers*. And now the insulting *Armada*, wanting several Necessaries, and losing all Hopes of the Prince of *Parma's* Assistance, resolv'd to return by the North to *Spain*; in which Passage they lost many Ships and Men; the *English* Fleet still following their Rear, 'till they were forc'd to desist for want of Powder.

The Armada dispers'd by Fireships.

The fourth Fight.

The Armada retires.

While these things pass'd at Sea, the Heroick Queen came to *Tilbury*, and with a masculine Spirit view'd her Camp and Army; and riding about through the several Ranks, with a Commander's Truncheon in her Hand, it was incredible what Fires were blown up in her Soldiers Breasts by her obliging Behaviour, and her invigorating Speeches. But in a short time there was no further Occasion for her Presence; for the *Spaniards* having met with the most mortifying Disappointments and Encounters, put their whole Safety in their Flight. And this terrible *Armada*, which made all *Europe* tremble, and was four Years in preparing with infinite Expence, was in the Space of one Month many Times attack'd by the undaunted *English*, and at last overthrown, with great Slaughter and Damage on their Side, and with the Loss of only a hundred Men, and one small Vessel on the *English*: And after It had been driven round about all *Britain* by *Scotland*, the *Orcades* and *Ireland*, thrown out all the Mules and Horses, grievously toss'd, and extremely distress'd, impair'd and mangled by Storms and Wrecks, and endur'd all manner of Miseries, at length return'd home with the greatest Shame and Dishonour. Of the hundred and thirty four Ships that set out from *Spain*, fifty three only return'd; about one half of the Men were lost, and there was not a Family of Note in *Spain* but suffer'd in this Expedition, having lost a Son, or a Brother, or some near Kinsman. But King *Philip* himself receiv'd the News with an astonishing Calmness: He was writing a Letter in his Closet, when he receiv'd Intelligence of the Ruin of his *Armada*, upon which he coolly said, *He sent his Fleet to fight against the English, and not against the Winds*; and without Change or Emotion, continu'd to finish'd his Letter.

The Losses of the Spaniards.

For the glorious Success and Deliverance this Year, the pious Queen commanded publick Prayers and Thanksgivings to be us'd throughout all the Churches in *England*, and she her self was carry'd in a triumphant Manner, in an open Chariot, through the Streets of *London* to *St. Paul's* Cathedral, being attended by a gallant Train of Noblemen and others, and receiv'd with all the Pomp, Splendor and Exultation, that the whole City could demonstrate.

A general Thanksgiving in England.

Reg. 31.

Being

Being arriv'd at the West Door of the Cathedral, where all the Enemies Banners were hung up and display'd; she prostrated her self to the Ground, and audibly return'd her Thanks to Heaven; afterwards she heard a Sermon, wherein all the Glory of the Deliverance was given to God alone. On the Lord Admiral she settled a constant Revenue for his happy Services, and frequently commended him and the Captains of her Ships, as Men born for the Preservation of their Country. The rest she courteously saluted by Name as oft as she saw them, which extreamly endear'd her to the People; and those who were indigent or wounded, she reliev'd with noble Pensions. In Memory of this Victory several Coins were struck, with a Fleet flying with full Sails, and the Motto, *Venit, vidit, fugit*; and others to the Honour of the Queen, with Fire-ships and a Fleet all in Confusion, inscrib'd *Dux Fœmina facti*. The learned Men, both at home and abroad, congratulating the Victory with transported Hearts, wrote Triumphal Poems in all Languages upon this glorious Subject.

The King of Scotland true to the English Interest.

The publick Joy was augmented by the Arrival of Sir *Robert Sidney* out of *Scotland*, who brought Intelligence from thence, that the King had over-pass'd all Injuries, was lovingly affected to the *English* and the establish'd Religion, and desir'd to imbrace a sincere and perfect Amity with *Queen Elizabeth*. For as for the King of *Spain*, he pleasantly told the Ambassador, *That he expected no other Favour from him, than what Polyphemus promis'd Uliesses, That after all the rest were devour'd, he should be swallow'd last*. So that the mighty Queen was in the Height of all her Glory both at Home and Abroad; belov'd by her Friends, and fear'd by her Enemies, who were never after in a Condition to attack her Kingdom the second Time; but found it difficult to defend their own against her, and her brave Martial Commanders. Thus, with the Death of the Earl of *Leicester*, formerly mention'd, and some inferior Transactions, ended the famous Year *Eighty Eight*; a Name doubly to be remember'd by the *English* Nation to all succeeding Generations.

A. D. XII. The mighty Queen having over-pass'd two threatening Storms, the one from the Queen of the *Scots* at home, and the other from the *Spaniard* abroad, began now to think of Reprisals, and to act more offensively against her most formidable Enemies. Towards which Design a new Parliament was call'd, which is not mention'd by *Camden* and the common Historians. It met upon the fourth Day of *February*, and continuing no longer than the twenty ninth Day of *March*, it was then dissolv'd. Here for the publick Safety of her Majesty and her Realms, the House of Commons with the utmost Alacrity aided her with the unusual and extraordinary Gift of four Fifteenths and Tenths, and two entire Subsidies, to which the Clergy added two Subsidies of their own. In the Conclusion, the Parliament desir'd her to proclaim open War against the King of *Spain*, who had so lately invaded her Dominions, whom they concluded to have been the Root and Fountain of all the Conspiracies practis'd, and of all the Rebellions rais'd against her Majesty, and the Protestant Religion. This appear'd about the same Time; for the *Spaniards* had another Plot against *England*, designing to invade it by way of *Scotland*. In which Affair they employ'd *Bruce* a Priest, and *Chreiton* and *Hays* Jesuits, who easily drew into their Party the Earls of *Huntley*, *Arrol*, and *Crawford*, Zealots for the *Romish* Religion, and *Bothwell*, a Man of an unsteady and disloyal Temper. Their chief Design was to seize upon the King's Person, to let in Foreign Troops, to restore Popery, to invade *England*, and to revenge the Death of the Queen of *Scotland*: But King *James* by a speedy March against them, overthrew that Design in *Scotland*; and *Queen Elizabeth* by apprehending, trying, and condemning *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, who espous'd the *Spanish* Party, tho' she mercifully gave him his Life, put an End to the whole Enterprize.

The seventh Parliament in this Reign.

The Papists Designs in Scotland.

This

heartily sorry that he had so obstinately defended an unjust Cause at the Bar. He thank'd the Queen who had granted him a private Execution, lest his Mind, at present compos'd, might be disturb'd by the Peoples Behaviour; for he had learn'd how vain a Thing was popular Breath, and how he deserv'd to be cut off from the Commonwealth, for the Contagion of his Enterprize, which like a foul Disease had spread and infected many. In the mean Time the Queen's Mind was violently agitated with various Apprehensions; and her former Affection reviv'd, which with the Remembrance of past Services, produc'd such tender Emotions of Pity and Clemency, that she sent her Commands by Sir Edward Cary, that he should not be executed: On the other Side his perverse Obstinacy, who scorn'd to ask her Pardon, and had openly declar'd, That his Life would be the Queen's Destruction, did so push her on to Justice and Severity, that soon after she sent a fresh Command by Darcy, that he should be executed. Accordingly he was brought to a Scaffold erected in the Tower, near which sat some few Lords, some of the Aldermen of London, and several Knights, among whom was Raleigh, purposely, as he said, to answer to any Accusation the Earl might make against him; but as others thought, to feed his Eyes with the Sufferings of his Enemy; therefore he was advis'd out of Decency to withdraw into the Armory, where he beheld the whole Tragedy. The Earl having ascended the Scaffold with the above-nam'd Divines, uncover'd his Head, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, confess'd his Sins, and begg'd Mercy for them, especially this last, which he call'd, *A bloody, crying and outrageous Sin*. He pray'd the Queen and her Ministers to forgive him, *And that God would give her a long and happy Reign*, protesting, *That he never design'd to lay violent Hands on her Person*. Then he pray'd God to strengthen his Mind against the Terrors of Death, and intreated the Spectators to join with him in a short Prayer, which he deliver'd with great Devotion. Then he rehears'd the Apostle's Creed; and laying himself down, plac'd his Neck upon the Block; and having repeated the first Verses of the fifty first Psalm, and commended his Spirit into the Hands of God, his Head was struck off at the third Blow; but the first took away both Sense and Motion. Thus fatally dy'd Robert D'Evereux, Earl of Essex, in the thirty fourth Year and Prime of his Age; a Person endow'd with all those Accomplishments that serve to finish a Nobleman, and a gallant Warrior, whose Genealogy was ancient and illustrious. He had been a great Favourite, and loaden with Preferments, had a towering Spirit, and an obliging Affability; but he was not born for a Courtier, for he could neither flatter nor dissemble, but always carry'd his Love and Hatred in his Countenance. His great Thirst after Popularity, and his continual Ingrossing of Fame procur'd him many Enemies, and made his Mind boil into undecent Passions, more advantageous to his Enemies Designs than his own. For they lighted their Candle at his Fire; and this Heat being blown into a Flame by some fiery Spirits about him, stain'd his good Nature with Thoughts of Revenge, which his Enemies turn'd upon the Queen her self; so that the same Coal with which he design'd to consume his Enemies Houses, kindled his own Funeral Pile. Thus Pride and Ambition do often usurp the Names of Greatness and Gallantry, till they prove the Downfall and Ruin of the bravest Men upon Earth.

The Queen disturb'd in her Mind.

Essex brought to the Scaffold.

His Execution and Character.

Not many Days after Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir John Davis, Sir Gilly Merick, and Cusse, being accus'd of the same Crimes with the Earl, were brought to their Trials, and being convicted by the Jury, receiv'd the Sentence of Death, and were all executed at Tyburn; except the two first, who being nobly descended, were beheaded upon Tower-Hill. To this Cause also there belongs a peculiar Censure, given at this Time in the Star-Chamber: The Earl of Essex complain'd at his Trial, that his Letters were counterfeited, and upon a diligent Enquiry into the Matter, a bold Imposture was discover'd. The Countess of Essex, being apprehensive, that in those

Other Executions.

A piece of Trouble.

troublesome Times some Mischiefs might befall her Husband and her self, put some Letters which she had receiv'd from him into a Cabinet, and intrusted it in the Hands of a *Dutch* Woman call'd *Rihove*, who hiding them in her House, they were accidentally discover'd by her Husband *John Daniel*; who reading them over, and observing some Passages in them that might incense the Queen and endanger the Earl, caus'd them to be transcrib'd by a Person expert at *Counterfeiting of Hands*. And when the timorous Countess was ready to be deliver'd of a Child, he told her that unless she would give him three thousand Pounds, he would put them into the Hands of her Husband's Enemies. The good Lady, to prevent that threatening Danger, immediately gave him eleven hundred and seventy Pounds; and still for that great Sum the Impostor only gave her the Counterfeit Copies, and kept the Originals, to get another Sum for them from the Earl's Enemies. For which he was condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, fin'd in three thousand Pounds, two of which was to be paid to the Countess, and to stand with his Ears nail'd to the Pillory, with this Inscription on his Breast, *A wicked Forger and Impostor*.

The tenth Parliament in this Reign.

Not long after the vigilant Queen summon'd her last Parliament, which met at *Westminster* upon the twenty seventh Day of *October*; in which grievous Complaints were made by the House of Commons concerning the Mischiefs of Monopolies. The Queen, by way of Prevention, sent out Proclamations, declaring the said Licences and Patents to be void in part, leaving some Part to the Determination of the Laws; which was so acceptable to the Commons, that they immediately sent eighty select Persons, together with their Speaker, to return their hearty Thanks to her Majesty. She on the other Side in a tender Speech gave them Thanks, *For being such faithful Ministers to her, and recalling her from an Error proceeding from her Ignorance, not Will*. After that she declar'd to them, *That she had rather her Heart or Hand should perish, than that either one or the other should allow such Privileges to Monopolists as might be prejudicial to her dear People. That the Splendor of Regal Majesty had not so blinded her Eyes, that licentious Power should prevail more than Justice. That she was none of those Princes that would be deceiv'd by the Glory of the Name; for she knew the Commonwealth was to be govern'd for the Good of those committed to her, not of her self to whom it was intrusted; and that an Account was one Day to be given before a superior Judge. She thought her self most happy, that she had by God's Assistance so prosperously govern'd the Commonwealth; and that she had such loving Subjects, as for their Good she would willingly leave both her Kingdom and Life*. This Speech, and her endearing Behaviour, so pleas'd and charm'd the Commons, that they now gave her greater Aids than ever she had receiv'd, namely four intire Subsidies, and eighteen Fifteenths and Tenths: After which this Parliament, after a six Weeks Session, was dissolv'd upon the nineteenth Day of *December*.

The Queen's Generosity.

Reg. 44.

The famous Siege of Ostend.

During these Transactions at home, the Arch-Duke *Albert* besieg'd *Ostend* in the *Netherlands*, and the Confederate States being oblig'd for their own Preservation to defend it, they made Sir *Francis Vere* Governor of it, under the Title of *General of all the Forces within and without Ostend*. This Place, within the Memory of that Generation, was but a few Cottages for poor Fishermen on a naked Shore; but at the Beginning of the *Netherland Wars*, was fortify'd by the States, first with a Palisado; afterwards upon the Sea working in, and making a very convenient Harbour, they added a Trench to it, and plac'd an *English* Garrison in it. These Men first under *John Conway*, and afterwards under Sir *John Norris*, so disturb'd and over-run *Flanders*, that the Prince of *Parma* began to lay Siege to it, but in vain. *Le Motte* attempted it by Treachery, but was repell'd with great Loss; and the Arch-Duke *Albert* surrounded it with seventeen Sconces. But when the Garrisons with these Sconces prov'd as burdensome and vexatious to *Flanders* as the Enemies, and

and the Haven being thought convenient both to harbour the *Spanish* Gallies, and disturb the Navigation of the *English* and *Hollanders*, the *Spaniards* resolv'd to take it at any Expence, and the States on the other hand were as resolute to preserve it. Never in that Age was a Siege more obstinately maintain'd, or more gallantly defended; nor a greater Slaughter of Men, or a Piece of Service that lasted a longer Space. At the End of five Months, Sir *Francis Vere* finding his Forces diminish'd by frequent Sallies, the Enemies Shot and the Pestilence, a Part of the old Town swallow'd by the Sea, their Provision almost spent, and by reason of contrary Winds no Hopes of Supplies, which he had often in vain demanded; and understanding that the Enemy were ready to make a general Assault upon the Town, he desir'd a Parly with the Arch-Duke concerning a Surrender of the Place; and after Hostages were given on both Sides, Commissioners were sent to treat about it. But General *Vere* only protracted Time, and fed them with Hopes of a Surrender, 'till fresh Supplies of Men arriv'd; and then sent back the Commissioners, excusing himself by that Military Axiom, *That to over-reach an Enemy is both pleasant and advantageous*, and therefore desir'd their Pardon, if in case of the like Necessity he should make use of the same Stratagem. The Arch-Duke in Revenge made a furious Assault the next Day, but was beaten back with Loss; and General *Vere*, when he had repair'd the shaken and batter'd Places, was recall'd by the States, who thought fit every five Months to send a new Governor with fresh Supplies of Men: Which successive Governors, with great Management and Resolution, defended the Town above three Years and three Months, against all the furious Attacks of the Sea and the Enemy. And it would have been thought happy by vast Numbers, if the Sea had been let in and had swallow'd it up; for the best and bravest Soldiers of the *Netherlands*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Italy*, while they contended for a barren Plat of Sand, found here one common Sepulchre, tho' with that an eternal Monument of their Valour.

As to the Affairs of *Ireland*, the Inhabitants there had been in long Expectations of Assistance from *Spain*, which now to their great Joy arriv'd in Safety at *Kingsale*; and having peaceably enter'd the Town and refresh'd themselves, Don *John d'Aquila*, who commanded them, with the Title of *General of the Catholick King in God's War, for maintaining the Faith in Ireland*, publish'd several Papers, to persuade the People, 'That Queen *Elizabeth* was by several Sentences of the Pope depriv'd of her Crown, that her Subjects were absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance, and that now the *Spaniards* were come to deliver *Ireland* from the Jaws of Hell; and by that specious Pretence he induc'd great Numbers of lewd and dissolute Persons to join with him. The Lord-Deputy having drawn together what Forces he could, invested *Kingsale*, forc'd the Castle of *Kincurran* to surrender; and with the Assistance of Vice-Admiral *Levison*, straiten'd the Town with a closer Siege, which was soon after a little relax'd, in regard *Levison* with his Fleet was oblig'd to sail from thence against two thousand *Spaniards*, landed at *Bear-Haven*, *Castle-Haven* and *Baltimore*, five of whose Ships he happily sunk. About the same Time, *Tyrone*, *O-Donel*, *O-Rock*, and the principal Rebels drew near, and joining the new-landed *Spaniards*, compos'd an Army of six thousand Foot and five hundred Horse; and were swell'd with such an Assurance of Victory, as being fresh Men, more numerous, and well provided with Necessaries, while the *English* were extreamly fatigu'd with a Winter's Siege, and both Men and Horses destitute of Provisions and Conveniences. However when both Armies came to ingage, they soon found their Error; for the *Spaniards* were miserably slaughter'd, and the *Irish* threw down their Arms, and betook themselves to Flight. Don *Alphonso O Campo* was taken Prisoner, with three *Spanish* Leaders and six Ensigns; twelve hundred Men were slain, and nine Colours taken; and of the *English* few were kill'd, though many were wounded. Upon this

The Spaniards land in Ireland.

They and the Irish are beaten.

this the two Rebel Earls, *Tyrone* and *O-Donel*, made their Escape; the former to his Northern Shelters, and the latter into *Spain*. The next Day the Lord-Deputy commanded *Bodley* to survey the Works about *King'sale*, to finish the Mount, and draw the Trenches nearer the Town; which caus'd *D'Aquila* to send a Trumpeter and desire a Parly, and that General signify'd to Sir *William Godolphin*, ' That he had found the Lord-Deputy a sharp but honourable Enemy, and the *Irish* weak, rude and perfidious; that the Catholick King had sent him to assist two Earls, whom he now question'd whether they were in the World, since one Blast of War had blown one into *Spain*, and the other into the North; wherefore he was willing to treat of a Peace, which might be advantageous to the *English*, and not prejudicial to the *Spaniards*; tho' he wanted nothing for a Siege, and daily expected Succours to enable him to perform his Master's Commands. At length it was concluded that the *Spaniards* should surrender *King'sale*, with the Castles and Forts at *Bear-Haven*, *Castle-Haven* and *Baltimore*, and depart honourably with their Goods and Liberties, without being molested by any *English* Ship in their Voyage to *Spain*; all which was soon after perform'd. Great and many were the Advantages of the Victory and Treaty; for *Ireland* that was staggering, and ready to revolt, was hereby kept in Obedience, the *Spaniards* driven out of the Country, the Rebels dispers'd, the Queen's Authority restor'd, the Hearts of honest Men reviv'd, and a solid and perfect Peace establish'd in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

They abandon the Kingdom.

A. D.

1602.

Reg. $\frac{44}{45}$.

The last Expeditions against the Spaniards.

The *Spaniards* being thus happily expell'd out of *Ireland*, the wise Queen, to prevent their Return into that Kingdom, sent out Sir *Richard Levison* and Sir *William Monson*, with eight of her own Men of War, and some inferior Ships, to make new Attempts upon the Coasts of *Spain*. On the nineteenth Day of *March* *Levison* set Sail, and *Monson* afterwards, having in vain tarry'd behind for some *Dutch* Ships to join with them. *Levison* in the mean Time fell in with the *Spanish* Fleet of thirty eight Sail, which brought the Treasure from *America*, and ingag'd them, but to no great Effect. When *Monson* was come up with the rest of the Fleet, they receiv'd certain Intelligence that a mighty *Indian* Carack of sixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coast of *Portugal*, where they found it: But it lay close under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies, and the Carack it self appear'd like a strong Castle; yet they resolv'd to fire it, if they could not take it. The next Day they thunder'd so furiously against the Gallies, that within seven Hours the Marquess of *St. Croffe*, together with the Gallies he commanded, retir'd, and two of them were taken and fir'd, in which were great Quantities of Powder design'd for the *Netherlands*. Upon which *Levison* signify'd to the Captain of the Carack, that the Gallies in which they contided were repuls'd and remov'd, therefore if they now refus'd Mercy, they were to expect none hereafter. After much Debate on both Sides, it was at last agreed, That the Carack, with all the Goods and Ordnance, should be yielded up to *Levison*. Thus the *English* having a fair Wind, return'd home with a Booty amounting to a Million of Ducats, by the *Portuguese* Account, and not above five of their Men lost in the Expedition.

A Contest between the Jesuits and the Secular Priests.

About this Time a famous Contest arose between the Jesuits and the Secular Priests in *England*: For *Blackwell*, who was wholly at the Command of *Gar-net*, General of the Jesuits in *England*, usurp'd an Authority over the Secular Priests, depriv'd them of their Faculties, and procur'd a *Breve* from the Pope, declaring them Schismatics and Hereticks, from which they clear'd themselves by a Censure of the University of *Paris*. In publishing of several Books, the Secular Priests highly extoll'd the Queen, and made it appear, ' That in the first eleven Years of her Reign, there was not one Papist had his Life call'd in question for his Religion; and that in ten Years after the Publication of the Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus*, and the Rebellion of the Papists, not above twelve Priests were put to Death for Treason, 'till in the Year 1580, when

' the

‘the Jesuits first crept into *England*. Then they largely shew’d, That the
 ‘wicked Designs of the Jesuits confounded all, and enforc’d the making of se-
 ‘vere Laws against Catholicks. That ever since *English* Seminaries had been
 ‘erected by the Procurement of *Parsons* a Jesuit, fifty had been yearly sent
 ‘to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom of *England*: That *Parsons* excited
 ‘the *Spaniards* to invade *England* and *Ireland*, and set up the Title of
 ‘the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Crown of *England*: That *Holt* a Jesuit
 ‘persuaded *Hesket* to raise a Rebellion, and hir’d *Cullen*, *York* and *Williams*
 ‘to kill the Queen; and that *Walpole* a Jesuit persuaded *Squire* to poison her.
 ‘Insomuch that the Queen, whose Judgment was, *That Conscience ought*
 ‘*never to be forc’d*, was necessitated to use Severity, or betray her own and
 ‘her Kingdom’s Safety. They reproach’d *Parsons* with being a Bastard, the
 ‘Dregs of the People, and a turbulent seditious Equivocator: They condemn’d
 ‘the defamatory Libels which the Jesuits had writ against the Queen, and the
 ‘Authors as Traitors to God and her Majesty; and desir’d the *English* Catho-
 ‘licks not to send their Children to be educated in the Jesuits Colleges, where
 ‘they imbib’d the Poison of Treason and Rebellion with their first Rudiments.
 These Contests were politickly promoted by the Bishop of *London*, as advan-
 tageous to the Church of *England*; but the Privy-Council were of Opinion,
 that notwithstanding this pretended Animosity, they were both agreed to per-
 vert her Majesty’s Subjects, and therefore were both banish’d by Proclama-
 tion: Which prov’d very seasonable; for while these Disputes were depending,
Thomas Winter and *Tesmund* a Jesuit were sent over into *Spain*, where they
 carry’d on a dangerous Conspiracy for cutting off Queen *Elizabeth*, and ex-
 cluding the King of *Scotland* from his Succession to the Crown of *England*.

Both Parties
are banish’d.

In *France*, the Marshal *Biron*, for entering into dangerous Attempts against
 the publick Peace of that Nation, was arraign’d and beheaded. His Confession
 brought some others into Danger; and amongst them the Duke of *Buillon*, of
 the Protestant Religion, so that when he was cited, he durst not appear, but
 fled into *Germany*. Upon this Accident the King of *France* sent a Message to
 Queen *Elizabeth*, complaining, ‘That the Duke had declar’d his Marriage
 ‘unlawful, and the Pope’s Dispensation of no Validity, pronouncing his Sons
 ‘Illegitimate; had destin’d the Prince of *Conde* to the Succession of the Crown,
 ‘and conspir’d the Destruction of the chief of the Nobility. The Queen was
 much concern’d for this Protestant Duke, and by her Leiger Ambassador ad-
 vis’d the King, not too credulously to entertain those Reports, as doubting these
 Suggestions might proceed from some of the *Spanish* Faction. Upon which
 the King became very angry, and said, *That the Queen had a better Opinion*
of the Duke than he deserv’d, and that he was one of the chief Founders of
the Earl of Essex’s Treason, for that being question’d by him about it, was not
able to deny it. About the same Time also, the Duke of *Savoy* by Strata-
 gems and open Force proceeded against the State of *Geneva*; upon which the
 generous Queen reliev’d them with large Sums of Money, gather’d amongst the
 Clergy and Laity all over *England*.

Foreign Af-
fairs.

As most Places began to be at rest before the Death of the mighty Queen,
 so *Ireland* this Year was brought to a perfect Peace by the final Submission of
 the Arch-Rebel *Tyrone*; who being haunted with an evil Conscience, and
 suspicious of his own Party, wrote submissive Letters to the Queen and the
 Lord-Deputy, and gave such Marks of true Repentance, that the Queen or-
 der’d the Lord-Deputy to receive him into Mercy, provided he would beg it
 upon his Knees with that Humility he promis’d in his Letters. Upon notice
 of this welcome News *Tyrone* repair’d to the Court at *Dublin*, and being ad-
 mitted into the Presence-Chamber, where the Lord-Deputy sat in his Chair
 of State, with great Numbers about him, he fell on his Knees at the very En-
 trance, and then advancing nearer with a dejected Countenance, said, *I ac-*
knowledge my Sin against God, and my Offence against my most gracious
 Queen

A. D.
1603.
Reg. 45.

*Tyrone sub-
mits.*

Queen and Sovereign, to whose Royal Clemency, as to a sacred Anchor I fly, offering up my Life and Estate to her Disposal; and as I have felt her former Bounty and present Power, so now I humbly beg that I may taste of her Mercy, and be made an eternal Example of her Princely Clemency. My Age is not so far spent, my Body so feeble, nor my Mind so broken, but that by my valiant and faithful Service, I may yet expiate the Sin of my Rebellion. Thus ended the famous *Tyrone's* Rebellion by the auspicious Fortune of the Queen, and the good Conduct of the Lord-Deputy *Montjoy*, about eight Years after it first began: Which was continu'd so long, by the too great Slight and Covetousness of the *English*, who were unwilling to grant proportionable Supplies; and was protracted by unseasonable Emulations, dissembled Truces, difficult Accesses in the Country, and by the Temper of the *Irish*, who trusted more to the Celerity of their Feet, then the Strength of their Hands.

The Queen's
last Sickness.

And now all Things being in Peace at home, and in a good Prospect with *Spain* abroad, after the mighty Queen had acted the noblest Parts in the Theatre of the World, she who had hitherto enjoy'd a continu'd State of Health, now became sensible of the Infirmities of old Age, by a general Weakness and Indisposition that had lately seiz'd upon her. Therefore she remov'd from *Westminster* to her Palace at *Richmond*, which she call'd her Warm Box where she could best trust her distemper'd old Body, and where she could more freely attend the Service of God, and the Salvation of her Soul. And here commanding her Inauguration Ring to be fil'd off her Finger, as being grown into the Flesh and painful, it was by all thought an unfortunate Omen, and that the Marriage between her and her dear People was near a Dissolution. Her Sickness began with a Swelling in her Throat, but that soon abated; and then by Degrees her Appetite fail'd, and she had no Relish for any thing she tasted. She much despis'd the Counsels of Physicians, declaring, *She was satiated with this present Life, and desir'd to be translated to a State of Immortality, and to escape out of this dark and disorder'd State of human Affairs: That Death, so abhorr'd by many, was only the Payment of a Debt to Nature; and that our Spirits were of Right to be restor'd to God from whom they came.* Thus her Body by slow Degrees consum'd away, and she became very lean, weak and faint; and her Mind seem'd more afflicted than her Body, being Night and Day disturb'd with an uneasy Remembrance of the late executed Earl of *Essex*, as likewise with her too great Compliance with *Tyrone*, whom she had in some measure rewarded for his Treasons and Perjuries. Her Sorrows were daily increas'd, and render'd more insupportable by the melancholy Humour which then abounded in her Blood, and from a just Indignation to find her self neglected by some who were too ready to worship a rising Sun; yet still she bore her last Sickness with a wonderful Constancy and noble Patience of Mind. And now the Lord-Admiral informing the rest of the Privy-Council, what the Queen had sometime said to him concerning the Succession, they all thought fit that he, with the Lord-Keeper and Secretary of State, should wait upon her Majesty, and in the Name of all of them understand her Pleasure concerning her Successor. The Queen made Answer with a weak Voice, but sound Mind, *I said that my Throne was the Throne of Kings, and that I would have no mean Person succeed me.* The Secretary asking her the plain Meaning of these Words, she said, *I will that a King succeed me; and who should that be, but my nearest Kinsman the King of Scotland?* When she had said this, and recommended her Name and Memory to her Nobility, she cast off all Thoughts of this Life, and wholly betook her self to Acts of Piety and Devotion; keeping the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* near her, with whom she often pray'd with great Zeal and Fervency. When that pious Prelate advis'd her to place all her Trust in the Merits of Christ, she answer'd with a gasping Breath, *That she was weary of this miserable Life, subject to*

she nominates
King James
for her Successor.

so many Calamities and Dangers ; that from her Soul she begg'd to pass to that eternal Light which flow'd with most perfect Felicity ; and was hastning to her Heavenly Kingdom, to the Presence, and into the holy Arms of her good Saviour. Then turning a little, and laying her Head upon her right Arm, she compos'd her self for her Dissolution, with a quiet Mind and calm Countenance ; and when the Arch-Bishop desir'd her to keep her Thoughts upon God, she just answer'd, *I do, nor does my Mind wander from him.* The last Moments of her Life were of the same Nature ; for it appear'd by the Motions of her Hands and Eyes, that they were spent in the most sublime Devotions and Mental Prayer. Thus gradually expiring, on the twenty fourth of *March*, near Mid-Night, she peaceably resign'd her pious Soul to God, after a long and incomparable Reign of forty four Years, four Months, and six Days, in the seventieth Year of her Age, to which Age no King of *England* but one ever arriv'd. *Her Death.*

Thus dy'd the renown'd Virgin Queen, cover'd with all the Glories of this World, and nobly qualify'd for those of the next ; having had all the Virtues and Accomplishments of her mighty Father, and scarce any of his Vices and Imperfections ; only she was in some Cases a little too parsimonious, and a little too liable to Passion and the Love of Flattery. The News of her Death immediately fill'd the Court, the City and the whole Nation with such Floods of Tears, and produc'd such Marks of inexpressible Sorrow, as were never known before ; and in Reality no Princes since the Creation had ever more sincerely the Hearts of their Subjects, than this illustrious Queen. We have before given the Character of her Person, and mention'd her Qualifications ; all which are still more compleatly learnt from the History of her Reign ; which if the Goodness and Excellency of it may be measur'd by the great Happiness of the People, may justly be esteem'd the most glorious yet extant in our Annals. The Wisdom, the Grandeur, and the Fame of it, have been largely celebrated and display'd by the noblest Pens both at home and abroad. At *Rome*, where she was both hated and excommunicated, Pope *Sixtus Quintus* us'd to speak with the greatest Honour of her Government ; and profanely wish'd he might enjoy her but one Night, that he might beget a second *Alexander* the Great. Her Court was as compleat an Academy of honourable Counsellors, illustrious Peers, gallant Courtiers, learned Professors, and profound Politicians, as ever attended any Christian Prince : And as her great Statesmen reflected new Lustre upon her own Wisdom and Understanding, in making so worthy a Choice ; so she never was so happy in her Choice, as when she govern'd by her own Judgment without the Advice of others. Having surmounted the chiefest Difficulties in Church and State, one of her great Observations was *That the People of England were more governable in Times of War, than in Times of Peace.* Tho' she never thirsted after any unjust Inlargement of her Dominions, yet the great Affairs of *Europe* principally depended upon her Directions ; while sitting at the Helm of all, she arbitrated and guided their Estates both in Peace and War. *Spain* endeavouring to overflow all, was driven back, and scarce able to maintain its own Banks. In *France*, the House of *Valois* was happily supported by her Counsels, that of *Bourbon* advanc'd by her Countenance, Forces and Treasure ; *Scotland* reliev'd by her Love, the *Netherlands* by her Power, *Portugal's* King by her Bounty, and *Poland* by her Commiseration : Likewise *Germany*, *Denmark* and *Swedeland*, often took up and laid down Arms at her Pleasure and Disposal. Nor could the utmost Bounds of *Europe*, *Russia* and *Tartary*, limit the Extent of her great Fame ; but it spread further into the more remote Parts of *Asia*, *Africa* and *America*, among the *Turks*, the *Persians*, *Barbarians* and *Indians*. In most of whose Dominions, to the great enriching of her Kingdom, she settled Commerce, and gain'd large Privileges for the Encouragement of her Merchants, whom she cherish'd as a most necessary and important Part of her Common-wealth. *Her Character and Reign.*

Not-

*The Blemishes
in the Govern-
ment.*

Notwithstanding all the various Excellencies of this Reign, and the admirable Virtues and Qualifications of the Queen her self, we ought not to dismiss her Character, without taking Notice of the real Spots and Blemishes of the Government; both as to Church and State. The Establishment of the Reformation has been justly accounted one of the greatest Glories of this Reign, and what procur'd the Blessings of Heaven upon it for so many Years: Yet in the same Parliament, the Queen consented to several unjustifiable Incroachments upon the Lands and Revenues of the Church, for which it suffers to this Day, tho' some have been lately gloriously restor'd; not to mention several other bold Attempts in this Reign. The other Blemish is the mysterious Proceedings in the *Scotch* Affairs, and strange Treatment of the Queen of *Scotland*; but this is candidly interpreted to be more her great Misfortune, than her real Fault; as the other is thought by some to have been occasion'd more by her Ignorance in that very Case, and from the Necessities of that infirm Juncture of Affairs; tho' some Alienations of the Church Revenues cannot be excus'd. Besides these, several Scandals have been charg'd upon her by some implacable and malignant Pens; which, being as much beneath the Dignity of History, as they are short of Probability, are better omitted, than recited. But if we set aside the forementioned Particulars, and consider the whole Reign in general, we find it the most surprising and amazing Thing in the World, that all that is great and glorious should be manag'd, and the chief Affairs of *Europe* should move and be directed by a Woman's Nod. This for a whole hundred Years has been a continu'd Subject of Admiration, 'till the new Wonders of our present Age began to eclipse all the Glories of former Times; and, to our unexpressible Joy, have nobly convinc'd us, That as the greatest Magnanimity is agreeable to the sweetest Dispositions, so no Attempt can be too Extensive, nor no Enterprize too Great for the Female Sex. †

The End of the Third Book.

History



History of England.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The Reign of King JAMES the First.

Containing twenty two Years, and three Days.

*Reed.
Stefmond.
Wilson.
Faler.
AnCamd
etc.*

I. **H**itherto we have treated of the Monarchy of *England* it self, and with the different Accessions of *Ireland* and *Wales*; but now we are arriv'd at a new State of Affairs, and a more remarkable Addition to the *English* Empire, namely, the ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was happily join'd in the Person, and under the Subjection of *James Stuart* the present King of *Scotland*. And considering the vast Effusion of Blood, and immense Sums of Mony, that for several Ages had been wasted and expended between the two contending Nations, nothing could be judg'd more fortunate and propitious, than this long desir'd Conjunction, and nothing could sooner alleviate and extinguish the Remembrance of the wonderful Felicities of the last Reign. So that all People began soon to dry up their Tears, and to cast their Eyes towards the bright Northern Star, which was now to guide and influence the whole Island. Therefore immediately upon the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Lords of the Council gave full Satisfaction to the People in proclaiming *James* the Sixth, King of *Scotland*, by the Name of *James* the First, King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. to the great Joy of all true *Englishmen*, as well for his unquestionable Claim, as his Profession of the establish'd Religion, as also for his singular Learning and Experience, with which he was qualify'd for the Management of so great an Empire; having now attain'd to the Age of thirty six Years and nine Months, and exercis'd in the Practice of Regal Government from the first

A. D.
1603.
Reg. 1.

*King James
proclaim'd.*

A a a a a

Years

Years of his Infancy. His Title was good beyond all Dispute, being descended from the united Families of *Lancaster* and *York*, King *Henry* the Seventh, and Queen *Elizabeth* his Wife; whose Issue by the Male failing in the last deceas'd Queen *Elizabeth*, the Issue of *Margaret* their eldest Daughter was the next Heir, which Lady marry'd to *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*, and by him had *James* the Fifth, whose only Daughter Queen *Mary* was Mother to this present Monarch.

Notice given to
him in Scot-
land.

The first News of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death was brought to him by Sir *Robert Cary*, a younger Son of the late Lord *Hunsdon*, who coming without Order, and the greatest Expedition, was afterwards rewarded with a Barony of the Realm. But tho' this was sufficient for the King's Information, yet it was not sufficient for the Lords of the Council, in Discharge of their Duty; therefore as soon as they could provide proper Persons, they sent Sir *Charles Piercy*, and Mr. *Thomas Somerset*, and after them Sir *Thomas Lake* Clerk of the Signet, a Man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to inform him of the general Applause and Satisfaction of the Nation, and of the present State and Condition of the Realm, that he might not be altogether a Stranger at his Arrival. Queen *Elizabeth* indeed had left him a great and flourishing Kingdom, without Incumbrance, rich and free; no Wars abroad, no Sedition at home; a Kingdom furnish'd with all the Fruits of Peace, Plenty of all Things necessary, and the chief of all Necessaries, a wise Council: For she left Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord-Chancellor, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurst* Lord-Treasurer, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord-Admiral, and Sir *Robert Cecil* principal Secretary of State; four such Men, as the meanest of them were fit to sit at the Helm of any Kingdom in *Europe*. All these the new King by his Letters kept in their Stations, and afterwards added some others of his own chusing; as the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard* and the Lord *Henry Howard*, the one the Brother and the other the Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who had suffer'd so much for the Queen his Mother. But tho' the advancing of these two last, was probably done out of Favour to that Family; yet, one of them being a known, and the other a reputed Papist, it was immediately apprehended as a Favour to the whole Party; and the Catholicks were not a little confident of his good Inclinations to them in general. And in reality it was convenient they should at this Time have such kind of Imaginations; for more than once in the late Reign *Briefes* had been transmitt'd from *Rome* to the Catholicks in *England*, to admit of none to succeed in the Kingdom, *When that miserable Woman should die, but such a Person, of whose good Inclinations to the See of Rome, they should at least be well persuaded.* Whatever this Prince's Inclinations and Actions were then and afterwards, this is certain that no King of *England* ever came to the Throne with greater Love and Reputation than himself.

He leaves
Scotland.

His Progress.

King *James* having settled the Government of his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and made Preparations to take Possession of a greater Kingdom, on the fifth of *April*, with a noble Attendance of Lords and others, he set forwards from *Edinburgh*, and on the seventh arriv'd at *Berwick*, and the ninth at *New-Castle*, where he staid three Days, and heard the Bishop of *Durham* preach on *Sunday*; and the Inhabitants were so transported with his Arrival and Presence, that during his Stay they bore all the Charge of his Household. On the thirteenth of *April* he set forwards to *Durham*, from thence the fourteenth to *Waltworth*, and the fifteenth towards the City of *York*, where his Train increas'd to such a Multitude, that he was necessitated to publish an Inhibition to prevent too great a Concourse. As he was in all Places receiv'd with Royal Entertainment and rich Presents, so he carry'd himself with great Affability, and with much Freedom distributed his Favours, in most Places discharging all Prisoners that were not confin'd for Treason or Murther; and so great was the Obsequiousness and Applauses of all Men, that a rough *Scotchman* openly said, *This People*

People would spoil a good King. After three Days stay at *York*, where the Earl of *Cumberland* was declar'd the King's Sword-bearer in that Place, his Majesty went to Sir *Edward Stanhope's* House at *Grimston*, from thence to *Pontfract*, and so to *Doncaster*, and on the twenty first Day arriv'd at *Newark* upon *Trent*; where a Cut-purse being taken in the Fact, was by the King's Warrant alone hang'd, without any formal Trial, which afterwards gave some Occasion for Reflection. On the twenty second, hunting all the Way, he arriv'd at *Beaveir* Castle, and the twenty third at *Burleigh* House near *Stamford*, where he tarry'd two or three Days with great Satisfaction. On the twenty seventh he remov'd to *Hinchinbrook* by *Huntington*, a House of Sir *Oliver Cromwell's*, where he was solemnly met by the Heads of the University of *Cambridge*; and as he pass'd through *Godmanchester*, the Bailiffs of the Town presented him with seventy Team of Horse all trac'd to fair new Ploughs, declaring to his Majesty, That it was the ancient Custom so to do when any King of *England* pass'd through their Town, and by which they held their Lands, as Tenants to the King. At *Royston* he first lodg'd at his own Charge; and from thence went to Sir *Thomas Sadler's* House at *Standon*, where he staid on *Sunday*, and heard the Bishop of *London* preach. On the second of *May* he remov'd to *Brosbourn*, a House of Sir *Henry Cook's*, Coferer to the late Queen, and now to the King, where he was met by the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Admiral, and divers other Lords of the Kingdom. The next Day he arriv'd at *Theobalds*, a House belonging to Sir *Robert Cecil*, who had accompany'd him from *York*; where all the Lords of the Privy-Council presented themselves, and there the Lord-Keeper made a solemn Oration. On *Saturday* the seventh of *May* he rod towards *London*, being met on the Road by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, who by their Orator Sir *Richard Martin*, made him an eloquent Speech; and thus the King arriv'd with a glorious Train at the *Charter-House*, near *Smith-field*, a Place belonging to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, where he staid four Days. In his whole Journey, which lasted above a Month, he made many Distributions of Honour: At *Theobalds* he made several Noblemen of *Scotland* of his Privy Council, as the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume*, Sir *James Elphinston*, the Lord of *Kingloss*, and immediately after the Lords *Zouch* and *Burgley*. After that he made Sir *George Hume* Earl of *Dunbarre*, Sir *Thomas Ereskin* Earl of *Kelley*, Sir *John Ramsay* Earl of *Holmerness*, Sir *James Hay* Earl of *Carlisle*, and Sir *Richard Preston* Earl of *Kildare*. As to Knights, he made great Numbers of both Nations, particularly twenty eight at *Theobalds*, about eighty at the *Charter-House*, and a hundred not many Days after, and still far greater Numbers before the Year was out, so that many admir'd what Occasion the King could have for so many *Milites* in the Time of Peace: Yet it was thought fit to give a free Course to the Passage of Honour, which during Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign had been so stopp'd, that few Counties of *England* had knights enough to make a Jury. On the seventeenth of *May* he made fourteen new Serjeants at Law, and on the twentieth, four new *English* Lords, namely, Sir *Robert Cecil* Baron of *Esmond*, Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst*, Sir *William Knolls* Baron of *Greys*, and Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Morley*; and shortly after, the Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Thomas Sackville*, Lord *Buckhurst*, Earl of *Dorset*.

Tho' King *James* was now safely arriv'd at *London*, yet he accounted himself but half settled, till his Queen and Children were also with him; therefore there were now appointed many Lords and Ladies to conduct them into *England*: Of Lords, the Earl of *Suffex*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, and Sir *George Carew*, Lord President of *Munster*: Of Ladies, the Countess of *Worcester*, the Countess of *Kildare*, the Lady *Anne Herbert* Daughter to the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Scroop's* Lady, the Lady *Rich*, Wife

Wife to the Lord *Rich*, and the Lady *Walsingham*, one of the late Queen's Bed-Chamber. But tho' these were only appointed by Name, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went voluntarily to attend their new Queen; as the Countess of *Bedford*, the Lady *Hastings*, the Lady *Cecil*, the Lady *Hatton*, the Lady *Harington*, and several others: And with this glorious Attendance the Queen, with two of her Children, Prince *Henry* nine Years of Age, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, arriv'd at *York* on the eleventh of *June*. Where resting themselves a few Days, on the twenty seventh of the same Month they came to *Eaton* in *Northamptonshire*, a House belonging to Sir *George Fermor*, where the King himself met them at Dinner; and afterwards they rode together to a House of Sir *John Fortescue*, and so to the City of *London*. The King's younger Son, *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, did not come at this Time, as being not three Years of Age, and therefore thought not able to endure such a Journey; but the following Year, falling sick of a Fever, Doctor *Atkins*, one of the King's Physicians, was sent to take Care of him, who in six Weeks cur'd him of his Distemper; and in *October* brought him safe to *Windsor*, where the King then resided; for which Service he met with great Rewards, and no less advantageous Practice.

Ambassadors
from Foreign
Princes.

The King had by this Time found the Love and Affection of his own People, but the Inclinations of the neighbouring Princes towards him was at present in Suspence; 'till about the Beginning of *June*, there came first an Ambassador from the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; shortly after another from the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*; then another from the Arch-Duke of *Austria*; another from the King of *Spain*; a Fifth from the State of *Venice*; another from the Duke of *Tuscany*, and lastly *Monsieur de Rosny* from the King of *France*; all congratulating his happy Accession to the Throne of *England*. For the more solemn Reception of which Ambassadors, and all others for the future, the King instituted a new Officer by the Name of *Master of the Ceremonies*, allowing him two hundred Pounds a Year Fee; and the first that had this Place was Sir *Lewis Lewkenor*, a Gentleman who besides other Accomplishments, was very skilful in the neighbouring Languages. All this while the King mov'd within his own Sphere, and had transacted nothing out of the Nation: But now in the Month of *June* he sent the Earl of *Rutland* Ambassador to his Brother-in-Law the King of *Denmark*, upon two Occasions; the one was to offer himself to be God-Father to his Son, who was nam'd *Christianus*, and the other was to present him with the honourable Order of the Garter: Upon the like Imployment, he shortly after sent the Lord *Spencer* to *Frederick* Duke of *Wurtemberg*; both which Lords saw the said Princes invested with the Garter, and after solemn Entertainments return'd home.

Tyrone par-
doned.

In *England*, it was probably conceiv'd that all Offences against Queen *Elizabeth* had been forgotten; but King *James*, more sensible of Wrongs done to her than himself, would not suffer *Valentine Thomas* so to escape; who after he had lain many Years Prisoner in the Tower, was on the fourth of *June* arraign'd at the King's Bench-Bar; and for Conspiring against the late Queen and some of her Council, was on the seventh of *June*, after six a Clock at Night, drawn to Sir. *Thomas Watrings*, and there hang'd and quarter'd. About this Time the honourable *Charles* Lord *Montjoy* return'd out of *Ireland*, and brought with him the famous Rebel *Hugh O-Neal*, Earl of *Tyrone*; at whose Arrival the Lord *Montjoy* was sworn of the King's Privy-Council; and *Tyrone* himself, who had been the Cause of such an Effusion of *English* Blood, was notwithstanding pardon'd, and Proclamation made, that he should be treated by all Men with Respect and Honour. The Lord *Montjoy*, as a Reward for his good Services, was created Earl of *Devonshire*; and thus having given Way to new Creations, they soon after broke in like a Deluge upon the Nation; the King being an inexhaustible Fountain of Honour, which might serve for all Kinds of Rewards and Purposes.

While

While all Men enjoy'd the Blessings of Peace and Plenty, suddenly, like a Storm in a fair Day, there broke out a Conspiracy of a strange Composition; for as most Treasons are compos'd of Men of one particular Faction, in this there were Persons of all sorts, Priests and Lay-Men, Papists and Protestants, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen: So that several would have thought it to have been a deep laid Conspiracy; but it prov'd so shallow, that it could scarce be observ'd what the Authors of it design'd, or what they would have effected. It seems the great Favour King *James* had shewn to the Earl of *Southampton*, who nearly escap'd when the Earl of *Effex* suffer'd, prov'd highly disobliging to all his Opposers; and it was said, that as the King had sent to enlarge the Earl of *Southampton*, and appointed him to meet him upon the Way, so when he heard that his two chief Opposites, the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, were likewise design'd to meet him, he sent them word, *That they might save themselves that Labour*. However it was, they found some Cause for a fatal Discontent, which hurry'd them into the Company and Society of some who had more real Designs against the Government than themselves. Sir *Walter Raleigh* had been turn'd out of his Place of Captain of the Guards, which was given to a *Scotch* Lord, to his great Disgust; and not long after parting, with his Sister at *London*, he recommended himself to her Prayers, saying, *That he was going whence he thought never to return*; which she understood of some Combate he had undertaken, and discovering it to her Neighbours, the Words were carry'd to Court, where they receiv'd a different Construction. Upon this and other Accidents several were apprehended, as *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, *George Brook* his Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham* Knights, *Bartholomew Brookesby*, and *Anthony Copley*, Gentlemen, *William Watson* and *William Clark* Romish Priests. Tho' they were apprehended in *July*, yet they came not to their Trials 'till *November* following; for by reason of a Pestilence then raging in *London*, the Term was deferr'd, and order'd to be kept at *Winchester*; only the Courts of the Exchequer, Wards and Liveries, and the Dutchy of *Lancaster* were kept at the King's Mannor at *Richmond*.

Reg. 1.

A strange Conspiracy.

Sir Walter Raleigh disgusted.

In the mean Time his Majesty held a solemn Feast at *Windsor*, where Prince *Henry* was install'd Knight of the Garter, as also the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Marre*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*. After which Preparations were made for the King's Coronation, which was preceded by a new Stream of Creations and Honours. Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Lord Chancellor, was made Baron of *Elsmere*; Sir *William Russel*, Baron of *Thornough*; Sir *Henry Gray*, Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harrington*, Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Denvers*, Baron of *Dantsey*; Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Baron of *Gerrard Bromley* in *Staffordshire*; and Sir *Robert Spencer*, Baron of *Wormeleyton*. After which the King conferr'd inferior Orders, and made Knights of all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, and all his Gentlemen Ushers, with several others: And lastly he made sixty two Knights of the Bath, most of Noblemen's Sons, and the rest Gentlemen of special Worth. These Things compleated, on the twenty fifth Day of *July*, being the Feast of St. *James*, the King and Queen were both solemnly crown'd and anointed at *Westminster*, by the Hands of *John Wight*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in the Presence of the Nobility and others, namely Sir *Robert Lee* Lord Mayor of *London*, the Aldermen his Brethren, and twelve principal Citizens admitted to attend on them. All other Citizens were stopp'd from passing either by Land or Water by Reason of the Plague; and on the first of *August* following all Suitors were by Proclamation forbidden to repair to the Court 'till the Winter following. And indeed the Sicknels rag'd so much, that in the City of *London* this Year there dy'd above thirty thousand of that Distemper.

New Advancements.

The King's Coronation.

On

The Trial of the
Conspirators.

On the fourth of *November*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the rest of the Delinquents formerly mention'd, were remov'd from the Tower by strong Guards, and arraign'd at *Winchester*. Their Indictment lay for conspiring to kill the King, to raise Rebellion, to alter Religion, to subvert the State, and to procure a Foreign Invasion. Concerning the first Point it was prov'd, That the Lord *Grey* design'd to obtain the levying of two thousand Men, for the Defence of the *Netherlands*, and with them to seize upon the King and Prince, and secure the Lords of the Council in their Chambers. For the other Particulars, it was prov'd or alledg'd, That the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* met at St. *Martins* in the Fields, and there consulted about moving Sedition, raising Rebellion, altering Religion, subverting the State, and setting up the Lady *Arbella Stuart*. And for the particular Point of subverting the State, it was prov'd, That *Watson* the Priest was design'd to be Lord-Chancellor, *George Brook* Lord-Treasurer, Sir *Griffith Markham* Secretary, and the Lord *Grey* to be Master of the Horse, and Earl-Marshal of *England*. And for the effecting of these Treasons, it was prov'd, That *Watson* had drawn up particular Oaths in Writing, by which all Parties were bound to Secrecy. Then for the last Point, it was urg'd, That Sir *Walter Raleigh* was appointed to treat with Count *Aremberg* for a large Sum of Mony, and the Lord *Cobham* to apply himself to the Arch-Duke and King of *Spain*, to induce them to assist the Lady *Arbella*. These Particulars being largely alledg'd against them on the several Days of their Indictments, what was chiefly reply'd in Mitigation of their Crimes was, first, *That these Things could not be Treason, because the King was not yet crown'd*; and secondly, *That the whole was but a verbal Matter, and never took Effect, therefore it could not be Treason*. But these Assertions being both refuted by the Court, they were all, but Sir *Edward Parham*, found guilty of High-Treason, and Sentence pass'd upon them.

They are con-
demn'd.

Some are
spar'd.

In Pursuance of this Sentence, the two Priests, *Watson* and *Clerk*, were executed at *Winchester* on the twenty ninth Day of *November*; and *George Brook* was beheaded on the fifth of *December*; but then the Hand of Justice was stopp'd, and the King was pleas'd to shew Mercy after this peculiar Manner. After the Death of the three last nam'd Delinquents, he sign'd three other Warrants for the Execution of the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Griffith Markham*, upon a prefix'd Day; but before that Day he privately sign'd another Paper, written with his own Hand, and directed to the Sheriff, by which he countermanded the former Warrants. And that this gracious Design might be manag'd with Secrecy, and produce an agreeable Surprize, he sent the Paper by Mr. *John Gybbe*, a *Scotch* Man, and one utterly unknown to all in Office upon this Occasion, appointing him to deliver it in such a Manner, that it might not take Effect, 'till after their several Confessions, and at the very Point of their Execution; all which was exactly perform'd. At which Moment it was remarkable to see how the Offenders upon their Knees lamented and detested their Crimes, and most of all applauded and extoll'd the King's uncommon Tendernefs and Commiseration. But tho' they were thus pardon'd, yet they were carry'd back to the Tower; where the Lord *Grey* not long after dy'd, which extinguish'd that Barony and Family which had formerly produc'd many valiant and worthy Men. Sir *Griffith Markham* after some Time was set at Liberty, and retired beyond Sea, where he liv'd long after in a very mean Condition. The Lord *Cobham* likewise was afterwards discharg'd from his Imprisonment, but depriv'd of his Estate, living many Years in great Penury and Misery; and in his Person ended that noble Family, which had flourish'd in great Honour for many Ages. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was detain'd several Years in the Tower, where with great Reputation he spent his Time in Writing one of the noblest Histories in the World; and might have continu'd a happy Man, had he never been releas'd.

As

As some have thought this whole Conspiracy, as well as that of the *Gowries* in *Scotland*, to have been only a State Trick to weaken a Party, so most are of Opinion that the Part of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, so great a Man and a Protestant, was all Riddle and Mystery. *Weldon*, if he may be credited, has ventur'd to unfold this, and tells us, That the greatest Evidence against *Raleigh* was *Cobham's* Accusation, whom he only desir'd might appear *Viva Voce*, and he would yield without further Defence; but his Enemies knowing that *Cobham* neither would nor could accuse him, they made use of *Wade*, the Lieutenant of the Tower and *Cecil's* great Confident, to persuade him to Sign a Paper of Accusation against him. This being refus'd, at last *Wade* prevail'd upon *Cobham's* Weakness to set his Hand to a blank Paper, over which *Wade* wrote the Accusation. *Cecil* therefore upon *Raleigh's* Trial, often asked him if he would confess, provided *Cobham* accus'd him under his Hand? *Raleigh* reply'd, *That he knew Cobham a weak Man, and knew not how far he might be insnar'd; but was confident he would not accuse him to his Face, and therefore he had no Reason to venture his Life upon it.* On this Defence he insist'd 'till nine at Night; at last his Fate carry'd him against his Reason, and he consented that upon producing of *Cobham's* Hand he would yield, when immediately that Paper was produc'd, which was really his Hand, but the Contents the Contrivance of *Wade*. Afterwards the Queen falling into a desperate Sickness, which the Physicians thought incurable, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, being an excellent Chymist and Master of all Kinds of Learning, undertook and perform'd the Cure; for which he would receive no other Reward, but that his Majesty would send certain Lords to the Tower to examine the Lord *Cobham*, *Whether he had at any Time under his Hand accus'd him of Treason.* Whereupon the King sent six Lords, who were Enemies to *Raleigh*, to make Enquiry into this puzzling Affair. *Cobham* protested, *That he never did or could accuse Sir Walter, but acknowledg'd that he was by a Slight prevail'd upon to set his Hand to a Blank-Paper, but never knew what the Contents of it were to be.* The six Lords returning to the King, made one of them their Spokesman, who said, *Sir, my Lord Cobham has confirm'd all that ever he wrote or said; which was a horrid Equivocation, for 'tis true, he made good whatever he wrote, but he wrote nothing to accuse Sir Walter Raleigh.* Thus was the King abus'd, according to *Weldon's* Account, and Sir *Walter* much more; who by that Means was afterwards brought to entire Ruin.

The Case of Sir Walter Raleigh.

II. The King being now happily and peaceably establish'd in his Throne, like a Wise and Pious Prince, proceeded to consider the State of the true Religion in his Kingdom. He found a great Difference arising between the Episcopal Party, and those call'd by the Name of *Puritans*, and both active in attaining their Ends, and that several Petitions were exhibited to him for the Reformation of Abuses in the Church; therefore at the Importunity of both Parties he appointed a solemn Conference at *Hampton-Court*, to be held by some Bishops, Deans and Doctors, together with some of the most grave and modest among the Complainers. The Bishops were those of *Canterbury*, *London*, *Winchester*, *Durham*, *Worcester*, *St. Davids*, *Chichester*, *Carlisle* and *Peterborough*; the Deans were those of the Chappel, *Christ-Church*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, *Paul's*, *Chester* and *Windsor*, together with Doctor *Field* and Doctor *King*. For the Petitioners were Doctor *Reynolds*, Doctor *Spark*, Mr. *Knewstubb*, and Mr. *Chatterton*. All these being call'd into the Privy-Chamber, his Majesty spoke to this Effect; *That following the Example of all Christian Princes, who usually began their Reigns with the Establishment of the Church, he had now, at his Entering upon the Throne, assembled them, for settling an uniform Order in the same, for planting Unity, removing Dissentions, and reforming Abuses, which were naturally incident to all Politick Bodies. And that he might not be misapprehended, and his Designs in assembling them misconstrued,*

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Reg. 2.

The Conference at Hampton-Court.

The King's Speech.

he

he declar'd that his Meaning was not to make any Innovation of the Government establish'd, which he knew was approv'd of God, but to hear and examine the Complaints that were made, and remove the Occasion of them; therefore he desir'd the Petitioners to begin, and shew what were their Grievances.

*The Complaints
of those call'd
Puritans.*

Doctor *Reynolds* with the other three, falling upon their Knees, after a short Preamble, reduc'd the Matters in Question into two Heads; some he said concern'd the Doctrine of the Church, and others the Government. Concerning the Doctrine, that in the Books of Articles, some Things were obscure, and some Things defective, which they desir'd to be supply'd and explain'd, of which he nam'd some Particulars; which being a while discuss'd and debated, and the Doctor professing he had receiv'd Satisfaction, the King said, *That if these were their greatest Grievances, such Importunity needed not to be us'd to him, and that a more private Course had been better.* Then proceeding to speak of the Government of the Church, they complain'd of the Want and Scarcity of sufficient Ministers in every Parish, of the Subscription urg'd to the Common-Prayer Book, the Censures inflicted by Lay-Chancellors, the Cross in Baptism, the Ring in Marriage, the Surplice, and some other Circumstantial. After about three Hours Debates, they were all commanded to meet again in the same Place some few Days after, at which Time they were to know his Majesty's Pleasure concerning these Matters.

*They seem
satisfy'd.*

At the appointed Day, which was the eighteenth of *January*, the Bishops, Deans and Doctors of the Arches being call'd first, the Arch-Bishop presented certain Notes of Explanation of the Liturgy, which the King had recommended to the Bishop's Care. Accordingly the King question'd them concerning the Exercise of the High-Commission, the Oath *Ex Officio*, the Censure of Excommunication, and the Matter of Subscription; and when they had answer'd to all Points to his Majesty's Satisfaction, Doctor *Reynolds* and the others were desir'd to appear in the Chamber, and the aforesaid Explanations read to them, with which likewise they profess'd to be satisfy'd and content. The King upon this expressing a great Satisfaction with what had pass'd among them, seriously exhorted them to the Preservation of Unity, and the Bishops to treat their Inferiors with all Lenity, and use the mildest Methods for reclaiming those who were of a contrary Opinion; warning the others also to beware of Obstinacy in their Opinions, and Disobedience to the Orders of the Church. *Obedience and Humility*, added he, *are the Marks of good and honest Men, such as I believe you to be; but I fear many of your Sort are humorous, and too busie in perverting of others. The Exceptions against the Common-Prayer Book, as I perceive, are Matters of meer Weakness, and they who are discreet will be gain'd by Time and gentle Persuasions; and if they be indiscreet, it is better to remove them, than the Church should suffer by their Contentions. For the Bishops I will answer, That it is not their Design immediately to enforce Obedience, but by Fatherly Admonitions and Conferences to gain those that are disaffected; but if any be of an obstinate and turbulent Spirit, I will have them inforc'd to a Conformity. Neither tell me, That the wearing of a Surplice, or using the Cross in Baptism, can diminish the Credit of Ministers that were formerly of another Opinion; for that is the Scotch Argument, when any thing was concluded not agreeing with their Humours, the only Reason for their Disobedience is, that it stands not with their Credit to yield, having been so long of a contrary Opinion. I will have none of that, but that a Time be limited by the Bishops of every Diocese, and such as will not submit, whoever they are, let them be remov'd; for we must not prefer the Credit of a few private Men to the general Peace of the Church.* Throughout all this remarkable Conference, in every Point that was mov'd, or came to be discuss'd, the King shew'd such a Knowledge and Readiness, as rais'd no small Admiration in all the Hearers. The Lord-Chancellor *Egerton* being surpriz'd to see him so expeditious and perfect in all Kinds of Divinity, said, *That he*

*The King's Wis-
dom.*

had often heard and read, that a King was a mixt Person with a Priest, but never found it verify'd till that Day. And Arch-Bishop Whitgift, a most learned and pious Man, went further, and said, *He was verily persuaded that the King spoke by the Spirit of God.* This great Man, who had the highest Concern for the Church, finding the King inclinable after this to make some Alterations, is said to have dy'd of Grief on the twenty ninth of *February*. He was succeeded in his See by *Richard Bancroft* Bishop of *London*, but not with the same Spirit; for what *Whitgift* strove to effect with Sweetness and Gentleness, *Bancroft* prosecuted with Rigour and Severity, to the great Weakening of the Church, as many have rationally believ'd.

Besides the main Fruit of this famous Conference, the uniform Settlement of the Church, several other important Matters were at the same Time projected, and by his Majesty's provident Care had then their Conception, tho' after Times brought them to Perfection. The first was his sacred Order for a new Translation of the Holy Scriptures, according to the Originals, as also for an uniform Reading of them in all Churches. To which pious End, three select Companies from *London* and the two Universities, most skilful in Languages, being imploy'd, after long Conference, much Reading, and diligent comparing of former Translations, it was publish'd in due Time, and to this Day continues in Use. The King's second Project was, that as in *England*, so also in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and the Northern Parts, the same Religion might be fully planted and establish'd. Which purpose he so zealously prosecuted, especially for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that he held it not sufficient to join these two Crowns into one temporal Monarchy, unless he saw them united in the Rites and Government of one Spiritual Hierarchy. Nor was his Wisdom less conspicuous than his Zeal, in making so happy a Choice of such *English* Divines, as not long after were sent for this Design into *Scotland*. The chief of whom was Doctor *George Abbot* afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, whose Labours, as *Speed* assures us, were a Document to others, how admirably successful is true Learning, where it is guided by true Prudence, and Piety to God is join'd with Charity to Men. But notwithstanding all the King's Care, the Jesuits being in hopes to catch something by troubling the Stream, flock'd into *England* in great Numbers; and the King perceiving that their near Approaches put his Person and Religion into Danger, he issu'd out a Proclamation, commanding all Priests and Jesuits to depart out of the Kingdom, and if any of them should presume to return again, they should be prosecuted according to Law. This somewhat allay'd the Heats and Hopes of the Jesuits, and their Correspondents; but it made Way for more dark and secret Conspiracies, which they afterwards put in practice. Another Proclamation came out for Uniformity in Religion according to Law, and to reduce those who had not receiv'd Satisfaction at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*; for now it became a doubtful Question among many, whether the Jesuits or the Nonconformists were greatest Enemies to the Church of *England*. The Consequences of this were found to be afterwards, that of the ten thousand Ministers in *England*, not above forty nine stood out and were depriv'd. After this there came out many other Proclamations, against Monopolies, Salt-Petre Men, Purveyors, Cart-Takers, and other insolent Officers that were grievous to the Subject.

The King's first appearing abroad was privately, to visit some of his Houses, for naturally he did not love to be gaz'd on; and those Formalities of State which set a Lustre upon Princes in the Peoples Eye, were but so many Burthens to him: For his private Recreations at home, and his Hunting Exercises abroad, were his greatest Delight, when he met with the least Company. Continuing in the Tower, in order to pass through the City in State, he took great Pleasure in baiting of Lions; and the first Parliament being to meet on the nineteenth Day of *March*, he with his Queen and Prince *Henry*, four Days before, rode from the Tower to *Whitehall*, having his Eyes entertain'd with

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the

A new Translation of the Bible.

A Proclamation against Jesuits and Priests.

And for Uniformity.

The King rides through London in State.

the Pageants and Splendor of the City, and his Ears fill'd with the Compliments and Applauses of the People. But he was not like his Predecessor, Queen *Elizabeth*, who with a well-pleas'd Affection met her Peoples Acclamations, thinking most highly of her self when she was born upon the Wings of their humble Supplications. He endur'd this Day's Fatigue with Patience, and that of his Triumphal Riding to the Parliament, as not expecting to meet with the like again; but afterwards in his publick Appearances, especially in his Sports, the Accesses of the People render'd him so impatient, that he often dispers'd them with Frowns, and sometimes with Curses: So various and noted are the Natures and Actions of Princes, that the same Person may pass for a good Man, that will not be accounted a good Prince.

The first Parliament in this Reign.

The King's Speech.

At the Opening of the Parliament, the King was pleas'd to entertain them with a very long and extraordinary Speech, containing great Variety both as to the Matter and Method; in which he interweav'd the Rights and Duties of the Monarchy, with the Privileges of the Subject, so that all Men thought it worthy of Commendation. In speaking of the Prerogative he declar'd, *That the Difference between a rightful King and an usurping Tyrant was this; that the Latter thought his Kingdom and People were ordain'd for the Satisfaction of his Desires and unreasonable Appetites; while the Former, on the contrary, acknowledg'd himself to be ordain'd for procuring the Wealth and Prosperity of his People, and that in these consisted his principal worldly Felicity.* And a little after he said, *That as the Head is ordain'd for the Body, and not the Body for the Head; so must a righteous King know himself to be ordain'd for his People, and not his People for him.* These and many other Passages gave a general Satisfaction, but some Things he said concerning Religion was not so universally receiv'd: For the *Romanists* were uneasie at his saying, *They were unsufferable in the Kingdom, as long as they maintain'd the Pope to be their spiritual Head, and to have Power to dethrone Kings.* On the other side the Separatists were offended at his acknowledging *The Roman Church to be our Mother Church, tho' defil'd with some Infirmities and Corruptions*, and his declaring, *That if the Papists would lay aside King-killing, and some other gross Errors, he would be content to meet them half Way, so that all Novelties might be renounc'd on either Side.* So that every one grounded his Hopes, or his Fears, upon the Shallows of his own Fancy, not exactly knowing what Course the King would steer. But in general the Parliament applauding the King, and admiring his Abilities, made a Recognition of his Right to the Crown of *England*, to which they oblig'd themselves, their Heirs and Posterity; so that the King as it were triumph'd upon a Throne of the Peoples Love and Duty.

A Recognition of the King's Title.

An Union attempted between England and Scotland.

One of the great Designs of the King was to have an intire Union made between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; accordingly the Parliament pass'd an Act to Authorize certain Commissioners, namely fourteen of the chief Lords of the Kingdom, and above double the Number of Commoners to manage and effect that laudable End. These Commissioners, any eight of the Lords and twenty of the Commons, had Power to assemble, meet, treat and consult with certain select Commissioners to be nominated and authoriz'd by the Parliament in *Scotland*, concerning such Matters and Causes, as they in their Wisedoms should think convenient and necessary, for the Honour of the King, and the common Good of both Nations. In order to promote this great Work, the King caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King of *Great Britain*, and the Names of *England* and *Scotland* to be discontinu'd; the *Scotch* Coins were made current, and the *English* Ships had *St. George's* and *St. Andrew's* Crosses quarter'd together in their Flags. But all these Designs had not their desir'd Effects, as appear'd afterwards; but still many wise and good Laws pass'd in this Parliament, too numerous to be recited in this Place. Only we ought not to omit mentioning the King's Religious Care of the Church, which, to the almost only

Blemish

Blemish to the last Reign, was much endanger'd and threaten'd by the several Alienations of its Lands and Revenues, which were often granted to such as had least Right to them. To prevent the like Mischiefs, it was Enacted; 'That neither Arch-Bishop, nor Bishops should alienate, assure, give, grant, *The Churches Lands secur'd.* demise, or in any sort convey, no not to the King himself, his Heirs or Successors, any of the Honours, Castles, Manors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being Parcel of the Possession of his Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick; and if any so were made, to be utterly void and of none Effect, notwithstanding any former Law, Statute, Act or Ordinance to the contrary. Besides this laudable Care, the Clergy in Convocation, by the King's Directions and Authority, did many Things to the Honour and Establishment of the Church of *England*, and made many excellent Canons, which are in Force to this Day, and are the last that had a full and legal Sanction. The Parliament having sat almost three Months, the Speaker of the House of Commons made a long Speech answerable to that made before by the King, after which it was on the seventh Day of *July* prorogu'd to the seventh of *February* following. *The Parliament prorogu'd.*

In Relation to Foreign Affairs, King *James* had hitherto been consider'd in two Capacities, one as King of *Scotland*, in which he was in perfect Amity with the *Spaniard*, and the other as King of *England*, which caus'd him to be at Enmity with that Monarch; but he as *Rex pacificus* chose the best from both, and stood altogether for the Olive-Branch. Therefore when at his first Arrival in *England*, he found Letters of Reprisal granted against the *Spaniards*, he first caus'd them all to be call'd in, and then consented to a Treaty of lasting Peace and Amity. In which Treaty, negotiated at *London*, the Commissioners for the King of *England* were the Earls of *Dorset*, *Nottingham*, *Devonshire*, and *Northampton*, and Secretary *Cecil* lately made Viscount *Cranburn*; for the King of *Spain* were the Constable of *Castile*, the Earl of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Robidius* Professor of Law; and for the Arch-Duke were the Count *de Aremberg*, *Richardot* President of the Privy-Council, and *Werreikin* principal Secretary. By these a Peace was concluded, consisting of many Articles, which were said to be very advantageous to the *Spaniard*, and in a great Measure purchas'd by the Gifts of the Constable of *Castile*, which were so rich and numerous, that there was not one Courtier of Note who did not taste of *Spain's* Bounty either in Gold or Jewels; and we are told that *Audley-End*, and other magnificent Structures had their Foundation from *Spanish* Gold. The Treaty being finish'd, the King of *Spain*, besides the Constable of *Castile*, sent *la Syerra* his Great Chamberlain, accompany'd with several Marquesses, Earls and Barons, who arriving in *England* with great Pomp, were by the Earl of *Devonshire*, on the nineteenth of *August*, brought to Court; where the King in his Chappel, and in the Presence of the Commissioners and other *English* Lords, while the Constable held the King's Hands between his own, took his Oath upon the Holy Bible, religiously to observe and keep all the Articles agreed upon in the said League and Treaty. *A Treaty of Peace concluded between England and Spain.*

In *March* following, the Earl of *Nottingham*, Admiral of *England*, was sent into *Spain*, in like manner to take the Oath of the *Spanish* King; who accompany'd with three Lords, many Knights, Gentlemen, and others, to the Number of six hundred and fifty, on the fifteenth of *April* arriv'd at the *Groyne*, from whence he was conducted three hundred Miles to *Valledolid*, where the King of *Spain* then kept his Court, being entertain'd in all Places at that King's Charge, with such extraordinary Provisions and Demonstrations of Joy, as plainly manifested the great Satisfaction the *Spaniards* had in the *English* Amity. Indeed they were astonish'd at the Splendor of the Embassie, and the Beauty of the Gentlemen that made up the Retinue: For the Jesuits had reported that the *English* had all the Uggliness of Hell, as a Punishment for their Apostacy from *Rome*; but when they beheld the Looks of Angels, they with Indignation resented the Impostors of their Confessors. The Lord Ambassador being arriv'd

A. D.
1605.
Reg. 3.

An Embassie
into Spain.

at Court, he caus'd *Thomas Knolls* to deliver the Presents sent from the King of *England*, which were six stately Horses, with Saddles and Trappings richly imbroider'd; three for the King, and three for the Queen; two Cross-Bows, with five Sheafs of Arrows; four Fowling-Pieces, inlaid with rich Plates of Gold, and a Couple of Lyme-Hounds of singular Excellencies; all which the King and Queen very kindly receiv'd. On the thirtieth of *May*, the Lord Ambassador being desir'd to appear, the King came forth into a large Room; where having a Table set before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix, the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo* read the Oath, while the Lord Ambassador held the King's Hands between his own, and the King kneeling down, laid his Hands upon the Book, and after his Oath subscrib'd the Articles formerly concluded. While the Earl of *Nottingham* was thus imploy'd in *Spain*, *Edward* Earl of *Hartford* was likewise sent to *Albertus* and *Isabella*, Arch-Dukes of *Austria*, to take their Oaths, for Confirmation of the said Articles of Peace; which were taken at *Brussels* the first Day of *May*, with extraordinary State and Solemnity. After which, as the Earl bestow'd on the Arch-Duke's Servants, to the Sum of three thousand Pounds, so the Arch-Duke at his Departure presented the Earl with a Jewel worth nine hundred Pounds, and a Suit of Arras worth three hundred, and bore his Charges all the Time of his Stay at *Brussels*. Thus was King *James* truly stil'd *Rex Pacificus*, being now in full Peace and Amity with all the Princes of Christendom; a Happiness which few of his Ancestors ever enjoy'd; which continu'd Peace, as some have thought it the Glory, so others have accounted it the great Unhappiness of his whole Reign. Before the full Conclusion of it, the strong Town of *Ostend*, after above three Years Siege, and the Deaths of above a hundred and twenty thousand Men on both Sides, was taken by the Marquess *Spinola*, for which he was highly honour'd by the King of *Spain*.

Another into
Flanders.

Ostend taken
by the Spaniards.

Several new
Resolutions.

Dowglas executed.

In these peaceable Times, the munificent King open'd new Fountains of Honour, beginning first with his second Son *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, then but four Years of Age, who with unusual Pomp and Solemnity was created Duke of *York*. Afterwards keeping *St. George's* Feast at *Greenwich*, the King there made two Knights of the *Garter*, namely Duke *Ulrick* Heir of *Norway*, and Brother to the present Queen *Anne*, and the noble Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*. A few Days after, in the Hall at *Greenwich*, richly hang'd with Arras, he created three Earls, one Viscount, and four Barons; namely Secretary *Cecil*, and Viscount *Cranburn*, Earl of *Salisbury*; *Thomas Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*, and his eldest Brother, Earl of *Exeter*; Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Montgomery*; *Robert Sidney*, Baron of *Penshurst* and Lord-Chamberlain to the Queen, Viscount *Lisle*; Sir *John Stanhope*, Vice-Chamberlain to the King, Lord *Stanhope* of *Harrington*; Sir *George Carew*, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, Lord *Carew* of *Clepton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundel* of *Devonshire*, Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*; and Mr. *William Cavendish*, Lord *Cavendish* of *Hardwick*. Not long after, on the fifteenth of *June*, a notorious *Scotchman* call'd *Thomas Dowglas* was committed to the Tower, being sent into *England* three Days before by the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. His Offence was, that he had counterfeited the King's Privy-Seal to several Princes of *Germany*; one to the Arch-Bishop of *Coloign*, another to the Arch-Bishop of *Triers*, another to the Duke of *Cleves*, another to the Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, and a fifth to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. Of all which, being examin'd and convicted, he was drawn on a Hurdle into *Smithfield*, and there hang'd and quarter'd. On the twenty seventh of *August*, the King with his Queen made a Visit to the University of *Oxford*; where their Entertainment was suitable to the Dignity of their Persons, and the Honour of so noble and august a Body.

III. Whilst all Things appear'd in a most happy and peaceable Condition, A. D. 1605. Reg. 3. no Storms abroad, no Troubles at home, there was suddenly detected a horrible Conspiracy against the King, and the whole Body of the State of *England*; of such a prodigious and infernal Nature, as no Age or History can parallel; proceeding from a restless Spirit of Envy, and an implacable Zeal inflam'd against the Protestant Succession and Religion. This had its Rise and Foundation in the latter End of the last Reign, when Pope *Clement* the Eighth publish'd his bold *Breves* in *England*, to exclude the King of *Scotland* from the Succession; but all Endeavours failing then, and in the Beginning of this Reign, new and unheard of Attempts were now put in practice to support a desperate Cause. The principal Contriver of this black Conspiracy was *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of great Account in *Northamptonshire*, descended from that famous *Catesby*, who had been chief Counsellor to King *Richard* the Third, to whose Family the Divine Vengeance had now ordain'd a disastrous Period: This rash Gentleman, not able to perform the Work alone, drew in many to assist him, as *Thomas Piercy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Graunt*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *Christopher Wright*, *Francis Tresham*, *Guido Fawks*, and at last Sir *Everard Digby*, all zealous Papists and Promoters of the Catholick Cause. Five of these meeting together behind St. *Clement's* Church, and consulting by what Methods they might retrieve their declining Cause, *Piercy* immediately propos'd the killing of the King, and offer'd to perform it at the hazard of his own Life: But *Catesby*, who had a much deeper Contrivance in his Thoughts, reply'd, *That if he should succeed, the Catholick Cause would be no better, while the Prince and Duke of York were alive; and if they were remov'd, still the Counsellors, Nobility, Judges, Knights, and many others would remain, sufficient to cross all their Purposes: Therefore he had thought of a safer and more effectual Way, which was at one Time and with one signal Blow to cut off all their Enemies; by blowing up the Parliament-House with Gun-powder, at the very Moment the King and the Estates of the Realm were assembled.* This was approved on by all, as a noble and extraordinary Project; but first it was thought proper to ask the Opinion of their Ghostly Fathers, and be inform'd of the Lawfulness of the Fact, from *Henry Garnet*, *Oswold Tesmond*, and *John Gerard* Jesuits; who being consulted applauded the Enterprize; assuring them, *They might proceed with a good Conscience and perform the Deed, since the Design was against Hereticks and Excommunicated Persons.*

Having gain'd this Point, and being satisfy'd in their Consciences, for their greater Security, they proceeded to take an Oath of Secrecy, swearing to each other, *By the sacred Trinity and the blessed Sacrament, which they were then going to receive, that neither directly nor indirectly, by Words or Circumstances, they would discover the Purpose they had taken to any whomsoever, nor would desist from performing the same, without leave from their Associates.* The Oath was administer'd in the Presence of *Gerard* the Jesuit; and having heard Mass, and receiv'd the Sacrament, *Piercy* was appointed to hire a House close adjoining to the Upper House of Parliament, for the more safe and secret Working of their Mine design'd for the Powder. This being obtain'd, and *Guy Fawks* assuming the Name of *John Johnson* Servant to Mr. *Piercy*, about *Christmas*, in the Year 1604, they began their Work with no small Labour and Difficulty, in digging through a vast thick Wall; and had several Intermissions, by reason of the Prorogation of the Parliament from the seventh of *February* to the third of *October*, and lastly to the fifth of *November*. About *Candlemas* they had almost wrought their Mine through the Wall, when suddenly they heard a Noise in the next Room, which threw them into a great Consternation, for fear of a Discovery; but sending *Guy Fawks* to find out the Occasion, he brought advice, that it was a Cellar where Sea-Coals had been laid, which were now under Sale, and the Room offer'd to be let for a yearly Rent. This Room

Room being directly under the Parliament-House, and most proper for their Purpose, was immediately hir'd by Mr. *Piercy*, who brought thirty six Barrels of Gun-Powder from *Lambeth*, and placing them in this Cellar, cover'd them over with great Quantities of Sea-Coal, Billets and Faggots.

They find a Cellar for their Purpose.

Their several Resolutions.

The first Part of the Plot being brought to so hopeful an Issue, it now remain'd to consider what was to be effected, when the fatal Blow should be given: For tho' the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of *York* and the Lady *Elizabeth* would still be safe, and consequently their main End endanger'd if not defeated. Therefore *Piercy*, by reason of his Acquaintance in the House, undertook to secure the Duke of *York*; and for surprizing the Lady *Elizabeth*, they agreed upon a Match of Hunting near to *Dunchurch*, where under Colour of Sport they might draw Company together, and secure her at the Lord *Harrington's* House in *Warwickshire*, where she then resided. The next Doubt they propos'd was where to procure Money and Horses; for which *Digby* made offer of fifteen hundred Pounds, *Tresham* of two hundred, and *Piercy* promis'd to bring all he could gather from *Northumberland* Rents, which he thought would amount to four thousand Pounds, and to provide ten Horses for his Share; not doubting, when having the Heir Apparent in their Hands, but they should find Means for their Purpose. A third Question propos'd, was what Lords they should save from going to the Parliament; which they agreed to be as many Catholicks as they could prevent with Conveniency. Next it was mov'd amongst them, what Foreign Princes should be acquainted with their Designs, and whose Aid they should seek: In which it was agreed, That none of them should be made Privy to the Conspiracy, as fearing they could not obtain their Secrecy; but for Aid after the Work perform'd, they might have Time to apply themselves to *France*, *Spain* or *Flanders*. Lastly they resolv'd to make the best Use of the Lady *Elizabeth*, and to proclaim her Queen: To which purpose they had a Proclamation form'd, in which no mention was made of altering Religion, because they wanted sufficient Forces; and 'till they could sufficiently strengthen their Party, they would not acknowledge the Fact to be theirs, but use their Endeavours to charge it upon the Puritans.

The Plot first discover'd by a Letter.

Thus far the monstrous Design was carry'd on with a promising Aspect to all the Conspirators; and now all Dangers being foreseen, and all Engines provided against the fifth Day of the next *November*, there remain'd nothing but the Performance of the last Act of the intended Tragedy. But of a sudden the infernal Secret, cover'd with all the Clouds of Darkeness, and secur'd by all the Fences of Human Policy, was brought to Light after a wonderful Manner. The Lord *Monteagle*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*, being in his Lodgings at seven at Night, was surpriz'd with a Letter given him by one of his Footmen, who receiv'd it in the Street from an unknown Person, with a strict Charge to put it into his Master's Hand. The Letter was this: My Lord, Out of the Love I bear to some of your Friends, I have regard to your Preservation; therefore would advise you, as you tender your Life, to invent some Excuse to shift off your Attendance at this Parliament: For God and Man have concur'd to punish the Wickedness of this Time. Think not slightly of this Advertisement, but retire your self into your Country, where you may expect the Event in Safety: For tho' there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible Blow in this Parliament, and shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be contemn'd, because it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm; for the Danger is pass'd as soon as you have burnt the Letter: And I hope God will give you the Grace to make good Use of it, to whose holy Protection I commit you. It was only ten Days before the Parliament that this Letter was receiv'd, and but twelve Hours before their Meeting that the Plot was really discover'd; in which it seems wonderful, that when so many were concern'd in it, it should remain conceal'd for almost the Space of a Year. Some Advices were indeed sent to the King, and several of

the Council from beyond Sea, 'That the Papists were preparing a Petition for a Toleration for Religion at the Meeting of the Parliament, *which should be so well back'd, that the King would be loath to refuse it*; but these were only look'd upon as little Designs to put the King in Fear of a weak Party. And this Lord, when he receiv'd the Letter, still doubted that it was only some private Artifice to deter him from attending the Parliament; but yet out of a Tenderness to the King's Preservation, he resolv'd to communicate it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, the principal Secretary; and going the same Night to *White-hall*, he deliver'd the Letter to him. The Secretary acquainted the Lord-Chamberlain, the Admiral, and some others of the Council with it; and examining every Line of it, resolv'd to shew it to the King at his Return from his Hunting at *Royston*, and not to search further 'till they should hear his Opinion.

Which is communicated to the Council.

The King returning to *London* on the last of *October*, the Letter was shown him the next Day; and having carefully read and consider'd it, he said, *It was not to be condemn'd, for the Stile seem'd more quick and nervous than that of Libels, Pasquils, and the like.* The Secretary perceiving the King to apprehend the Matter more deeply than he expected, told him, *That the Letter seem'd to have proceeded from Folly or Madness*; and pointing to that Passage, 'The Danger is pass'd as soon as you have burnt the Letter, he said, *The Warning would be of no Use, if the Burning of the Letter would remove the Danger.* But the King desir'd him to consider the former Sentence, where it was said, 'They should receive a terrible Blow in the Parliament, and not see

The King's Opinion of it.

'who hurt them, and when he should join that with the other, he should find it to be a sudden Danger there meant, such as Blowing up by Powder. Therefore he order'd all the Rooms about the Parliament-House to be search'd, both above and below, to prevent all future Dangers; which Business, belonging to the Chamberlain, was purposely deferr'd 'till the Afternoon before the first Session of Parliament. At which Time the Chamberlain taking with him the Lord *Monteagle*, who was highly desirous to see the Event, went and view'd

A Search made.

all the Rooms, where he perceiv'd in the Vault under the Upper House a great Quantity of Faggots, Billets and Coals; and demanding of *Whinyard*, the Keeper of the Wardrobe, to what Use he had put those Cellars, he answer'd, *That Mr. Piercy had hired the House and Cellar, and the Wood and Coals were the Gentleman's Fuel for Winter.* The Chamberlain casting his Eye aside, and espying a suspicious Man in the Corner of the Vault, transiently ask'd who he was, and was answer'd, *He was Mr. Piercy's Man, who kept the House for his Master.* Thus having view'd all Places after a seeming careless Manner, he return'd and made report of all to the King, which increas'd his Majesty's first Apprehensions; who thereupon gave order for turning up the Wood and Coals to the very Bottom; and if nothing were found, it was agreed that *Whinyard* should pretend the Stealing of some of the King's Furniture in his Keeping, which might give Colour to the Search. Accordingly Sir *Thomas Knevet*, a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, and a Justice of the Peace for *Westminster*, was appointed for this Business; who going thither with some few in Company about Midnight, found a Man standing at the Entrance of the Vault in a Cloak and Boots, which he immediately apprehended. Then entering the Place, by overturning the Billets and Coals, they soon found the Serpents Nest, stor'd with thirty six Barrels of Gun-Powder; and searching the Villain who should have brooded these Eggs, they found about him a Dark-Lanthorn, three Matches, and other Contrivances to have given Fire to the Train at an exact Juncture of Time. This was *Guido Fawks*, who pass'd for *Piercy's* Man, and was so far from relenting, that he declar'd with an Oath, *That if he had been found within the House, he would have blown up himself and them together.* Sir *Thomas* securing the Man, immediately repair'd to the Palace, and shew'd the Chamberlain and Secretary how he had succeeded; who making themselves ready, with what Counsellors they could get, went all together

All Things are discover'd.

Fawks Con-
fesses all.

ther to his Majesty's Bed-Chamber. The King being awak'd, the Chamberlain, not able to conceal his Joy, cry'd aloud, *The Treason was discover'd, and the Traitor in their Hands!* Then the Council were order'd to examine the Prisoner concerning his Accomplices; but he, nothing dejected or mov'd with so honourable a Presence, boldly avow'd the Fact, and was only sorry that he had fail'd in the Execution, declaring, *That the Devil, and not God had betray'd his good Design.* All that Day he would discover no one Associate, but took all the Blame upon himself, professing he had done it for Religion and Conscience Sake; and speaking of the King, he deny'd him to be his Sovereign, in regard he was a Heretick; and therefore it was no Sin to destroy him. This was his Behaviour for a while; but being convey'd to the Tower, and the Rack presented, he laid open the whole Substance of the Conspiracy, and confess'd the whole Truth.

The Conspira-
tors are taken.

In the Time of this strange Discovery, *Catesby, Piercy, Winter, Tresham*, and the younger *Wright*, were lodg'd in the City; who hearing that all was discover'd, hasten'd into the Country, appointing to meet at *Dunchurch* in *Warwickshire*, where *Digby* resided. *John Graunt*, with some Confederate Recusants, had the same Night broke open a Stable of one *Bourch*, a Manager of large Horses, and took away seven or eight belonging to certain Noblemen in the Country; for he concluded the Conspiracy had taken effect, and was preparing to surprize the Princess *Elizabeth*, whose Residence was not far from the Place. But within a very short Time, *Piercy* and others that were fled from *London*, assuring them of a total Miscarriage, they desperately resolv'd upon a publick Rebellion, and pretending the Cause of Religion, endeavour'd to draw some Companies together; yet when they had gather'd all their Forces, they could not produce a hundred Men. In the mean Time Sir *Fulk Grevill*, Deputy-Lieutenant of *Warwickshire*, hearing of *Graunt's* Outrage, and supposing it the Beginning of a Rebellion, sent Advice to the neighbouring Towns, and warn'd them to be upon their Guard. The Sheriff of the County likewise calling the People to Arms, pursu'd these desperate People from Shire to Shire; and Sir *Richard Walsh*, the Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, having found where they had taken Harbour, sent a Trumpet and Messenger, commanding them in his Majesty's Name to surrender, and promising to intercede for their Lives. But they, finding their Crimes to be unpardonable, return'd Answer, *That the Sheriff must have more powerful Assistance than he had brought, before he could command or compel them.* The Sheriff, provok'd by their insulting Answer, prepar'd to attack the House; and while they made their Defence, it happen'd that a Spark of Fire falling among some Powder they were drying, blew up the House, which so scorch'd their Faces and Bodies, that losing their Courage, they open'd the Gate, and expos'd themselves to the Fury of the People. *Catesby, Piercy* and Sir *Thomas Winter* joining Backs, and resolving to die rather than be taken, the two first were kill'd with one Shot, and the other after some Wounds was made Prisoner: The two *Wrights* were also kill'd, but *Rookwood, Graunt, Digby* and *Bates* were taken and secur'd. *Tresham* had staid at *London*, and changing his Lodgings, thought to have met an Opportunity of escaping by Sea, but was at last discover'd; as likewise was *Robert Winter*, with one *Littleton*, who with all the rest were committed to the Tower of *London*. Upon Examination, *Thomas Winter* ingenuously confess'd the whole Conspiracy, writing down the Particulars with his own Hand, and acknowledging the Offence to be greater than could be forgiven. *Digby* extenuated the Crime by the Despair to which they were driven, having Hopes from the King at his Accession to the Crown, That the Catholicks should have a free Toleration of Religion, which being deny'd they had ventur'd upon these impious Attempts. *Tresham* in his Confession nam'd *Garnet* the Jesuit as privy to the Conspiracy; but afterwards by his Wife's Instigation deny'd it, declaring he had injur'd him, and had not seen him for sixteen Years; yet

Garnet

Garnet being apprehended after his Death, confess'd that they had met several Times within the last half Year.

In the mean Time the King met his Parliament upon *Saturday* the ninth of *November*, and made a long and remarkable Speech to the publick Estates; in which having aggravated the Danger by many Circumstances, and as much magnify'd the Mercies of God in the Discovery, when he mention'd the Trial and Punishment of the Offenders, he was observ'd to retain an excellent Temper in his Discourse, wishing that no innocent Person, either domestick or foreign, should thereby receive any Hurt: *For*, added he, *however the blind Superstition of their Errors in Religion has been the only Motive in this desperate Attempt, it must not be thought that all who profess the Roman Religion are guilty of the same: For as it is true, that no other Sect, or Heresie, not excepting Turk, Jew, or Pagan, or those that worship the Devil, did ever maintain by the Grounds of their Religion, that it was lawful and meritorious to murder Princes or People upon the account of that; yet it is true on the other Side, that many honest Men, blinded perhaps with some Opinions of Popery, as if they be not sound in the Real Presence, the Number of the Sacraments, and some such School-Questions, do either not know, or not believe at least, all the true Grounds of Popery, which is indeed the Mytery of Iniquity. And therefore we justly confess that many Papists, especially our Forefathers, laying their only Trust upon Christ and his Merits, may be sav'd; detesting in that Point, and thinking that Cruelty of Puritans worthy of Fire that will allow no Salvation to any Papists.* And then concluding that Part of his Discourse he declar'd, *As on the one Part many honest Men, seduc'd with some Errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects; so on the other Part, none of those who truly know and believe the whole Grounds of Popery, can prove either good Christians or faithful Subjects.* Having finish'd his Speech, without further Business he prorogu'd the Parliament to the twenty first Day of *January* next.

The second Session of the second Parliament.

The King's Speech.

The King's Management and Wisdom in this Affair was highly applauded, and universal Rejoicings appear'd among the People; insomuch, that the Ambassadors of the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Duke made Bonfires, and threw Mony among the People in Token of their great Satisfaction. And on the fourth of *January* the *Spanish* Ambassador deliver'd a Present to his Majesty from the King his Master, consisting of six Jennets of *Andalusia*, with Saddles most richly imbroider'd, and Trappings of fine Cloath of Tissue. This was a Present sent before any Knowledge had of the Powder-Plot; but as soon as this was known, there was immediately another Present sent from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*, purposely to congratulate the King's happy Deliverance from the execrable Treason, and brought by Don *John de Mendosa*, which was a curious Robe of Murry Sattin, twice imbroider'd about every Seam and Skirt with Gold; the fore Part of which was set with forty eight Tags three Inches long of beaten Gold, hollow within, and fill'd with Amber-Greece: Also two large Chains of Gold, two rich Carkanets, a Velvet Cap with Gold Buttons, finely enamel'd, and a Girdle suitable to the Buttons; all which were presented together in a capacious Vessel of Gold, in Form of a Bason: So that it seems none more rejoic'd for the Overthrow of this Plot for the Catholick Cause, than the Catholick King himself. And now King *James* was not unmindful of the Lord *Monteagle*, the first Discoverer of this Conspiracy; for he gave to him and his Heirs for ever, two hundred Pounds a Year in Fee-Farm Rents, and five hundred Pounds a Year besides, during his Life, as a Reward for his good Service.

A. D.

1606.

Reg. 4.

Congratulations and Presents from Spain.

On the twenty first Day of *January* the Parliament again met according to the Prorogation; and six Days after a Commission was directed to several Lords and Judges of both Benches, for the Trial of the several Conspirators, namely, Sir *Everard Digby* Knight, *John Graunt*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, and *Robert*

The third Session of the first Parliament.

Winter,

C c c c c

The Punishment of the Conspirators.

Winter, Esquires, *Thomas Winter*, *Robert Keys*, *Thomas Bades*, and *Guido Fawks*, Gentlemen or Yeomen. These were all fairly convicted and condemn'd to die; and on the *Thursday* following *Sir Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Graunt* and *Bates*, were accordingly drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at the West-End of *St. Paul's Church* in *London*; and on the next Day, the other four, *Thomas Winter*, *Keys*, *Rookwood* and *Fawks*, were after the same manner executed in the Parliament Yard at *Westminster*. Of all whom, none was so much lamented as *Sir Everard Digby*, and not without Cause; for he was a noble Personage, and of excellent Parts, and had it seems been subtilly drawn in, and bound to Secrecy by Oath, when he least imagin'd such a Treason. Not long after, *Henry Garnet*, Provincial of the *English* Jesuits, was arraign'd at *Guild-Hall*, for concealing and promoting the aforesaid Treason, where he was condemn'd to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd; and accordingly on the third Day of *May*, he was drawn from the Tower to the West-End of *St. Paul's Church*, and there executed. At his Death he acknowledg'd his Crime, begg'd Forgiveness, and exhorted all Catholicks never to attempt any Treason against the King or State, as a Method to which God would never give Success. Besides those who suffer'd Death, some others were brought into Danger and Trouble; particularly *Henry Lord Mordant*, and *Edward Lord Sturton*, who were brought from the Tower to the Star-Chamber; where tho' they were not charg'd with any direct Point of Treason, yet were obliquely accus'd of neglecting to appear at the Parliament, according to the Summons; for which Neglect alone, without any further Charge, the former was fin'd ten thousand Marks, and the latter six thousand, and both to be Prisoners during the King's Pleasure. But the Burthen fell heavier upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, who after them being brought to the Star-Chamber, was more directly charg'd with Circumstances concerning the Treason, especially with Regard to *Thomas Percy*, whom he had admitted to be one of the King's Gentlemen Pensioners, without administering to him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Recusant; for which he was punish'd with a thirty thousand Pound Fine, Forfeiture of all his Offices, and Imprisonment during the King's Pleasure.

The People in a Consternation.

While the Parliament was sitting, and all Men in a pleasing State of Security, the publick Satisfaction was strangely disturb'd by a sudden Rumour and Outcry at Court, That the King was stabb'd with an invenom'd Knife at *Oaking*, twenty Miles from *London*. Upon which the Court-Gates were immediately shut, and double Guards set in all Places about the City, and all Mens Minds were infinitely confounded and distracted: But within two Hours all these Clouds were dispers'd, and a new Sun-shine appear'd, when it was unquestionably known, that the King was safe, and in perfect Health: For which a Proclamation was immediately issu'd out to signify the same to the People; and that Afternoon the King came himself to *Whitehall*, where innumerable Multitudes, transported with Joy, came flocking to see him. And so general was the Triumph, that the *Spanish* Ambassador gave *Sir Lewis Lewknor*, Master of the Ceremonies, a valuable Chain of Gold for bringing him the News. Tho' afterwards, according to *Sir Richard Baker*, it was thought by some, that this Rumour was politickly invented to cause the Parliament and People to be more tender of the King's Safety; and by making them more sensible what a Treasure they enjoy'd by his Life, they might more willingly part with their Treasure for his well-living. However it was happy for the King, for the Parliament did every Thing that might oblige his Majesty, and gave him three intire Subsidies, and six Fifteenths; besides four Subsidies of four Shillings in the Pound, granted him by the Clergy of the Realm in Convocation. The Parliament likewise made many material Laws for the Discovery and Suppressing of Popish Recusants; and they attainted the Blood of those Traitors that were executed, as also those who were slain in the Field, or dy'd in the Prison. And to compleat all, 'With Hearts full of Affection for God's great Deliverance of
'the

‘ the whole Kingdom from Ruin and Desolation, they made a special Act to have
 ‘ the fifth Day of *November* for ever solemniz’d with publick Thanksgivings : The fifth of November made a Holy-Day.
 ‘ Imputing the Discovery of the Treason to God, inspiring the King with a
 ‘ divine Spirit to interpret some dark Phrases in the Letter, above and beyond
 ‘ all ordinary Construction. When this and many other Acts had pass’d the
 Royal Assent, on the twenty seventh of *May* the Parliament was prorogu’d to
 the eighteenth of *November*.

And here happily ended that famous Conspiracy, call’d the *Gun-Powder-Plot*, the Blackness of which hath been ever since annually displaid by the most eloquent Tongues and Pens in the Kingdom; which *Thuanus* calls such a *Monster of Conspiracies* as no Age or Country did ever produce; in which the King, Queen, the Royal Family, Nobility, Prelates, Judges, Knights and Gentry, and in effect the whole Body of the Kingdom, were to be exterminated; so that it might be well call’d a Wickedness beyond Expression, as well as Excuse. Yet so different are the Notions or Interests of Mankind, that *Garnet* and the rest of the Traitors executed for this Plot, were afterwards reputed and pronounc’d Martyrs for the Catholick Cause by the College of Jesuits in *Rome*.

IV. This last threatening Storm was succeeded by a Calm of several Years, without any violent Agitations, or many memorable Actions; in which Pleasures, Entertainments and Expences, took their several Turns in Court, City and Country. All which were introduc’d by the Arrival of *Christianus* King of *Denmark*, Brother to the Queen, who having been long expected, with eight Ships enter’d the River *Thames*, and anchor’d before *Grave’s-End*, being met the next Day by King *James* with Prince *Henry*, and several of the Lords in Barges, who formally conducted him to *London*, where he staid above three Weeks. In which Time he was entertain’d with all the Magnificence that could be invented, the King and he riding in great State through the City, where stately Pageants were erected in many Places; and after he had been shown all the chief Buildings and Rarities of the City, had been feasted by the King, by the Earl of *Salisbury* four Days together at *Theobalds*, and had seen Tilting, Fencing, Wrestling, and many other Exercises, on the twelfth of *August*, conducted by the King, the Queen and Prince, and many great Lords, he took Shipping, and in eight Days arriv’d safe in *Denmark*: A peculiar Happiness when Princes can converse together like private Persons, and are not kept asunder by Jealousies of State. After the King of *Denmark*’s Departure, on the twenty third of *September* there arriv’d in *London*, *Francis* Prince of *Vaudemont*, third Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, accompany’d with seven Earls, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen of Quality, and a hundred and twenty others; who all went by Coach to the King at *Hampton-Court*, where for fourteen Days together they were fested, and royally entertain’d, and then return’d home.

On the eighteenth Day of *November*, the Parliament according to Prorogation met again at *Westminster*, where the main Consideration was the Union with *Scotland*, which was much urg’d by those who knew the King’s Mind: Among whom Sir *Francis Bacon*, now his Majesty’s Sollicitor, was a principal Instrument, who came prepar’d for it, and first mov’d the House of Commons, ‘ That the *Scots* might be Naturaliz’d by Act of Parliament; which was oppos’d by several strong and modest Arguments. After many several Debates and Arguings on both Sides concerning this remarkable Affair, on the last Day of *March* in the following Year, the King sent for both Houses of Parliament to *Whitehall*, to whom in a formal Speech he earnestly press’d the Matter, and declar’d, ‘ That as there was but *Unus Rex*, so there ought to be but *Unus Grex*, and *Una Lex*; and that his Intention was not, as some idly alledg’d, to ‘ give *England* the Labour and *Sweat*, and *Scotland* the Fruit and *Sweet*; and ‘ he profess’d, he sought this Union only to advance the Greatness of the Empire

A. D.
1606.
Reg. 4.

The Arrival of Christian King of Denmark.

The fourth Session of the first Parliament.

The King’s Speech.

*The Parliament
against an Uni-
on with Scot-
land.*

pire here in *England*, yet with such Cautions as might stand with the Weal of both States. He likewise gave distinct Answer to Objections against, and the Inconveniencies arising from this Union; but all did not satisfy the Parliament, who still apprehended the King's Partiality to his Countrymen, and that Damage would proceed from an Union, where the Laws and Government were of different Natures. The *Scots* would by no means lessen, or in any Degree derogate from the Dignity of their long continu'd Monarchy; and the *English* thought they had no Reason to yield to them, and derogate from themselves; and so the Matter rested in this Session of Parliament. They still fear'd that the King would have such an Influence upon the Judges, that the *Scots* would be Naturaliz'd too soon, therefore they would not be accessary to it; which not long after was confirm'd in *Calvin's Case* of the *Post-nati*, and reported by the Lord Chief-Justice *Cook*, the Lord Chancellor *Ellesmere*, and most of the Judges of the Kingdom, in the *Exchequer* Chamber, tho' many Arguments were brought against it. On the fourth Day of *July*, the Parliament was again prorogu'd first to the sixteenth of *November* next, and then to the ninth of *February* in the Year 1609.

*Disturbances in
the Midland
Counties.*

Before the Parliament broke up, some Disturbances happen'd in the Midland Parts of the Nation, as in *Northamptonshire*, *Warwickshire* and *Leicestershire*, where many assembled together, first not in a treasonable, but in a riotous and felonious Manner, throwing down many Inclosures, and committing many Outrages of the like kind, and all without any particular Head. Till at length there arose a mean Person, call'd *John Reynolds*, whom they nam'd Captain *Pouch*, because he wore a large Leather Pouch by his Side, declaring to the rest, *That in that he had sufficient to defend himself against Opposers*; tho' it afterwards appear'd that all the Magick in that Repository lay in a Piece of Green Cheese. A Proclamation was issu'd out, strictly commanding them to surcease their Disorders, and declaring them Traitors if they persisted; but this had no Effect, till the King sent the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Exeter*, the Lord *Zouch*, and Sir *Edward Cook*, Lord Chief-Justice of *England*, to suppress them by Force of Arms, and to punish the Levellers according to the Nature of their Crimes; some by Death, as for Treason, and others by Fines, as for Riots; of the former Kind Captain *Pouch* was made an Example, which put an End to the Disturbance. Besides this Instance of ill dispos'd Persons of the meaner Sort, the Earl of *Tyrone*, ungratefully forgetting the King's Clemency to him, together with *Tirconell*, the Lord of *Dungannon*, and several other *Irish* Lords, fled into Foreign Parts, purposely to solicit those Princes against their own Sovereign, and to offer the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope, all which was immediately signify'd to the Realm by Proclamation.

*The King made
Free of the
Cloth-Work-
ers.*

Now the King pass'd his Time in Ease and Diversions; and in the Month of *June*, being attended by several Lords, he din'd with the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *John Wats*; who after Dinner presented him with a Purse full of Gold, and humbly besought his Majesty, that he would be pleas'd to be free of his Company the *Cloth-Workers*. To which the King graciously condescended; and thereupon call'd to Sir *William Stone*, Master of the Company, and familiarly said, *Stone, give me thy Hand, I am now a Cloth-Worker; and in Token of my special Favour to this Society, I do here give a brace of Bucks yearly for ever to this Company, at the Election of the Master and Wardens*: At which Time also many Lords and Gentlemen were made free of the *Cloth-Workers*. In the following Month, the King and Prince, with many Lords, din'd at *Merchant-Tailors Hall*, where the Master and Wardens of that Society presented his Majesty with a Purse of Gold, giving him humble Thanks for honouring their Company with his Royal Presence: And likewise shew'd him a Roll wherein were register'd the Names of seven Kings, one Queen, seventeen Princes and Dukes, two Dutchesles, one Arch-Bishop, thirty one Earls, sixty

sixty six Barons, seven Abbots, seven Priors, with a great Number of Knights and Esquires, who had been free of that Company; which his Majesty graciously accepted, but told them, *That he himself was already free of another Company; but the Prince his Son should be free of theirs, and that he would see the Garland put on his Head.* Whereupon the Master presented the Prince also with a Purse of Gold, which he graciously accepted, and said, *That not only himself would be free of the Merchant-Tailors, but the Lords also that were with him should do the like;* all which was perform'd with no small Solemnity. and the Prince of the Merchant-Tailors.

And now the King proceeded to his wonted Bounty in new Creations, and by a Writ call'd Sir *Thomas Knewet* to the Parliament by the Name of Baron of *Estrick*; and the next Day Sir *Julius Caesar*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sworn a Privy-Counsellor. Not long after Sir *Jervis Clifton*, Knight, was call'd to the Parliament by Writ, by the Name and Title of Baron of *Layton Brameswold*; whose only Daughter and Heir was soon after marry'd to *Eysme Stuart*, Baron *D'Aubigny* in *France*, sole Brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, whom he afterwards succeeded in that Dignity. And as the King in the last Year was pleas'd to advance two great Men to the honourable Order of the *Garter*, namely, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Thomas Howard* Viscount *Bindon*; so in the following Year, and the Month of *May* 1608, he rais'd two others to that Honour, namely *George* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*; the former of which left both his Honour and Life not very long after, and was magnificently interr'd in the Abby Church at *Westminster*. New Promotions.

A. D.
1608.
Reg. 6.

Tho' the Affair of the Union was not approv'd by the Parliament of *England*, yet that of *Scotland* at this Time was more inclinable to join in it, especially when they found the King of *England* so zealous for it. He naturally thought that the Work would be more easily effected, if a Beginning was made in *Scotland*, and therefore he call'd a Parliament in that Kingdom, which was held by *Lodowick* Duke of *Lenox*, as Commissioner for his Majesty, in the Room of the Earl of *Montross* then deceas'd. The Estates, to facilitate the King's Desire, did allow all the Articles concluded by the Commissioners in the Treaty, with this Proviso, 'That the same should be in like manner ratify'd by the Parliament of *England*, otherwise the Conclusions taken should not have the Force of a Law: And it was also declar'd, 'That if the Union should take Effect, the Kingdom of *Scotland* notwithstanding should remain an absolute and free Monarchy; and the Fundamental Laws receive no Alteration. But after all the King's Endeavours, by means of the Suspensions of the *English*, and the Stiffness of the *Scotch*, the whole Design fell and sunk to nothing; and all that was obtain'd from the *English* Parliament, was, That the Laws of Hostility, anciently made between *England* and *Scotland*, were repeal'd, that the old Resentments which caus'd the Disunion might be remov'd. And in the said Act they provided, 'That if a natural born *Englishman* did commit any Misdemeanor in *Scotland*, and fly into *England*, he should be try'd where he was taken, and not carry'd into *Scotland* to receive Sentence there; 'till such Time as both Kingdoms shall be made one in Laws and Government. And further they proceeded not; for they found and fear'd the old Enmity would for some Time continue: For since the King's coming into *England*, the loose and unsetled Borderers, that liv'd upon Spoil and Rapine, had upon these new Changes committed new Outrages; who tho' they were suppress'd by the Garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, and many of them made Examples, yet Custom and Habit had bred a natural Fierceness in them, which nothing but new Laws and Usages could fully restrain. The Laws made in *Scotland* to the Prejudice of the *English*, were likewise repeal'd; so that all Passages were made and left smooth on both Sides, for future Times to accomplish that Work. The Scots inclinable to an Union.

The Design drops.

This Year was somewhat remarkable for the Execution both of Priests and Pirates; for on the eleventh of *April*, *George Jervis* a seminary Priest, and the Some Persons executed.
twenty

twenty third of *June* following, *Thomas Garnet* a Jesuit, were both executed according to Law at *Tyburn*; and the latter had the Favour offer'd him to be pardon'd, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he utterly refus'd. About the same Time there were many famous *English* Pirates, some of whom likewise turn'd *Mahometans*, and liv'd in great State at *Tunis*, among which were *Ward, Bishop, Sir Francis Verney, and Glanville*. These and several others, after many Depredations and outrageous Acts at Sea, were suppress'd partly by the King of *Spain*, and partly by the King of *England*, and nineteen of their Associates being taken, were according to their Deserts hang'd at *Wapping*.

The Earl of Dorset's Death.

Salisbury made Treasurer.

In the same Year the Lord-Treasurer, *Thomas Earl of Dorset*, being at the Council-Table at *Whitehall*, dy'd suddenly, while he was pulling out some Papers of his Title to *Lucies* Lands in *Kent*, which put an End to that Dispute which he had brought before the Council. His sudden Death, and effeminate Life, gave Occasion to his Enemies to make severe and unusual Interpretations; but his Head being open'd, there were found in it certain little Bags of Water, which by breaking might naturally cause such a Death. He was undoubtedly of excellent Parts, and in his Place exceeding industrious; in which he was succeeded by the famous Earl of *Salisbury*, a Courtier and Politician from his Infancy; tho' Nature was not propitious to his Outside, as having a crook'd Back, yet she supply'd that Defect with admirable Endowments of Mind. The Earl of *Northampton* was also made Lord Privy-Seal, and these were the two prime Ministers of State, upon whose Shoulders the King laid the main Burden of all his Affairs. Another great Minister was the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was made Lord-Chamberlain; but he came far behind in the Management of the King's Business, having a Spirit of a grosser Nature, fitter to part a Fray, and compose the Differences of a disorder'd Court, than those of a Kingdom.

A. D. 1602. Being supported by these Counsellors, the King joining with *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, undertook a Mediation between the King of *Spain* and the Confederate States of *Holland*, and brought them to a Treaty of Amity, in which the States were acknowledg'd Free and Independent; and this after they had manag'd a famous and bloody Contest of above forty Years Continuance. This was the first Scene in which King *James* appear'd abroad, either as a Party or Mediator, since his Accession to the Throne of *England*; and tho' the Treaty prov'd of extraordinary Consequence, yet it is said that his Part in it was as mean as that of the King of *France* was glorious; and his Conduct towards the States, for whom he mediated, and towards *France* with whom he join'd, was quite different from the Methods and Maxims of his renowned Predecessor. For besides several unusual Condescensions to the *French* in the Persons of his Ambassadors, which gave Foreigners a mean Idea of his Government, he was tax'd with being subtle and insincere in the Treaty which he appear'd to promote and encourage. And what Opinion the *French* Ministers had of him in this Affair, appears from the printed Negotiations of *Jeannin*, the chief Agent for *France*, who in several Letters to the *French* King his Master, wrote *That King James was never hearty in the Treaty, but had all along condemn'd the Hollanders for throwing off the Sovereignty of Spain, upon the Account of its bad Example*. In Answer to one of which Letters, King *Henry*, whose Opinion of King *James* was never very great, own'd his Knowledge of that King's ill Intentions towards the States, and withal told *Jeannin*, *That his Carriage did not break his Sleep*; and concluded his Letter with an Expression of Contempt, rarely us'd among Princes of that Rank, *I know his Capacity, and the Inclinations of his Subjects*.

A Treaty between Spain and Holland.

About this Time, the Suburbs between *London* and *Westminster* had many ruinous Piles of Buildings, which Age had worn out, and Industry and Riches began to revive. Among the rest the Lord-Treasurer *Salisbury*, out of the old Stables

Stables of *Durham-House* in the *Strand*, erected a noble Fabrick to be Rival to the *Old-Exchange*, which the King by his Presence dignify'd with the Name of *Britain's Burse*, since call'd the *New-Exchange*. But he took particular Notice of the increasing Buildings upon the new Foundations, which he look'd upon as a weakly Constitution in the Head of the Kingdom, as drawing a Flux of Humours and Diseases too near the Court; besides he fear'd the Plague might endanger *Whitehall*, if that Distemper increas'd. And therefore, with mature Deliberation of his Council, he forbad all new Buildings to be erected for the future, within two Miles of the City; and by Proclamation strictly commanded, if any were made, they should be pull'd down, which however was not observ'd 'till seven Years after. On the eighth of *May*, by another Proclamation the King prohibited all Foreign Nations, that after *August* they should not Fish upon any of the Coasts of *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*, nor the adjacent Isles, without the special Licence from the Commissioners ordain'd for that Purpose. At this Time the making of *Allum*, which hitherto with great Charges had been brought from Foreign Parts, was by several that labour'd in it, and now lastly by Sir *John Bouchier* brought to Perfection in *England*; and thereupon the King prohibited upon Pain of Confiscation any *Allum* to be brought from beyond the Seas, and assum'd the whole Trade and Business of it to himself.

The New-Exchange built.

Other Buildings prohibited.

At this Time Prince *Henry*, arriving at sixteen Years of Age, began to show himself in a more Heroick Manner than was usual with Princes of his Time, by Tiltings, Barriers, and other Martial Exercises on Horseback; which caught the Peoples Eyes, and made their Tongues the Messengers of their Hearts, in daily extolling his hopeful and gallant Behaviour to Admiration. Being thus qualify'd, the King now thought him full Ripe for the Honour of Knighthood, in order to which, according to an ancient Custom, the King receiv'd an Aid of his Subjects throughout *England*, which was levy'd with great Moderation. Then to add new Splendor to this glorious Youth, he not long after created him Prince of *Wales*, after this solemn Manner: *Garter* King at Arms bore the Letters Patents, the Earl of *Suffex* the Robes of Purple Velvet, the Earl of *Huntington* the Train, the Earl of *Cumberland* the Sword, the Earl of *Rutland* the Ring, the Earl of *Darby* the Rod, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Cap and Coronet, the Earl of *Nottingham* and *Northampton* supported the Prince, who was only in his Surcoat and Bare-headed. Being conducted in that Manner to the King, and attended by twenty five Knights of the *Bath* of eminent Note, Secretary *Salisbury* read the Letters Patents, while the Prince continu'd upon his Knees before the King; and at the accustom'd Words the King invested him with the Robe, the Sword, the Cap and Coronet, the Rod and the Ring, and then with a Kiss the Solemnity ended. After this, it was thought proper that he should keep his Court by himself; and thereupon Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governor, was now made his Lord-Chamberlain, Sir *Edward Philips* his Chancellor, and all other Officers assign'd him belonging to the Court of a Prince, which was kept at *St. James's*. In all his Management he shew'd himself so ripe for Majesty, that he seem'd to be a King while he was yet but a Prince; and all Mens Eyes began to be fix'd upon him as the great Hopes of the Nation, to the increasing Jealousie of the King himself, who now endeavouring to find a suitable Match for him, sent Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Ambassador into *Spain* to treat with that King for his eldest Daughter; but this never met with the desir'd Effect.

A. D.

1610.

Reg. 8.

Prince Henry created Prince of Wales.

He has a distinct Court.

This Year prov'd fatal to King *Henry* the Great of *France*, who in the midst of all his Grandeur and Glory, was by one *Ravillack* assassinated and slain in the open Streets of *Paris*, to the Surprise of all Christendom. It has been observ'd, That this great Man, when he came first to the Crown, was a profess'd Protestant; but finding himself in a tottering Condition among his Popish Subjects,

The Death of King Henry the Fourth of France.

jects; he began first to comply with them in Ecclesiastical Affairs; which yet so little satisfy'd the Jesuits, that one of their Instruments stabb'd him into the Mouth with a Knife, without much Hurt: Upon which Accident an Intimate of his freely told him, *That the Hand of God was visible in this Action; for he had now deny'd his Religion but with his Mouth; but let him take Care of denying it with his Heart, for if he did, he fear'd God would strike him there also:* Both which were remarkably accomplish'd. The Contagion and Fear of this Blow soon reach'd into *England*, where the King by Proclamation strictly commanded all Jesuits and Priests out of the Kingdom, and all Recusants to their own Houses, and not to come within ten Miles of the Court, without special Licence. Then to secure all his Subjects, he caus'd 'em to take the Oath of Allegiance; which the Parliament, then sitting, both Lords and Commons began, and the rest of the People follow'd, to the King's great Satisfaction. Then turning from Matters of Policy to those of Trade, upon the humble Petition of the *East-India* Merchants, the King was pleas'd to enlarge their Privileges granted them by Queen *Elizabeth*, gave them a Charter to continue for ever, and enabled them to be a Body Corporate; which so encourag'd the Merchants, that they built a Ship of twelve hundred Tun, the greatest that was ever made in this Kingdom by Merchants; which the King and Prince honour'd with going to *Deptford* to see it, and then nam'd it *The Trades Increase*: And at the same Time gave to Sir *Thomas Smith*, Governor of that Company, a fair Chain of Gold, with a Jewel, wherein was his own Picture. But this great Ship, having been in the *Red Sea*, and returning to *Bantham*, was there unfortunately Lost, and most of her Men cast away. But then the King himself built the finest Man of War that was ever known in *England*, being of the Burthen of fourteen hundred Tuns, and carrying sixty four Pieces of great Ordnance; which he gave to his Son Prince *Henry*, and nam'd it after his own Dignity, *The Prince*.

A Proclamation against Jesuits.

The East-India Company established.

The fifth Session of the first Parliament.

The King's Speech.

But long before these Transactions, the Parliament that had been prorogu'd in the Year 1607, met again on the ninth Day of *February*, and continu'd sitting a great Part of the Year with fewer Compliments, and less Satisfaction than formerly. For the King and his Friends were now labouring hard, and using all Methods and Arguments to induce them to grant new Supplies of Money, when many thought there was no just Occasion; and there wanted not some in both Houses that openly said, *THE WHOLE WEALTH OF England was not sufficient for the King's vast Bounty, and therefore it was in vain to give him Money who would give it away again:* For it was said that he had made Gold and Silver as plentiful in *Edinburgh*, as it was in *Jerusalem* in the Reign of *Solomon*. Besides this, they began to complain of general Grievances, and of the King's Inroachments upon the publick Liberty, by his Proclamations, the High-Commission Court, and by other Means. To put a stop to these and the like Oppositions, the King summon'd both Houses of Parliament to *Whitehall*; where in a Speech he told them, *That tho' the King's Heart was in the Hands of the Lord, yet he would set it before the Eyes of the People;* alluring them, *That he never design'd to govern by any Law but that of the Land, tho' it was disputed among them, as if he had an Intention to alter the Law, and govern by the absolute Power of a King.* He knew the Power of Kings, and compar'd it to the Power Divine: For as God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his Pleasure, so Kings can give Life and Death, judge all, and be judg'd of none. They can exalt low Things, and abuse high Things, making the Subjects like Men at Chess, a Pawn to take a Bishop or a Knight. But still all Kings, who were not Tyrants, or Perjur'd, would always bind themselves within the Limits of the Laws, and they that perswaded them to the contrary, were Vipers and Pests both against them and the Common-wealth. Yet, as it was Blasphemy to dispute what God might do, so it was Sedition in Subjects to dispute what a King might do in

the Height of his Power : And as he would not have Subjects discourse of his Power, so he would do nothing but what was consonant to Law and Reason. After this he proceeded to speak much in Commendation of the Common Law; and to thank the House of Commons for burning some Papers presented as Grievances, giving them Rules how to receive Grievances, among which, *They should not meddle with the main Points of Government, which would be to lessen his Craft, who had been thirty Years at his Trade in Scotland, and serv'd an Apprenticeship of seven Years here.* But after these, with more obliging Expressions, he shew'd the emergent Cause of his great Expences, declaring, *That when he first open'd his Necessities to them, his Purse only labour'd, but now his Desires were made so publick, his Reputation labour'd as well as his Purse : For the World would think it want of Love in them, or Merit in him, that had lessen'd their Hearts, and ty'd up their Hands.* In Conclusion, after the passing of many good Laws, which the Reader will meet with in the Statute Book, he obtain'd one Subsidy and a Fifteenth ; and after this Parliament had continu'd above six Years in Being, and had five Meetings, and went through a great Number of useful Acts, both for promoting many Advantages, and suppressing many Mischiefs, it was dissolv'd upon the thirty first Day of *December.*

The Parliament dissolv'd.

V. All Things being now in a reasonable State of Quiet and Calmness, the King may be said to live at this Time in the Height of his Diversions and Expences, keeping two several Courts besides his own; for as the Prince was Master of *St. James's*, so the Queen was Mistress of *Somerset-House*, to which she gave the Name of *Denmark-House*, and that continu'd as long as she liv'd. She was not without several great Men to attend her, for outward Magnificence, the Court being then in a continu'd Course of Interludes and Maskarades, where she and her Ladies, like so many Sea-Nymphs, or *Nereids*, often appear'd in strange and various Dresses, to the Wonder of the Spectators ; while the King himself was not a little delighted with such extraordinary Entertainments, that made the Night more glorious than the Day. She had also her particular Favourites in one Place, as the King had his in another ; for she affected the Earl of *Pembroke* the elder Brother, and he the younger, whom he made Earl of *Montgomery* and Knight of the Garter. But still either not finding him suitable to his Humour or Affections, or viewing another more agreeable Object, his Fancy run with a violent Stream upon a young Gentleman, born about *Edinburgh*, of no great Parts or Birth, but of a comely Aspect, and a courtly Address. His Name was *Robert Car*, who being lately come from *France*, in a Tournament before the King, by a Fall off his Horse broke his Leg ; which Accident gave the King occasion to take Notice of him, and hearing that his Name was *Car*, remember'd he had a Page of that Name when he came first into *England*, which was found to be the same Person. The King recollecting his Thoughts, fix'd them upon this Object of Commiseration, and gave particular Orders to have him lodg'd in the Court, and to have his own Physicians and Surgeons use their best Endeavours for his Recovery. The King often visited him during his Restraint, sometimes an Hour or more discoursing with him upon several Subjects ; and tho' he found no great Depth of Learning or Experience, yet such a smooth and calm Outside, made him judge there might be a fit Harbour for his most retir'd Thoughts. As soon as he recover'd, the King with great Satisfaction made him a Knight, and Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, took the Pains himself to teach him the *Latin* Tongue, and laid a Foundation by his daily Discourses to improve him into a Capacity of receiving his most endearing Affections.

A. D.
1611.
Reg. 9.

The Rise of Robert Car.

And now all Addresses were made to Sir *Robert Car*, who was said to be Favourite in Ordinary ; no Suit nor Reward were manag'd but by his Means ; his Hand distributed Favours, and his Hand restrain'd them ; and the Lords could scarce have a Smile without his Approbation. And what greatly added

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to

*Wife.
Baker.
Spencer.
An. Camd.
Ret. Parl.
66.*

to his encreasing Power, was the Death of the Earl of *Dunbar*, who was the King's old Servant, and the Cabinet of his Secret Counsels; so that he solely took them into his Charge, together with the Office of Lord High-Treasurer of *Scotland*, which Staff the other had left behind him: And tho' it could be no mighty Supporter, yet the Credit of it carry'd some Reputation into his own Country, where it was his Happiness to be extoll'd, as well as in *England*. Then further to aggrandise this young Favourite, the King created him Baron of *Brandspeck*, and Viscount *Rocheſter*, and shortly after Knight of the Garter, together with his Son *Charles* Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Arundel*. Thus was he drawn up by the Beams of Majesty, to shine with the greatest Splendor, often conteſting with the Prince himſelf in his own Sphere. For the Prince, being of a high-born Spirit, and meeting with a young Competitor in his Father's Affections, of a ſhort and ſudden Growth, thought the Infection would increaſe too near him, and therefore he us'd all reaſonable Means to ſtifle and ſuppreſs it: And this Conteſt was gradually blown up by ſome Sparks of Love, as well as Emulation, being both amorous, warm and youthful, and by Accident fixing their Thoughts upon one Object, contracted to a third Perſon, in which the Viſcount gain'd the Superiority, but to his final Ruin.

He is a great Favourite.

A. D. 1612. In the mean Time, while Fortune thus ſmil'd upon the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, it frown'd with as much Severity upon the Lord *Sanquir*, a Baron of the ſame Nation, and marry'd into a conſiderable Family in *England*. This Man too much valuing himſelf upon his unfortunate Skill in Fencing, undertook a Deſign to affront and diſparage a Fencing-Maſter in his own School, whoſe Name was *John Turner*; but he apprehenſive of his Deſign, preſs'd ſo rudely upon the Baron, that he push'd out one of his Eyes. The Baron being afterwards in the Court of *France*, where that King freely entertaining him in Diſcourſe, ask'd him how he loſt his Eye; and underſtanding it was done by a Sword, without knowing the Circumſtances, he reply'd, *Does the Man live that did it?* The Queſtion from the Mouth of a King blew up new Fires of Revenge in the Baron's Breſt; and ſeveral Years after, coming into *England*, he hir'd two of his Countrymen, *Gray* and *Carlisle*, to murder the Fencing-Maſter, which they did with a Caſe of Piſtols at his own Houſe in *White-Friars*. One of the Murderers was apprehended upon the Borders of *Scotland*, the other in a Ship bound for *Hamburgh*; and the Lord *Sanquir* having abſconded, and hearing that no leſs than a thouſand Pounds was offer'd for his Head, he reſign'd himſelf to the King's Mercy, by the Mediation of Dr. *Abbot*, now Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, to whom he preſented himſelf as an Object of Commiſeration. But no Interceſſion could prevail, and their Lives ſatisfy'd the Law, without allowing the Baron the Death of a Nobleman, who in a very penitent Manner ſuffer'd before the Gate of *Weſtminſterhall*.

The Caſe of the Lord Sanquir.

His Execution.

Still the juvenile Favourite *Rocheſter* maintain'd his Ground againſt all Oppoſers; and among his chief Friends Sir *Thomas Overbury* was the Creature he moſt particularly honour'd with his Familiarity. This begot an Emulation between the two great Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who ſhould ingroſs him; each preſenting, proffering, and accumulating Favours upon *Overbury's* Relations. His Father was accordingly made a Judge in *Wales*, and he himſelf was offer'd a Place; but being naturally of a rough and insolent Temper, and ſwell'd with being the Confident of ſuch a Favourite, whoſe Munificence could not be retail'd without him, he with a kind of Scorn neglected both their Friendſhips, and yet made uſe of them when he had Occaſion. Before that Time the politick Miniſter, the Earl of *Salisbury*, had made an Alliance with the Houſe of *Suffolk*, by marrying his eldeſt Son, the Lord *Cranborn*, to *Catharine* the eldeſt Daughter of that Family; and that Reſentments might not become Hereditary, he was a great Inſtrument in marrying the young Earl of *Effex* to the Lady *Frances Howard*, another of thoſe Siſters. The Earl of *Effex* was then but fourteen

fourteen Years of Age, and the Lady thirteen when they were marry'd; and therefore he was sent to Travel in Foreign Countries 'till Time might capacitate their Co-Habitation. The Lady in the mean Time was kept by her Mother, and educated in all the enchanting Pleasures of the Court; and being a celebrated Beauty, every Tongue became an Orator at her Shrine, and the Prince himself sent out many amorous Glances as the Ambassadors of his Inclinations. But the victorious Lady more favouring the increasing Fortunes of the Viscount *Rochester*, the most zealous of her Adorers, the Prince slighted her, as tho' he had offer'd his Addresſes more to distract the other's Amours, than to pursue his own Desires. Upon the Return of the Earl of *Essex*, the Countess, who was actuated by the most violent Resolutions of Enjoyment, had a double Task to undergo; first to hinder her Husband from carnal Knowledge of her, and then to secure the Viscount's Affections; for unlawful Love always produces the greatest Jealousies and Confusions. In order to effect her impious Designs, she had recourse to infernal Arts, and consulted one Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of Physick's Widow, whom Prodigality had reduc'd to Poverty, and render'd her fit for any Mischiefe; and she introduc'd into their Consultation one *Forman* an Astrologer, and a reputed Magician, who supply'd the Lady with Charms, Spells and philtrous Potions, both to debilitate the Ardour of the Husband, and to inflame the Passion of the Gallant. These Things being manag'd and administer'd according to unknown Arts, they gave this uneasie Woman Assurances of extraordinary Effects. Her amorous Invitations that drew the Viscount to admire her, were imputed to the Operation of those Drugs he had tasted; and the very unnatural Comportment she express'd to her Husband, was concluded by her to be the Effects of those wonderful Potions and Powders administer'd to him: So ready is the Imagination to take Impression of those Things we are willing to believe.

The unhappy Marriage of the Earl of Essex.

The Wicked Designs of his Countess.

The innocent Earl being made sensible of his own Misfortunes, complain'd to her Father, in hopes of Relief; and through his Importunities and Threatnings, she was perswaded to retire into the Country to *Chartley* with her Husband; where her Disappointments so enrag'd her Spleen, that she would scarce afford common Civility to him, and brought her self to a continu'd Melancholy and Sullenness. At length she wrote to her wicked Correspondents *Forman* and Mrs. *Turner*, *That she saw little Effect produc'd by all the Potions she had given her Husband, for he seem'd more eager after her than ever, and she was sensible that the Viscount would never love her, if he knew her Husband enjoy'd her, whom with Difficulty she had put off; but how long she should be able to resist his Violence she knew not, and therefore unless they design'd to see her the most miserable Creature in the World, they should speedily assist her, and for their Reward they should make their own Proposals.* And now all the abominable Tricks that could arise from Sorcery and Female Aversion being imploy'd to debilitate the Earl, he at length suffer'd her to steer her own Course, and the next Winter came up with her to *London*, where she us'd all the Ornaments that Art and Nature could invent, to inflame the Viscount's Affections; and her Absence increasing his Passion, they had many repeated Meetings. Several Persons qualify'd for such kind of Offices were imploy'd; and when Nature was infecbled and exhausted, new Spirits were purchas'd at the most extravagant Rates to rekindle their unlawful Fires. Thus the Viscount triumph'd in his Conquests, but as to the Height of the King's Favours, the great *Salisbury* was still an Obstacle in his Way, so that he could not arrive to that Pitch of Grandeur in his Time, that he afterwards obtain'd. One Thing among the rest, in which he defeated or disappointed him, was in Moderating the King's Bounty to him on this Occasion: The King had given to *Rochester* five thousand Pounds, which this Treasurer thought too extravagant a Present, where there was so little Merit, therefore he laid the Money in Silver upon Tables in his Gallery at *Salisbury House*; and having invited the King to Dinner, he

The Viscount Rochester intrigues with her.

Salisbury disappoints him.

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made

made this Room the Passage to his Entertainment. The King surpriz'd at the Sight of these great Heaps of Mony, ask'd for what purpose it was assign'd; to whom the Earl reply'd, *That he had Orders from his Majesty to give so much to the Viscount Rochester.* The King, who either carelessly thought five thousand Pounds was no more than the Name of so much in *Scotland*, or subtly finding the Treasurer's Meaning, said, *It was too much for one Man*, and made him be contented with less than half of the Sum. But the King was generally profuse to his Favourites; particularly one Day being in his Gallery at *Whitehall*, with only Sir *Henry Rich* a young ingenious Knight, and *James Maxwell*, one of his Bed-Chamber; some Porters pass'd by with three thousand Pounds going to the Privy-Purse: Sir *Henry* whispering *Maxwell*, the King ask'd what he said; and being told he wish'd for such a Sum, he immediately order'd the Porters to carry it to his Lodgings, with this Expression, *You think you have a great Reward; but I am more delighted in giving you the Mony, than you in receiving it.*

The King's
Profuseness.

The Body of
the Queen of
the Scots re-
mov'd to West-
minster.

Sir Robert
Sherley's Tra-
vels.

And now the King cast his Thoughts towards *Peterborough*, where the Body of his unfortunate Mother lay, which he caus'd to be translated to a Magnificent Tomb at *Westminster*; where many solemn Ceremonies were perform'd, to pay the last Tribute to her Memory. About the same Time the King, in special Favour for the present Plantation of *English* Colonies in *Virginia*, granted a Lottery to be held at the West-End of *St. Paul's*; of which one *Thomas Sharples*, a Tailor of *London*, had the chief Prize, amounting to four thousand Crowns in fair Plate. This Year was also observable for the Arrival of Sir *Robert Sherley*, third Son to Sir *Thomas Sherley* of *Suffex*, who for sixteen Years had betaken himself to Travel, and had serv'd several Christian Princes for the Space of five Years, but chiefly *Rodolphus* the Emperor, who for his Services made him an Earl of the Empire. He afterwards travell'd into *Persia*, and serv'd that Emperor ten Years, who made him General of the Artillery, and had so great an Esteem for his Person, that he gave him the Lady *Terezia* in Marriage, whose Sister was one of the Queens of *Persia*: After which, the *Persian* employ'd him to several Princes of *Europe*; and sent him in a special Embassie to King *James* in *England*, to whom he deliver'd his Letters, and shew'd his Commission; all which testify'd the *Persian's* great Love and Affection to his Majesty, with voluntary Offers of free Commerce to all his Subjects throughout the *Persian* Dominions. After a Year's Stay in *England*, in which Time his Lady was deliver'd of a Son, to whom the Queen was God-Mother, and Prince *Henry* God-Father, he left the Child in this Kingdom, and then with his Lady took Shipping for *Persia*.

The Arrival
of Frederik
Prince Pala-
tine.

The Death of
Prince Henry.

It was in the tenth Year of King *James's* Reign, and the sixteenth of *October*, when the illustrious Prince *Frederick*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, with whom a Treaty of Marriage had been made with the King's Daughter *Elizabeth*, arriv'd at *Gravesend*; to whom the Duke of *Lenox* and several other Lords were sent by his Majesty, who conducted him to *Whitehall*, and from thence into the great Banqueting-House; where the King, the Queen, the Prince, and the Lady her self, entertain'd him after the most obliging Manner, and then by Barge conducted him to *Essex* House, appointed for his Reception. It was many Years since any King's Daughter had been marry'd in *England*; which now occurring, and to so worthy a Prince, was a just Cause of Triumph and Rejoycing: But according to the frequent Changes of human Happiness, Joy was no sooner set forth, but was pursu'd by an unexpressible Sorrow; first by the Sicknes, and then the Death of that great Delight and Hopes of the Nation, Prince *Henry*, who on the sixth Day of *November* was snatch'd away at the Age of eighteen Years, eight Months, and seventeen Days. Several Passages are related of this excellent Prince that redound to his Honour; particularly once when he was Hunting the Stag, it happen'd that the Game was kill'd, and his Sport spoil'd by a Butcher's Dog, at which the Company endeavour'd

your'd to incense him against the Butcher, and told him, *That if his Father had been thus interrupted, he would have sworn so that no Man could have endur'd it* : Away, reply'd the Prince, *all the Diversion in the World is not worth one Oath*. At another Time, when the French Ambassador, upon taking his leave, ask'd him, *What Service he would command him to his Master*, the Prince bad him tell his Master *What he was doing*, being then tossing a Pike. The World is always ready to attribute the Deaths of beloved Princes to unfair Practices, and it became the general Rumour of that Time, that the Prince was poison'd. Censures upon it. We dare not determine that nice Matter, yet the Presumptions seem too strong to be bury'd in Silence ; especially if we consider the violent Contests between him and *Rocheſter*, and the wicked Practices of that implacable Man. For the Prince being an open-hearted Man, and resenting every Injury done to his Nation, had once declar'd, *That if ever he was King, he would not leave one of that Family unpunish'd* ; and therefore he and the *Howards* could not think themselves secure, 'till he had paid his Debt to Nature ; and so the Manner of his Death was pass'd over by a Certificate from some Court Physicians, ' That his Liver was paler than ordinary, his Gall without any Choler in it, his Spleen, Midriff and Lungs were very black, and his Stomach in no Part offended ; as if no Poison could produce such Effects. On the seventh of *December* he was solemnly carry'd on a Hearse to *Westminster*, where the Pomp of his Funeral was fully compleated by the Tears and Lamentations of the People.

But all Tears were soon dry'd up at Court, where all Preparations were making for the Solemnities of a *Christmass*, and a Marriage between the Prince *Palatine* and the excellent Lady *Elizabeth*. In order to the latter, on the seventh of *February*, the Prince was first install'd Knight of the Garter at *Windsor*, together with the Deputy of *Grave Maurice* of *Nassaw*. And on *Shrove-Sunday*, and *St. Valentine's Day*, the much desir'd Marriage was solemniz'd after an extraordinary Manner in the Chappel at *Whitehall*. The beautiful Bride was publickly led by two Batchelors, her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton*, Lord Privy-Seal ; she being gloriously adorn'd in White, having a resplendent Crown of Gold upon her Head, her Hair dishevel'd down her Back, nobly shining with Jewels like a Constellation, and her Train supported by twelve young Ladies, finely attir'd with all the Emblems of Innocence. The King himself gave her in Marriage, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* perform'd the Office, and the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* preach'd the Nuptial Sermon ; during which Time, some peculiar Coruscations and Lightnings of Joy appear'd in her Countenance, which some thought to be Presages of her future Misfortunes. This Marriage was celebrated the first Night with a magnificent Masque of the chief of the Nobility, both Lords and Ladies ; the second Night with another of the Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple* and *Lincolns-Inn* ; and the third Night with another as remarkable presented by the Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple* and *Grays-Inn* : And after this the Lord Mayor and Aldermen presented the fair Bride with a Chain of Oriental Pearl, valu'd at two thousand Pounds. Now when all Things had been perform'd for the Honour of this Marriage, which either Love and Observance could invent, or Art and Magnificence could effect, on the tenth of *April* the illustrious Couple took leave of the King and Queen at *Rocheſter* ; and there taking Shipping, they arriv'd not long after at *Flushing* : From whence the Earl of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viscount *Lisle*, and the Lord *Harington* waited upon them to their capital City of *Heidelberg* ; being receiv'd in all Places as they pass'd with great Pomp and State. On the fourteenth of *June* the *English* Lords return'd home ; only the Lord *Harington* dy'd by the way at *Worms*, whose Corps was brought over, and interr'd in *England*. A Gentleman much lamented in his own Person, but much more in that of his admiral Son, whose Decease shortly after put a Period to that noble Family. About

A. D.

1613.

Reg. 11.

Prince Frederick marry'd so the King's Daughter Elizabeth.

They both retire to Germany.

*The Earl of
Salisbury's
Death.*

About the same Time dy'd that famous Statesman, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Lord Treasurer of *England*; a Person of admirable Abilities, and one of whom *Osborn* confesses, That with all his Faults, he was a Man of incomparable Prudence, who coming so near such an unadvised Scatterer as King *James*, might have much more enrich'd his Family, had he not look'd upon low Things with Contempt; leaving much to the Gleaning of his Servants, of whom many were afterwards advanc'd. He further insinuates, 'That this Earl was the 'first ill Treasurer, and the last good one since Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; the last Part of which Censure might naturally arise from the numerous and sudden Changes in this high Office. For within this Reign, and the Compass of a very few Years, the Earl of *Salisbury* was succeeded by five several Treasurers: First, The Earl of *Suffolk*, who held the Office longest, and was discharg'd in a great Measure for the Mismanagement of his Lady: Secondly, Sir *Henry Montague*, taken from the King's Bench, and made Earl of *Manchester*, and within less than a Year discharg'd: Thirdly, Sir *Lyonel Cranfield*, who was made Earl of *Middlesex*, and then not only thrown out, but also fin'd fifty thousand Pounds: Fourthly, Sir *James Lee*, taken from the King's Bench, and made Earl of *Marlborough*, who thought fit to resign his Place in a short Time: And lastly, Sir *Richard Weston*, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord Treasurer, and shortly after Earl of *Portland*.

*Rocheſter's
Greatneſs.*

Upon the Death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, the aspiring *Rocheſter* without Controul assum'd the whole Administration of the Government, executed the Place of Principal Secretary, receiv'd Pacquets and dispatch'd Answers, without the Knowledge of the King or Council, and all done by the Privy, if not Assistance of his Confident Sir *Thomas Overbury*. But when that Gentleman understood that *Rocheſter* design'd to marry the Lady *Essex*, he dealt freely and honestly with him, declaring to him, *That nothing could be more destructive to both their growing Hopes, than to lay a Foundation upon so much Injustice, as to marry another Man's Wife, while her Husband was living*; and therefore passionately desir'd him, *To fix his Thoughts upon a more honourable Object, and not upon one, whose Disloyalty to her Husband was branded with perpetual Infamy*. This rough Advice found no Reception in the debauch'd Mind of the Viscount, who being fascinated with the Charms of his amorous Mistress, did not only estrange himself from the Friendship of *Overbury*, but both denounc'd Enmity, and also excited the Fury of the Countess against him: And she, fir'd with the most implacable Resentments, mustering up all the Passion and Envy that a Female Malice could invent, never left him 'till she had discharg'd all the Volleys of her Rage upon him. She importun'd the Earl of *Northampton* her Uncle, to vindicate the Honour of their Family;

*For which his
Life is threat-
ned.*

ly; and he joining with the Viscount, they agreed to take away *Overbury's* Life by Poison; but that not being easie to be done in a publick Way, they contriv'd to exasperate the King against him, and procure him to be imprison'd, that they might with greater Privacy effect his Ruin. The King about this Time designing to send an Ambassador into *Flanders* to the Arch-Duke, the Viscount treacherously recommended Sir *Thomas Overbury* to him for that Service; and dealing on both Sides he us'd all Methods to dissuade him from undertaking the Employment, as well knowing that his Refusal would highly disoblige the King. *Overbury* was not so little a Courtier, or so void of Reason, as not to see the Danger of disobeying the King's Commands; therefore the Viscount promis'd him both to mollifie the King's Displeasure, and to procure him better Preferment; while on the other Side he so aggravated his Offence in Refusing his Obedience, and so incens'd the King, that the poor Gentleman was without Hearing sent to the Tower for Contempt. Then to compleat his strange Tragedy, Sir *William Wade* Lieutenant of the Tower was displac'd, and Sir *Jervase Elways* put into his Room.

*He is thrown
into the Tower.*

This

This first Point being gain'd, the Countess, like another *Alecto*, drove on furiously with two Wheels, which ran over all Impediments; the one was to procure a Divorce between her and her Husband, that she might marry the Viscount; and the other was to remove Sir *Thomas Overbury*, who had laid such a Stain upon her Honour, as nothing but his Blood could expiate. For these she had several Instruments and Agents, particularly the Earl of *Northampton*, who resenting his Niece's Grievances, acquainted the King with her Virgin Modesty, how unwilling she was to divulge her Husband's Infirmities, and how long she had been marry'd without enjoying the Rights of a Wife; that the Earl's Inability must needs produce an unnatural Conjunction, such as neither Law nor Reason could excuse; and that there was an entire Affection between the Viscount and her self, which ought to be encourag'd, as more suitable to Equity and Nature. This was seconded by the Viscount's humble Submissions to the King's great Wisdom, who he acknowledg'd had not only rais'd him to his present Condition, but might yet make him more happy, by uniting him to a Lady of so much Honour and Virtue. The King, who abundantly delighted to compleat the Happiness of those he lov'd, immediately granted a Commission under the Broad-Seal, to several Bishops and others, to try the whole Cause, who accordingly made their Appearance. But before they proceeded any further, they empanell'd a Jury of twelve discreet Matrons to search the Countess, whither she was a Maid or not, as she pretended to be in her written Allegations; for if that prov'd true, they might fix upon a Nullity, and so separate them for the Honour of her Virginity. The Countess, under a Pretence of Modesty and Shame to undergo such an Examination, would not expose her Face to the Light, but procur'd leave of the Court to appear in a Veil before the Matrons; by which Means she had an Opportunity to send in a young Girl in her Place, who in the Opinion of the Jury pass'd for a real Virgin. Then Articles being drawn up in Form, the good Earl, willing to be freed from so horrid a Plague, confess'd that he had several Times attempted to enjoy her, but he never did, and believ'd he never should. Upon these Grounds the Judges proceeded to a formal Sentence of Divorce and Separation, in such Terms as

The Countess of Essex sues out a Divorce against her Husband.

They are parted by Law.

are more fit to be transcrib'd by Persons of any Profession than my own. The scandalous Reports that had flown about concerning this Lady, caus'd some worthy Men to decline the Business, particularly the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *London* refus'd to appear, tho' they were nominated in the Commission; and what is said in Favour of the rest of the Judges, is, That they might not know that another Female was impos'd upon the Jury instead of the Lady *Essex*.

While one great Engine was working at *Lambeth*, the other had its Motion in the Tower, push'd forwards by the Lady *Essex* against the unfortunate Sir *Thomas Overbury*; and two of her Agents, *Forman* and *Gresham* being dead, she rely'd wholly upon the Assistance of Mrs. *Turner*, who procur'd one *Weston*, formerly her Husband's Servant, and not unskill'd in the Art of Poisoning, to be the Instrument to effect their impious Purposes. The Lady also procur'd Sir *Thomas Munson* to recommend him to Sir *Jervase Elwayes*, and he to Sir *Thomas Overbury* to be his Attendant; by whose Means, with the Assistance of one *Franklin*, and the Connivance of the Lieutenant, several Potions were administer'd to consume Nature insensibly. But these were not thought quick enough to satiate that Malice, that was as active as subtle; therefore stronger Ingredients were infus'd, and given him in his Broths, his Meats and his Tarts; and his very Salt was usually mixt with *White-Mercury*. Thus was the poor abandon'd Gentleman daily rack'd and tortur'd with a horrid Distemper; but being young and of a strong Constitution, was able to struggle a long Time with these corroding Tormentors: But his Body being not always able to bear such unnatural Pressures, he fell extreamly sick; and having no Friend that could or durst visit him, none to supplicate but the merciless Causers of his Misery,

Poison often given to Overbury in the Tower.

tery, be without Knowledge of his Distemper, languish'd both in Body and Mind, after an unheard of Manner.

Rochester made Earl of Somerset.
He marries the Countess of Essex.
In the mean Time the Countess being freed from her Husband, triumph'd and shin'd above all the Court Ladies, and became admir'd by the King, as well as lov'd by *Rochester*; who to deserve so valuable a Lady was now created Earl of *Somerset*; and all the splendid Equipage, and magnificent Preparations, that could fill a Court with Delight, or the People with Wonder, were not wanting for the Marriage. On the twenty sixth Day of *December* the new Earl and Countess were marry'd at *Whitehall*, in the Presence of the King, Queen and Prince, and a great Confluence of the Bishops and Temporal Nobility: The Bishop of *Bath and Wells* marry'd them, and the Dean of *Westminster* preach'd the Nuptial Sermon, and that Night was concluded with a glorious Masque of Lords and Ladies; which a few Nights after was much exceeded by another of the Prince's Gentlemen, to the extraordinary Satisfaction

A. D. 1614. Reg. 12. The Pomp of the Nuptials.
of the King, who caus'd it to be acted a second Time, upon the third Day of *January*. But *Whitehall* was too narrow to contain the Triumphs for this Marriage, which were extended into the City; for on the next Day, the happy Pair, accompany'd by the Duke of *Lenox*, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, with a numerous Train of Nobility and Gentry, were invited to a Feast in the City at Merchant-Taylor's-Hall; where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen entertain'd them with extraordinary Pomp and Formality, and after the Treat with a *Wassaile*, two Masques, a Play and a Ball; and after all the whole Company were invited to a magnificent Banquet, which continu'd 'till three in the Morning. Before these Pleasures were well digested, upon *Twelfth-Day*, the Gentlemen of *Grays-Inn* invited the Bride and Bridegroom to a solemn Masque; which concluded all the triumphal Gaities of this remarkable Marriage.

Overbury in great Distress.
The Noise of these Rejoicings resounding in the most secret Recesses, brought the News to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a poor Relief to a Man in Misery, who was conscious to himself, that all his Sufferings proceeded from his Opposition to what was now fully surmounted; so that in his dark Confinement he could not see the least Glimmerings of Liberty, when he consider'd the implacable Nature of the Woman. But yet presuming upon the former Friendship between the Earl of *Somerset* and himself, he wrote to him in the midst of his Glory, to let him know his deplorable Condition, and how vastly his Health was impair'd, which he imputed to his Recluseness and want of Air; humbly imploring his Assistance, that he might no longer languish under the Burden of his intolerable Infirmities. *Somerset* not willing to have him exclaim, made Answer, That the King was now full of great Business; but he would take the first Opportunity to move him for his Relief, and make his great Indisposition a Ground for the King's Mercy; including in the Letter a White Powder, which he desir'd him to take; assuring him, *That tho' it made him a little sick at first, it would do him much good in the End*. The poor abus'd Gentleman took his Powder, which having a poisonous Quality, added to his Affliction; yet it was not strong enough to compleat the Design. The Lieutenant of the Tower daily listen'd to his Complaints with all the outward Marks of Commiseration, but always declar'd what he said to the Authors of his Calamities; so that his very Words were rack'd, as well as his Body tormented. Thus he continu'd in this dismal Place above four Months, languishing under unheard of Pains; 'till his Enemies being more impatient that he endur'd so long, than that he suffer'd so much, they finish'd their Work by an impoison'd Glyster compounded by *Franklin*, which in a few Days ended his miserable Life. Here we may see the unhappy Fate, and precarious Fame of Princes govern'd by Minions and Favourites; and how many Ways the King's Name was us'd and abus'd in perpetating this execrable Fact: First in procuring the King to send Sir *Thomas* on an Embassy into *Flanders*; Secondly in committing him to the Tower

His Death by Poison.

Tower for his Refusal; Thirdly in continuing a close Prisoner from all Relations and Servants, a Practice never known for a bare Contempt; and lastly in practising his Death, when he was under the King's immediate Protection.

The Earl of *Northampton*, who was a great Actor in this Tragical Event, inhumanly endeavour'd to kill him a second Time by ruining his Fame, and raising a Report, 'That he dy'd of the Pox, and had prodigious Sores and Ulcers in his Body, that produc'd such Putrefaction, that the People, unable to endure the noisome Smell, were forc'd to throw him in a loose Sheet into a Coffin, and bury him privately on Tower-Hill; concluding in a Letter to the Earl of *Somerset*, *That God was gracious in cutting off evil Instruments before their Time*; tho' he little imagin'd that he was then pronouncing his own Sentence and Doom. For he being one of the principal Ministers of State, and a Papist in Reality, tho' a Protestant by Profession, he did many Kindnesses to the *Roman* Catholicks contrary to Law; and a Letter of his being intercepted, that was directed to Cardinal *Bellarmino*, discover'd both his Religion and his Intentions: Which Things being first whisper'd, then urg'd against him, they touch'd him to the Heart; so that he suddenly retir'd, dispos'd of his Estate, and dy'd. He had a capacious Mind aiming at great Things, which he was the better able to effect by living a Batchelor to an old Age, being always attended with Gentlemen of Quality, to whom he was very bountiful. Leaving no Issue to propagate his Name, he built a noble House by *Charing-Cross* to continue it, by him call'd *Suffolk-House*, and since *Northumberland-House*. His contriving *Overbury's* Death was yet a Secret, and made no Noise against him; but when it broke out, Fame loaded his Memory with all the Blackness that Infamy and Odium could produce.

The Earl of Northampton's Death.

Still the great Favourite, the Earl of *Somerset*, and his Business met with no Stop nor Interruption, 'till by Degrees he perceiv'd he must a little alter his Biass, or find some new Ways to bring in Mony; for the Revenues of the Crown were not sufficient to maintain such vast Expences, occasion'd by his Riot, tho' he had all the Earl of *Westmorland's* Lands at his Marriage and Creation added to his Earldom. Therefore a new Project was advanc'd and now effected, which the Earl of *Salisbury* had formerly promoted, upon the Occasion of new Colonies and Plantations to be establish'd at *London-Derry* and *Colerain* in *Ireland*, of which Alderman *Cockain* was the first Governor. In order to promote these and the like Improvements, King *James* instituted a new Order of Knights, call'd *Baronets*, which were to be Hereditary, and to take Place next to Barons younger Sons, and appointed certain Laws to make them capable of being admitted: First that they should maintain thirty Foot Soldiers in *Ireland* for three Years, at the Rate of eight Pence a Day; and to pay down a whole Year's Wages at the passing of their Patent, the whole amounting to a thousand Pound for their Honour: That they should be Gentlemen of Blood of *Three Descents*; and lastly should have Land of Inheritance in Possession, or immediate Reversion, to the Value of a thousand Pounds a Year. Then to keep the Order from swarming, it was limited to the Number of two hundred, and as the Issue should fail, the Order to cease; of these Sir *Nicholas Bacon* in the County of *Suffolk* was the first. Sir *Richard Baker* observes, That he who examines how well the Institution and the Order has been observ'd, will find it to be here as it was in the Order of St. *Michael* in *France*, into which at first none were admitted but Princes and eminent Persons, but afterwards all Sorts of Men without Distinction, which made it a Question, Whether the Dignity of the Order did more grace the Persons, or the Meanness of the Persons disgrace the Order; and when the Laws of an Institution are not in some Measure observ'd, it seems to make a Nullity in the Collation.

The first Institution of Baronets.

Notwithstanding these, and other Projects of raising the Value of the Gold Coin, the King's Expences prov'd too large for his Incomes and Revenues; therefore after four Years Intermision, he resolv'd to have Recourse to a Parliament, which

The second Parliament in this Reign.

which was summon'd to meet on the fifth of *April*. There were several about the Court, presuming to have Friends in every County and Borough, undertook to make Elections of such Members for Knights and Burgesses, as should solely comply with the King's Desires; of whom *Somerset* was the Head and Chief: But this prov'd a meer Embrio, and became abortive. For the Parliament meeting according to their Summons, when they were excited to give Mony, in Consideration of the King's marrying his Daughter, and his unusual Entertainments, with other Expences, they instead of contributing to the King's Wants, freely laid open his Wastes, especially those made to the *Scots*, ' With whom they desir'd a Share of his Favour; also beseeching his Majesty to ' stem the Current of the future Access of that Nation to his Presence and ' Bounty. They likewise enquir'd into the Causes of the unexpected Encrease ' of Popish Recusants since the Gun-Powder Plot, the Detestation of which, ' they thought, should have utterly extinguish'd the whole Party; and this ' they found was owing to his Majesty's Admission of Popish Nobility into his ' Councils; his Silencing of many watchful and diligent Ministers; the several Treaties he had made, not only for the Marriage of the deceased Prince ' *Henry*, but for the present Prince *Charles*, with the Daughters of Popish ' Princes; all which disheartned the Protestant, and encourag'd the Recusant. These, and other Miscarriages in the Government being freely remonstrated, the King, without receiving any Advantage, or passing any Act, put a stop to all, and dissolv'd the Parliament on the seventh Day of *June*. After which he committed several of the most tumultuous Members of the Commons to the Tower and other Prisons, without Bail or Main-Prize. And lastly he proceeded to the most uneasie of all Aids in *England*, a *Benevolence* upon the Subject; where those that did not give their Mony, were oblig'd to give their Names: So that what was in its Nature and Essence a free Gift, was judg'd in its Effect and Consequence, a heavy Imposition.

It is dissolv'd.

The King of Denmark's second Arrival in England.

In the same Year, and the Month of *July*, *Christian* King of *Denmark*, out of a great Love to his Sister and King *James*, came a second Time into *England*; but being secure of himself, he travell'd privately, and with a small Retinue, so that he unexpectedly enter'd *Somerset-House*, where the Queen resided, before the Nation had any Knowledge of his Arrival. But King *James* being then in his Progress in *Bedfordshire*, upon the News of it, immediately return'd back; and after he had entertain'd him fourteen Days with Hunting, Hawking, Running at the Ring, Bear-Baiting, Plays, Fire-Works, and Fencings, on the first of *August*, Prince *Charles* brought him aboard his Ship, where he took his last Leave and return'd home. Thus these two Kings met with a Happiness, rare among Princes, of freely seeing and conversing with each other, without any Marks of Danger or Jealousie.

A. D. VI. The King having now reign'd above twelve Years in *England*, by
1615. turning the Stream of his Bounty into particular Channels, gave more and
Reg. 13. more Occasion to uneasie People to show their Disgusts and Resentments; for
he had generally the Misfortune, incident to many Princes, to be too much govern'd by Favourites. The Earl of *Somerset*, lately made Lord-Chamberlain, now like a mighty Coloss stood the Fury of all the Tempests rais'd against him, making those who carry'd the greatest Sail to strike and come under him; nor would he suffer any Place in Court, or Dignity in State, to be conferr'd on any, which was not sweeten'd with his Smile that gave it, or their Bounty that enjoy'd it. This Pride and Avarice, join'd to his other Miscarriages, caus'd such a Number of Underminers, that he soon found he had but a tottering Foundation, with no other Support but the King's Favour, which by Providence and inferior Accidents was gradually remov'd; making a Way towards the Vengeance due to the Blood of Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

For about this Time the King began to cast his Eye upon a new and brighter Object, a young Gentleman nam'd *George Villers*, a younger Son to Sir *George Villers* of *Brookesby* in *Leicestershire* by his second Lady of the Family of the *Beaumonts*. This promising Youth being left by his Father with a small Fortune, his Mother took an extraordinary Care in his Education; and having a beautiful Person and a graceful Deportment, to compleat his Accomplishments she sent him into *France*, where he spent two or three Years in attaining the Language, and perfecting himself in the Exercises of Riding and Dancing, which last was his Master-piece: And thus taught and qualify'd, and gloriously attir'd, at the Age of twenty one Years, he made his Appearance in the Court of *England*, after he had been well acquainted with the Nature and Customs of that of *France*. The Lord *Clarendon* observes, that King *James*, of all Wise Men living, was the most delighted and taken with handsom Persons and fine Cloaths; so that he was soon captivated with this pleasing Object, first affording him his Smiles, and making him his Cup-Bearer, and then bringing him nearer by several Steps, lest he should too much expose him to the Malice of a jealous Competitor. The Courtiers soon perceiving the King's Inclinations, began to adore this Rising Star, and the more because they hated *Somerfet*, and knew that the Rise of one Favourite would be the Ruin of the other; for which Reason also, the Queen her self, tho' she express'd great Fears of *Villers's* future Power, consented to join in his Advancement, to Suppress the exorbitant Authority of the other. He was Cup-Bearer but a few Weeks before he mounted higher, and being Knighted, without any other Qualification he was made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and then Knight of the Order of the Garter; and in a short Time, considering the Vastness of the Ascent, he was made a Baron, a Viscount, an Earl, and a Marquess, and became Lord High-Admiral of *England*, Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, Master of the Horse, and entirely dispos'd of all the Favours of the King, in conferring all the Honours and Offices of three Kingdoms without a Rival.

The Rise of George Villers.

His Greatness.

The Beginnings of these accumulated Graces became very formidable to the Earl of *Somerfet*, who as he began to decline, became more sensible of the Terrors arising from the innocent Blood of *Overbury*; therefore was as active to preserve himself, as his Enemies were to ruin him. Tho' nothing at present was laid to his Charge but the imbezelling some of the King's Jewels, yet finding himself in a tottering Condition, he threw himself at the King's Feet, acknowledging *The great Trust his Majesty had repos'd in him, and the mighty publick Weight lying upon him, which through Youth and Ignorance might make him slip into some Miscarriages; therefore he humbly besought his Majesty to grant him a general Pardon for what was pass'd, that he might not be expos'd to the Malice of those who would make the worst Interpretation of all his Actions.* The King who had rais'd this fair Edifice, being unwilling to have it quite destroy'd, gave Order for the drawing up a general Pardon, in so ample and full a Manner, that it might rather exceed than take rise from any former Precedent; which was immediately sent to the Broad-Seal. But the Queen having Intelligence of this, and using her Power with the Lord-Chancellor *Egerton*, put a stop to the Seal 'till the King should come to Town, who was then on his Progress in the West. And now what had been privately murmur'd in Corners openly resounded in the Streets; for the Apothecary's Boy that gave *Overbury* the Clifter, falling sick at *Flushing*, reveal'd the whole Practice, of which Sir *Ralph Wenwood*, Secretary of State, gave a full Relation by his Correspondent; and a small Breach being thus made, the Earl had Enemies enough to rush in and overwhelm him. The King being inform'd of these Transactions, and struck with Horror at the Relation, he sent for the Judges, and gave them strict Charge to examine the Matter with the utmost Severity, making Imprecations against them and their Families if they did not endeavour to discover it; and if he spar'd any that was guilty, he wish'd God's Curse

Somerfet declines.

Curse might light upon him and his Posterity; so Zealous the King appear'd in the Prosecution of this black Affair. Upon this he repair'd to *Royston*, and took *Somerſet* along with him, whose Ears were now continually tormented with fresh Reports and Discoveries; but he still thought himself too firm in the King's Favour to be remov'd. Therefore when the Lord Chief-Justice Cook sent for him, he went to the King with an open Complaint, reputing it an extraordinary Presumption; but the King made Answer, *Thou must go then, for if Cook sends for me I must go too*. Others say that when he came to take his Leave of the King, his Majesty embrac'd and kiss'd him often, urging him to hasten his Return, and showing an extream Concern to be without his Company, but as soon as he was gone, said with a Smile, *I shall never see thy Face again*. However it was, his Countess was apprehended before his Arrival at *London*, and committed to Custody in *Black-Friars*; and as soon as he came he was seiz'd, and committed to the Charge of Dr. *Mountain*, Dean of *Westminster*; and then they proceeded without Interruption, try'd, convicted, and condemn'd all the Offenders.

He and his Countess are imprison'd for Overbury's Murder.

The Condemnation of the rest of the Offenders.

Weston was the first Man examin'd and try'd, who stood very stiff and obstinate, till the Bishop of *London* on one side, and the Lord Cook on the other, so effectually manag'd him, that he laid open the whole Conspiracy; and being at the Gallows allur'd with Promises to deny his former Confession, his Mind being prepar'd for Death, he resisted the Temptation, and penitentially seal'd the Truth of it with his last Breath; and *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lumsden*, who had violently urg'd him to pervert Justice, were afterwards fin'd and imprison'd. Mrs. *Turner* follow'd next, a notorious Example of Pride and Lasciviousness, who now became sensible of the Follies and Impieties of her past Life. Sir *Jervaes Ellways*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was the third who suffer'd on Tower-Hill, and was pity'd more than the rest, being seduc'd by the Earl of *Northampton* to be a Spectator, rather than an Actor in this bloody Tragedy; which Connivance was too Criminal to be vindicated. At his Death he left two useful Sentences for human Instruction: The first, *Not to vow any thing to God, but to perform it*; the second, *Not to take too great Delight in a Pen*; for one began, and the other perfected his Ruin. The fourth that fell by the Hand of Justice was *Franklin*, a Man whose sordid Behaviour at his Death agreeing with his pernicious Life, his Memory deserves no further Notice.

After the Execution of these inferior Criminals, the primary Murderers, A. D. the Earl of *Somerſet* and his Countess, were solemnly arraign'd before their 1616. Peers; where all the scandalous Letters between the Lady and *Forman* were Reg. 14. read in open Court, and the Wax and Brazen-Poppets were publicly expos'd, to display the Folly, as well as the Malignity of her Actions. But the Earl and her self being both condemn'd to die, found the King's Mercy, notwithstanding his former Imprecation, and after some Time of Imprisonment in the Tower were set at Liberty, and liv'd in private and obscure Condition: Manifesting, That no Content or Happiness can be truly establish'd, but on the solid Foundation of Justice. For that Love that caus'd them to break through all Reason and Opposition, either on her Side declining towards some new Object, as was commonly reported; or on his inclining to Reluctancy towards the old, became at length so languid, that it quite pin'd away, and they liv'd long after in the same House as Strangers to each other. Her Death happen'd first, having all reasonable Marks of the Vengeance of Heaven, being accompany'd with such loathsome and prodigious Circumstances, as are not fit to be mention'd, only that they were directly opposite to all the fatal Charms of her former Beauty that ever could produce Love or Desire. The Earl's Death was obscure, without Fame, and without Posterity; of whom we shall say no more, but that he had several commendable Qualities, and publick Affections, till they were all swallow'd up in this Gulf of Beauty, which plung'd him into these

Their Exits.

these dangerous Contrivances. Sir *Thomas Monson*, another of the Countesses Agents, had pass'd one Day's Trial at *Guildhall*; but the Lord Chief-Justice *Cook*, in his Rhetorical Flourishes at his Arraignment, dropp'd some Expressions, as if he could discover more than the Death of a private Person; intimating, tho' remotely, That *Overbury's* untimely Death had some thing in it of Divine Retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the same Crime against Prince *Henry*; blessing himself with Admiration at the Horror of such Actions. In which he flew to so high a Strain, that he was taken down by a Court Lure, Sir *Thomas Monson's* Trial laid aside, and he soon after set at Liberty, and the Judge was humbled ever after. This sudden stopping of *Monson's* Trial, fill'd Mens Minds with strange Imaginations; and the Lady *Arabella* dying about this Time in the Tower rais'd new Apprehensions and Suspicions, that she dy'd no natural Death; so naturally does one evil Action introduce the Belief of another. The Lady was Daughter to *Charles Stuart*, younger Brother to the Father of King *James* by *Elizabeth Cavendish*, who privately marry'd to Sir *William Seymour*, Son to the Lord *Beauchamp*, and Grandson to the Earl of *Hartford*: So that both were at some Distance ally'd to the Crown; which caus'd all her Trouble and Confinement, so dangerous is every Appearance that borders upon Sovereign Titles.

The Lady Arabella's Death.

During the several Trials of *Overbury's* Murtherers, some publick Acts were perform'd of another Nature; particularly a memorable one was compleated by Mr. *Hugh Middleton*, a Citizen and Gold-Smith in *London*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, with infinite Expence, and indefatigable Labour, brought Water to the City of *London* from the two great Springs of *Chadwell* an *Amwell* in *Hartfordshire*; having cut a Channel from thence to a Place near *Islington*, whither he convey'd it to a large Pond, and from thence in Pipes of young Elms to all Places of the City. As this was a great Conveniency to the City, so another Act was perform'd which added much to the Pleasure of the Place: For on the North-Side of *London*, a Place call'd *Moorfields*, environ'd with deep stinking Ditches, and noisom Common-shoars, was now not only made fair and sweet, but so levell'd into Walks, and set with Trees, that it became the pleasantest Place in all the City. On the following Year another thing was done for the Benefit and Beauty of the City; for *Smithfield*, which was before a rude and miry Place, was now pav'd all over, and strong Rails separating the middle Part of it, were set up to make it a fair Walking-Place, and fit for Markets, or any other publick Use.

Several Conveniences added to the City.

VII. In these peaceable Times, the Temples of *Janus* being shut, all warlike Habiliments were turn'd into Masking-Attire, *Halcyon* Days shin'd round the Isle, and the Influence of the King's pacifick Mind had almost an universal Operation. *Spain's* Ambition was content to be bounded with the *Pyrenean* Hills and the *Atlantick* Ocean, reaping the Fruits of *Italy* and *Sicily*, hoarding the Treasures of the *Indies*, and willingly singing a *Requiem* to the *Netherlands*. *France* wanting sufficient Exercise, began to surfeit with Diseases at home, which by Fits broke out into Tumours among themselves: And the *Germans* were swell'd into a Dropsie of Voluptuousness, by a continu'd Plenty, and the Delights of Peace. In these Times of Rest, the grand Care and Concern of the King of *England* was for his only Son *Charles*, now about seventeen Years of Age, whom this Year he solemnly made Prince of *Wales*, with a Creation of twenty five Knights of the *Bath*, and a publick Tournameant of forty Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court*. But the principal Part of his Care was how to find a proper Match for him, about which he was so earnest and intent, that for most of the latter Part of his Reign, it over-rul'd all his Counsels, and had a mighty Influence upon the whole State of Christendom. His Intentions were ever Zealous for the Honour and Height of Royal Majesty, and his Desire was to match him with one of the highest Rank; tho' of a different Religion. There-

A. D. 1616. Reg. 14.

The King's Son Charles made Prince of Wales.

Wilson, Baker, Spuffwood, Rushmer, An. C. 1616.

Therefore his Thoughts were so long and earnestly fix'd upon *Spain*, that it gave that King great Advantages over him and his Creatures. There had been a Treaty of Marriage between the late Prince *Henry* and a Daughter of *Spain*, which on the *Spaniard's* Part was found to be a meer Compliment, carry'd on with the accustomed Gravity and Formality of that Nation. For the wise Earl of *Salisbury* pursu'd and drove the Matter to that Point, that the Duke of *Lerma*, wanting further Evasions, disclaim'd the very Being of a Marriage-Treaty. Nevertheless, the *Spanish* Ambassador, to acquit himself to *England*, and vindicate his Honesty, openly produc'd his Commission, together with Letters of Instruction from the Duke's own Hand: Which manner of Dealing might have been a sufficient Cause of Indignation against any future Motions of this Nature.

*His Father's
Designs for his
Marriage.*

*The Manage-
ment with
Spain.*

Therefore after the Death of Prince *Henry*, King *James* turn'd his Thoughts upon a Daughter of *Henry* the Fourth, late King of *France*, as the most proper Match for his Son *Charles*; and by Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, his Legier Ambassador, endeavour'd to know the Mind of that Court; but could not discern their Affections, being not very willing to discover his own. At length, in this Year 1616, he took an Occasion to send the Lord *Hayes* extraordinary Ambassador to the *French* King, with unusual Pomp and Magnificence, to Congratulate his Marriage with *Anne* the Infanta of *Spain*; and at that Time resolv'd to make a full and compleat Trial. The Subject Matter was declar'd, and in Appearance well approv'd, but still had no Success; for the Duke of *Savoy* had engag'd King *Lewis*, and prevail'd for his Son the Prince of *Piedmont*. In the very Time of this Negotiation in *France*, the Duke of *Lerma* frequently intimated to Sir *John Digby*, Ambassador in *Spain*, 'An extraordinary Desire in the King his Master, not only to maintain Amity with the King of *Great Britain*, but to join in all Methods that might be offer'd for the nearer Uniting of their Majesties, and their Crowns; as also a Disposition in this regard, to marry his second Daughter to the Prince of *Wales*. The Ambassador, remembring the last Defeat, was extraordinary cautious how he gave Ear to the *Spaniard's* Proposals; but after many Debates, innumerable Scruples rais'd, and Difficulties urg'd, the Matter was brought to this Issue, 'That the several Difficulties should be digested into certain Heads, and select Persons be appointed for a Conference, but with this Proviso, That the Kings on either side should not be interested, nor their Names us'd, 'till by clearing of Particulars there should be great Appearances that the Marriage would take effect. Upon a Review of these Proceedings, *Digby* advis'd King *James*, 'Not to suffer his other Resolutions to be interrupted by this Overture, which might be made purely to divert the Match with *France*, and to keep his Majesty from declaring himself against *Spain*, in the Affairs of *Cleves* and *Juli-ers*, still undermin'd; nevertheless, he might be pleas'd for a while to spend the *French* Treaty, and to entertain this Motion; to which End he desir'd from him, only some private Instructions for his Direction and Warrant. These remote Conferences made Way for that tedious solemn Treaty of several Years Continuance, in which the Advantage was apparent on the *Spaniard's* side, who was indeed very formal and specious in it, but no ways warm and vigorous, if in any Degree real. But King *James* having a violent Inclination that way, when he was once induc'd and elevated with Hopes, was so fix'd upon it, that he would grant all Things possible rather than break it, and was impatient in dissembling his own Eagerness. This Affair was chiefly manag'd by the famous *Gondomar*, a Man exquisitely form'd for the Purpose, who by his facetious Ways had highly captivated the King's Affections.

The King now endeavour'd to move all Impediments that lay in the Way to his darling Design, and study'd all Methods to render himself acceptable to *Spain*. The Walls of *Great Britain*, the *English* Fleet, once the strongest of all *Europe*, now lay useless in the Road, disarm'd and in a ruinous Condition; while *Gon-*
domar

domar, as we are told, alledg'd to King *James*, that the refitting and furnishing of it would raise Suspicion in the King his Master, and avert his Mind from the design'd Alliance. Moreover the King resolv'd to surrender the three Towns of *Flushing*, *Ramekins* and *Brill*, which were held by Way of Caution from the United Provinces 'till vast Sums were repaid, and which were the Keys of the *Netherlands*, and open'd the Passages in and out of the *Maes*, the *Rhine*, and the *Scheld*. For a Sum not amounting to the tenth Part of the Debt, due at this Time from *Holland* to *England*, he freed himself from those Places, to prevent Requests and Propositions from the King of *Spain*, who claim'd the Propriety of them; and *Gondomar* push'd hard to obtain them, as knowing the great Advantage of their Situation. Such was the King's Care and Contrivance to keep Faith with the Confederate States, and not disoblige *Spain*; and to make this appear a politick Action, it was alledg'd, That the vast Expence in keeping those Forts, was as considerable as the Advantages of Possession. However the States were certainly great Gainers, and all the Power of the *English* Interest in their Country was by this Means weakned, and brought to a Period; and the Alienation between King *James* and these Provinces, which appear'd of late, and was nourish'd by *Bernvelt* a Pensioner of *Spain*, was now increas'd, by the Observation and Discovery of his Compliances with *Spain*.

The King delivers the Cautionary Towns to Holland.

His Interest lost in those Parts.

Before these Transactions, several Alterations were made in the Ministry, beginning with a Breach between the Lord Chief-Justice *Cook*, and the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, which made a Passage to both their Declensions. Sir *Edward Cook* was discharg'd from his Place, and within two Days Sir *Henry Montague*, the King's Serjeant at Law, was plac'd in his Room. The Person remov'd was a Man of excellent Parts, and an extraordinary Lawyer, but Passion and Pride was too predominant in him; yet being turn'd out chiefly by *Villers*, he might have been restor'd, if he would have given a Gratuity; but he honourably answer'd, *A Judge ought not to receive, or give a Bribe*. About the same Time, the Lord Chancellor, weary with the Employment and weakned with Age, desir'd the King's Permission to retire; upon which the Seal and Place was given to the famous Sir *Francis Bacon*, the Attorney-General; and the Lord *Egerton*, or rather *Ellesmer*, wore out the Remainder of his Life in Quiet, dying in a good old Age full of Honour and Fame, proving the Fountain of a noble Posterity, who were afterwards advanc'd to the Earldom of *Bridgewater*. Time and Age had also worn out Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the King's able and faithful Secretary, who dying, Sir *Robert Naunton*, and Sir *George Calvert*, were made Secretaries; Men of contrary Religions and Parties, but join'd by the King, like contrary Elements, to find a Medium between them. But the greatest Remove was the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord Treasurer, who began to sink upon *Somerset's* Fall; and now both his and his Wife's Extortions and Briberies being laid open, he not only lost his Place, which was given to Sir *Henry Montague*, but was also fin'd thirty thousand Pounds. About the same Time, Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative Court, being charg'd by his own Servant with Bribery, he was turn'd out of his Place, and censur'd in the Star-Chamber to pay twenty thousand Pounds; being succeeded by *William Byrde*, a Man of greater Integrity. Also Sir *Henry Yelverton*, the King's Attorney, for secretly adding new Privileges to the Charter of *London*, was remov'd in Displeasure, and Sir *Thomas Coventry* put in his Room; tho' afterwards *Yelverton*, for his great Undertakings in the Law, was made a puisny Judge of the Common-Pleas.

Several Removals.

Sir Francis Bacon Lord Chancellor.

The Earl of Suffolk's Fall.

As there were frequent Varieties in Matters of State, so great Waverings were now discover'd in Mens Minds in Points of Religion; some went over from the Church of *England* to the See of *Rome*, and others came from *Rome* into the *English* Church. Among the rest, one of eminent Note, *M. Antonius de Dominis*, Arch-Bishop of *Spalato*, a Man tho' old, corpulent and unfit for

A. D.

1617.

Reg. 15.

The Arch-Bishop of Spalato's Arrival.

for Travel, came into *England*. Here he both preach'd and wrote against the Church of *Rome*; and extoll'd the Protestant Religion, 'till he came to be made Dean of *Windsor*, and Master of the *Savoy*, which he enjoy'd some Years: And then, whether out of an Humour of Change, or in Expectation of greater Preferment at home, he return'd to *Rome*, where he renounc'd and reproach'd the Protestant Religion: But all he could do to satisfie that Court had no Effect, for the *Inquisition* laid hold upon him, he dy'd in Prison, and after his Death they burnt his Body for a Heretick. We are assur'd that to this Man the World has been oblig'd for that noble History of *The Council of Trent*; for by his Means and the Measures he had concerted with the famous Father *Paul*, before he left *Italy*, Arch-Bishop *Abbot* got the Manuscript transmitted by Parcels into *England*.

The King's Journey to Scotland.

It was now above fourteen Years since the King had seen his native Country *Scotland*, whereupon he resolv'd to take a Progress thither, beginning his Journey in the Spring, and warming the Country as he went with the Glories of the Court. In his slow Passage, the Days were generally shorten'd with the Diversions of Hawking, Hunting, and Horse-Racing, and the Nights extended by the Entertainments of Feasting, Masking and Dancing. And the King had proper Instruments for these Sports about his Person, as Sir *George Goring*, Sir *Edward Zouch*, Sir *John Fennit*, and others, who knew exactly how to please his Majesty with their Witticisms, their Disguises and Maskarades; but chiefly his great Favourite *Villers*, who being an excellent Dancer, brought that Pastime into the highest Request. Upon this Man he had shower'd many Titles and Preferments, one of which was Earl of *Buckingham*, who now reign'd sole Monarch in the King's Affections; his Majesty could not be well without him, and the Nobility could not be happy but by his Means, so that all Addresses were made to him for every Place or Office, in the Court or Country. In the Disposal of which, the Lord *Clarendon* says he was guided more by the Rules of Appetite than of Judgement, exalting almost all his own numerous Family, and Dependants, whose greatest Merit was their Alliance to him; which equally offended the ancient Nobility and the People, who daily saw the Flowers of the Crown fading and wither'd, and the Demeasns and Revenues sacrific'd to enrich a private Family, scarce known to the Nation, and the Expences of the Court so vast and unlimited, that they had a sad Prospect of that Poverty and Necessity, which afterwards fell on the Crown, almost to the Ruin of it. The King enter'd *Scotland* in the beginning of *May*, where he stay'd about three Months, took several Progresses, receiv'd many Entertainments, and made several Establishments, and return'd into *England* in the Month of *August*.

The King's Return.

The Book of Sports published.

The King being a great Lover of Sports and Recreations, this Year put out a Book, that gave Tolleration for the use of all common Pastimes after Evening Prayers on *Sundays*; which was call'd *The Book of Sports*, and all Ministers were enjoyn'd to read it to their Parishioners in the Churches, and those who refus'd were summon'd into the High-Commission Court, imprison'd and suspended; all which gave great Offence to many pious and conscientious Persons, and was one Cause of the many Mischiefs in the succeeding Reign. This new Encroachment upon the Sabbath gave both King and People more Liberty to prophane the Day with Authority; tho' the Arch-Bishop, and several of the Bishops, took the Liberty to declare against such Practices. And as Prophaneness crept in on one Side, so Superstition increas'd on the other, by the means of new Swarms of *Romish* Priests, who now dealt much in pretended miraculous Operations. One Company of them repair'd to *Staffordshire*, among the Family of the *Giffords* in that Country, Gentlemen of plentiful Estates, where they practis'd their subtle Artifices to seduce the People. Among which there was a notorious Instance of the Boy of *Bilston*, who pretended to be bewitch'd and possess'd by the Devil, proving one of the greatest Impostures of the

The Boy of Bilston an Impostor.

the Age. After he had plaid many strange and deluding Tricks, and caus'd a poor Woman to be condemn'd for a Witch at the Assizes, the Cheat was by much Time and Diligence detected by Dr. *Morton* Bishop of the Diocese, who happily preserv'd an innocent Woman, display'd the *Roman* Forgeries, and converted a wicked Boy, who afterwards prov'd a good Man; as the whole Story may be seen at large in *Wilson*.

About this Time the Fate of the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh* began to operate after a peculiar Manner; of whom Prince *Henry* was wont to say, *That no King but his Father would have kept such a Man in a Cage*. He had been almost two Years releas'd out of the Tower, where he had been a Prisoner twelve Years, during which he compil'd his incomparable History of the World; a Design and Performance so great, that no other Man of less Parts and Abilities could have accomplish'd. Being now enlarg'd, and desirous of Action and a full Liberty, he propos'd to the King to undertake a Voyage to *America*, upon a particular Assurance from one Captain *Kemish* of gaining a Mine of Gold in *Guiana*, a Country which he had formerly known. The King knowing him to be a Man of Skill and Bravery, gave him Liberty, and a Commission under the great Seal of *England* to set out Men and Ships for that Service; but commanded him upon his Allegiance to give under his Hand, the Number of his Men, the Burthen and Strength of his Ships, together with the Country and River which he was to enter. All which was exactly done, and came so timely to *Gondomar's* Knowledge, that a full Account was sent to *Spain*, and from thence to the *Indies*, before the *English* Fleet set Sail from the *Thames*: So that Sir *Walter* was unfortunately betray'd in the Beginning of a Design, which some thought so Romantick in it self.

Sir Walter Raleigh undertakes a Voyage to America.

He is betray'd.

In the mean Time his Reputation and Merit brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Estates and Persons, in this promising Enterprize; and being gallantly furnish'd with all Things necessary for Peace or War, they set out with ten Ships, encountring no Difficulties 'till they came to *Cape Verde* in *Africa*; but there, and at *Bravo*, they met with many violent Storms, which prov'd a great Hindrance to their Voyage, being forc'd to leave their Cables, Anchors and Water-Casks behind them; so that by length of Time, Heat of the Climate, and Want of Water, a great Sicknefs fell among them, and swept away many of their best Men, both for Sea and Land Service. But with much Patience and Hardships gaining Sight of the Coast of *Guiana*, they came to Anchor in the River *Caliana*; where they landed their sick Men, set up Barges and Shallops that were brought out of *England* in Quarters, wash'd their Ships, and took in fresh Water, being furnish'd and assisted by the *Indians* whom Sir *Walter* had formerly known. He, in this general Contagion, having struggled with a long Sicknefs, and being yet unable to move otherwise than in a Chair, gave order to five small Ships to sail up the River *Orinoque*, under the Conduct of Captain *Kemish*, towards the Mine of which he had inform'd Sir *Walter* in *England*. In these five Ships were as many Companies of Foot, under Command of Captain *Walter Raleigh* the General's eldest Son, Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Captain *Thornhurst*, and Captain *Chedley*, Gentlemen of great Valour, and infinite Patience, in suffering Hunger, Heat and Labour. As they pass'd up the River, the *Spaniards* began the War, and fir'd at the *English* Ships with great and small Shot; yet still they landed their Forces without much Loss, near the Town call'd *St. Thomas*, of which with little Difficulty they made themselves Masters, but with the Death of Captain *Raleigh*, to the great Grief of the Assailants. Tho' the *Spaniards* were not strong enough to defend the Town, yet they were sufficiently prepar'd to secure the Mine; so that Captain *Kemish* finding it impracticable to get up to it by Water, and the Avenues by Land so well guarded, he thought the Enterprize too hazardous, and with deep Sorrow return'd.

He Lands in Guiana.

St. Thomas taken.

Ffffff

Sir

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with the News of his Son's unhappy Death, and the fruitless Return of *Kemish*, was touch'd to the very Soul, crying out to *Kemish*, *That he had utterly ruin'd him, and wounded his Credit with the King beyond Recovery; but he, who was the first Mover of the Design, must expect to bear the weight of the King's Anger as well as himself.* *Kemish*, as deeply tormented as himself, and less able to sustain the Burden, retir'd to his Cabin overwhelmed with Melancholy, and shot himself; and the Bullet only breaking the Rib, which was too slow for his Fury, he desperately thrust a Knife in after it up to the Haft, and with him the Glory of the whole Voyage expired. For the Design being thus discover'd and broken, their Ships being leaky, Provisions failing, and the Men missing the Golden Showers they expected, several of them began to Mutiny, some would return home; and the major Part forc'd the General to swear, not to go home without their Allowance. Then some would go for *Italy*, some for *France*, and few for *England*, fearing the *Spanish* Power there more than they did in the *Indies*; and thus being shatter'd in Judgement, with greater Storms than the Seas and Winds had produced, Sir *Walter* at length arriv'd with four Ships at *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, where he staid for some short Space in Safety.

The Voyage unsuccessful.

A. D. 1618. The News of the taking and burning *St. Thomas* coming to *Gondomar*, he violently set upon the timorous King, and insisted upon Reparation; and the Matter was aggravated with the blackest Circumstances by those of the *Spanish* Faction, as if this Enterprize not only might make a Breach of that design'd Marriage between Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta*, but also prove an Infringement of the Peace and Amity establish'd between the two Crowns. The King's Fears being kindled into Anger, he disavow'd the whole Action; and lest other of his Subjects should by this Example attempt the like Hostility against *Spain*, he issu'd out a Proclamation, in which he shew'd his Detestation of such Proceedings, and threaten'd severe Punishment to the Actors; which gave some Satisfaction to *Gondomar*, whose chief Design was now to get Sir *Walter Raleigh* into his Power. Therefore he subtly veil'd over his Resentments, that whilst Sir *Walter* lay in *Ireland*, he neither found nor heard of such great Difficulties, but that he might appear safely in *England*; and the Men not willing to be banish'd their own Country, put in at *Plimouth*. *Raleigh* was no sooner on Shoar, but he had private Intimation, which gave him Cause to suspect the Smoothness of the Beginning would have a rough Conclusion: Therefore he attempted an Escape from thence in a Bark of *Rockelle*; but being suddenly apprehended by Sir *Lewis Stukley*, his Kinsman, who had a private Warrant for that Purpose, he was brought to *London*, and recommittd to the Tower, from whence he attempted a second Escape, but was taken upon the *Thames*, and more closely committed. Being now in safe Custody, all his Transactions in this Voyage were put upon the Rack, and by his Adversaries stretch'd to his Disadvantage; yet he still excus'd the main Charge by saying he was forc'd to take *St. Thomas* by the *Spaniards* first attacking him, without which he could not arrive at the Mine. *Gondomar* prov'd an Adversary too powerful for him, so that at length his Life was offer'd up as a Sacrifice for *Spain*, but not upon such Grounds as that Ambassador had design'd: For he desir'd a Judgement upon the pretended Breach of Peace, that by this Occasion he might subtly gain from the *English* an Acknowledgement of his Master's Right in those Parts of *America*, and prevent all future Attempts of that Kind. But the late Voyage was not so much as brought into Question, only his former Condemnation, which was believ'd to have been obtain'd by an Artifice, was now reviv'd; his Arraignment at *Winchester* fifteen Years before was laid before him at the King's Bench-Bar, where it was demanded of him, *Why Execution should not pass upon him, according to the Sentence therein pronounc'd?* Sir *Walter* courageously answer'd, *That he was restor'd by the King's late Commission, which gave him new Life and Vigour; for he that has Power over*

The King disavows the Design.

Raleigh committed to the Tower.

His former Sentence reviv'd against him.

the Lives of others must necessarily be Master of his own. This reasonable Plea was by no means admitted by the Court, therefore he desir'd that some Time might be allow'd him to prepare for Death; but it was answer'd, *That the Time appointed was the next Morning, and it was not to be doubted, but that he had long since prepar'd himself for Death.*

The next Day, to the deep Concern of many worthy Persons, he was brought to a Scaffold purposely erected in the *Palace-Yard* in *Westminster*, where with a brave Constancy and Christian Courage he lost his Head, in the sixty sixth Year of his Age; at which Stroke such Abundance of Blood issu'd from his Veins, as shew'd he had a sufficient Stock to have continu'd many Years, if it had not been taken away by the Hands of Violence. This was the fatal End of the great Sir *Walter Raleigh*, highly in Favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake* the great Scourge and Terror of the *Spaniards*; a Man of extraordinary Bravery and admirable Abilities, who in his excellent Writings has nobly trac'd the Steps of the Divine Providence and Vengeance in the Falls of great Men, yet after all could not escape himself. This has given Occasion to others to trace those leading to his own Fate; and to insinuate, as the Hardships he sustain'd were Indications of the Hand of Heaven, so his unjust swallowing such large Portions of the Church's Revenues in the late Reign, and his thirsting after the Blood of the Earl of *Essex*, did at length call for Punishment, by a double Deprivation, one of Estate, and the other of Life.

He is beheaded.

His Character.

However, it was one of the great Blemishes of the Reign of King *James*, who now seem'd totally wedded to the *Spanish* Interest, or at least fully resolv'd to carry his Cause in the Marriage of Prince *Charles* with the *Infanta*. Therefore after many tedious Delays and Obstructions, he this Year enter'd into certain Articles with the King of *Spain*; the Sum of which were, 'That the Pope's Dispensation should be first obtain'd by the King of *Spain*: That the Children of this Marriage should not be compell'd in Matters of Religion, nor their Titles prejudic'd if they prov'd *Catholicks*: That the *Infanta's* Family might be *Catholick*, and have a decent Place for Divine Service, according to the Use of the Church of *Rome*, the Ecclesiasticks wearing their proper Habits: That she should have a competent Number of Chaplains, a Confessor, &c. That the Marriage should be first solemniz'd in *Spain* according to the Council of *Trent*, and afterwards reiterated so as to make it valid according to the Laws of *England*. In the allowing of these Articles, the King thus express'd himself, *Since this Marriage is to be with a Lady of a different Religion from us, it becomes us to be so tender, as on the one side to give them all Convenient Satisfaction, so on the other, to admit nothing that may blemish our Conscience, or detract from the Religion here establish'd.* The People of *England*, equally hating the *Spaniards* and the *Popish* Religion, were irreconcilably averse to the Marriage, and would have bought it off at the dearest Rate; and as far as they durst oppos'd it by Speeches, Counsels, Wishes and Prayers; but if any spoke lower than the rest, he was soon silenc'd or check'd from above; when as in *Spain* and in *Flanders*, Books and Pictures were publish'd to expose both the King and State, for which the *English* Ambassadors in vain sought for Satisfaction. The *English* *Catholicks* extremely desir'd the Match, hoping for a Moderation of Fines and Laws, perhaps a Toleration, if not a total Restoration of their Religion; for they gain'd more and more Indulgence by this slow-pac'd Treaty; and the Articles of Religion were long forming in the *Spanish* Court, and enlarg'd and multiply'd by endless Demands.

Articles of the Spanish Match.

The English averse to it.

The King at this Time was also busily employ'd in Matters of Religion, occasion'd by the Spreading of the Doctrines of *Arminius* in *Holland*, whose Followers were call'd *Remonstrants*. The King hearing some Years ago, that the States of *Holland* were determin'd to chuse one *Vorstius*, the chief of these *Remonstrants*, to be Divinity Professor in *Leyden*, whose Opinions were contrary

The King's Endeavours against Arminianism.

trary to those King *James* had imbib'd, he earnestly sollicit'd the States, both by his own Letters and by his Ambassador Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the said *Vorstius* to that Employment, lest his Doctrines should spread themselves into his Dominions. The Ambassador in the King's Name pressing the Matter, the States answer'd in Justification of *Vorstius*, 'That he was chosen according to ancient Custom, by the Curators of *Leyden*; and whereas he was afterwards charg'd by some Persons to be unsound in Doctrine, the Curators thought fit, with the Consent of *Vorstius*, that both at *Leyden* and the *Hague*, he should appear and answer his Accusers, which he did, and none came to charge him. But not long after six Ministers undertook to prove that *Vorstius* had publish'd false Doctrine, who being heard in a full Assembly of the States, they could find no Reason to displace him: And they assu- redly believ'd, That if his Majesty of *Great Britain* were inform'd of the true Circumstances of this Affair, he would according to his great Wisdom conceive favourably of them; their Proceedings being with all Reverence, Care and Respect to his Majesty's serious Admonition. The King perceiving by this Answer, that the States thought too well of *Vorstius* that they would not comply with his Request, he caus'd his Books to be publicly burnt in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, and in both the Universities, and again wrote to the States, That if they did not displace him, he would publicly protest against them. Sir *Ralph Winwood* represented this to the States, and finding them cold and backwards in proceeding against *Vorstius*, he severely remonstrated against them; to which the King finding them only to make dilatory Answers, he at last exhorted them to call a National Council, to put an End to these Controversies, to which they at length consented.

The *Arminians* or *Remonstrants* knowing that they were like to be out-number'd, oppos'd the calling of a Council; and it was discover'd that *Barnevelt*, the chief of the *Remonstrants*, now *Arminius* was dead, had secretly levy'd Soldiers in *Utrecht*, to defend themselves against *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, who sided with the contrary Party; on Notice of which the Prince with five hundred Men march'd to *Utrecht*, which struck such a Terror into the new levy'd Companies, that at the first Word of Command they laid down their Arms and submitted. After this, *Barnevelt*, *Hogenberts*, *Leydenberg*, and *Grotius*, the four Chiefs of the *Arminian* Party, were seiz'd, and committed to several Prisons. *Leydenberg* in Despair stabb'd himself in Prison; *Hogenberts* and *Grotius* were condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment; but *Grotius* after some Time, made an escape in a Trunk, which his Wife told the Soldiers of the Castle was full of *Arminian* Books, which they would send away that they might not distract her Husband's Head. *Barnevelt* met with the hardest Fate, for he was beheaded at the *Hague*: Yet he liv'd long enough to see his own Opinions condemn'd at a National Synod held at *Dort*, whither King *James* sent Dr. *Carlton*, Bishop of *Landaff*; Dr. *Hall*, Dean of *Worcester*; Dr. *Davenant*, Divinity Professor, and Master of *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*; Dr. *Ward*, Master of *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*; and Mr. *Belcanquel*, a *Scotchman* and Batchelor of Divinity; where they met with Divines from the *Palatine*, *Hesse*, *Geneva*, *Bern*, *Emden*, and other Provinces, who generally agreed to condemn the Doctrines of *Arminius*, concerning Conditional Election and Reprobation, the Universality of Redemption, &c. But herein King *James* in a great Measure lost his Aim; for this Censure caus'd these deep Points to be more nicely search'd and examin'd, and these condemn'd Opinions sprouted and gather'd Strength by being topt by a combin'd Party; so that in this and the next Reign, *Arminianism* became fashionable in *England*, and was generally oppos'd to *Puritanism*.

Shortly after there appear'd a mighty Blazing-Star in *Libra*, which occasion'd Variety of Conjectures concerning its Influence and Prognostication. Many thought it portended the Death of *Queen Anne*, who after its Appearance

The Synod of
Dort.

Queen Anne's
Death.

ance dy'd of a Dropsey at *Hampton-Court*, when she was forty five Years of Age. She was brought from thence to her Palace in the *Strand*, for the more triumphant Glory of her Obsequies, which were celebrated at *Westminster* above a Month after. She dy'd on the first Day of *March* 16¹⁸₉, to the deep Concern of all good Men and loyal Subjects; leaving behind her the Name of a peaceable and dutiful Wife, and a virtuous and pious Queen.

Wilson.
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VIII. The King for a considerable Space continu'd a very melancholy Widower; which was a sort of Introduction to further Troubles, Perplexities and Imbarassments, from which he was scarce ever free all the rest and most infirm Part of his Reign. These had their Rise from the Fires that broke out in *Germany* in the preceding Year, between the Protestant Princes and the House of *Austria*; which Commotions involv'd and drew along the Affairs of most Christian Princes, especially the two Potent Kings of *England* and *Spain*. The Catholick Cause, and the Lot of the House of *Austria*, induc'd and oblig'd the King of *Spain*, who was the strongest Branch of that Family; and King *James* was engag'd both by common and particular Interest, the Religion he profess'd, and the State of his Son-in-Law, the Elector *Palatine*, who was a principal Agent in these Wars. It was a mighty Concern to the whole Christian World, and the Issue had a main Dependance upon the King of *England*, being the most powerful Prince of the Protestant Profession; but his Proceedings were now strangely govern'd by the unhappy *Spanish* Treaty; so that it brought great Dishonour to himself, and insuperable Calamities to his Son-in-Law.

A. D.

1619.

Reg. 17.

The King's
Troubles.

The *German* Troubles and Commotions began with the Emperor's Crowning his Cousin *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; but with a Reservation of all Regal Power to himself during Life. The Consequence of this soon prov'd a terrible Oppression of the Protestants in *Bohemia*, which at that Time were very numerous, and had large Privileges, as well as great Power and Authority. These States and Nobles of the Country, summoning an Assembly at *Prague* to redress their Grievances, were oppos'd by some of the Emperor's Ministers of State, the very Day of their Meeting; the Manner of which exasperated them to such a Height of Passion, that they threw *Slabata* the Emperor's Chief-Justice, *Smesantius* one of the Council, and *Fabritius* the Secretary, from a high Window into the Castle Ditch. Upon cooler Thoughts the *Bohemians* endeavour'd to palliate this rash Action by Apologies to the Emperor; but at the same Time they strengthen'd themselves with new Levies both of Horse and Foot, the better to secure their own Peace, and to banish the main Incendiaries, the *Jesuits*, out of *Prague*, whose distemper'd Zeal had first kindled the Flame. The Emperor finding these Disturbances, rais'd an Army under the Command of Count *Bucquoy*; and the Protestant States perceiving the Emperor inrag'd, rais'd two Armies, one commanded by Count *Thurne*, and the other by Count *Mansfeldt*. Some Skirmishes pass'd between the Imperial and *Bohemian* Forces, and some Towns were taken on both Sides; but in the Heat of these Contests, the old Emperor dy'd in the Beginning of the Year 1619. Upon which the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who in the *Interregnum* is chief Vicar of the Empire, publish'd his Right by the Golden Bull to govern in Chief, 'till a new Emperor be chosen; and by Advice he assum'd the Power, requiring the People to demean themselves peaceably under his Government.

The Troubles
in Germany.

The Emperor
Matthias dies.

After many Struggles, *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and adopted Heir of *Matthias* the late Emperor, at *Frankfort* was elected King of the *Romans*, and afterwards crown'd Emperor of *Germany*. The States of *Bohemia* disclaim'd the Election as invalid, because he could not be an Elector himself as King of *Bohemia*; for that he had never been actually in Possession of the Crown. And tho' their Dissent could not lessen the Election of *Ferdinand* to

Ferdinand suc-
ceeds him.

to the Empire, yet they protested by Oath, never to acknowledge him their King. These Heats grew into greater Flames, and the Protestant States of *Moravia, Silesia, and Hungary*, join'd with the *Bohemians*, and banish'd the Jesuits. They were prosperous in the Beginning; but the *Austrian* Party receiv'd Vigour by new Supplies out of *Hungary* and *Flanders*; and the Emperor capitulated with the Duke of *Bavaria* to levy Forces to his Use, for the Expence of which he engag'd Part of his Country to him. The War daily increasing, the King of *England* interpos'd in these Differences, and sent the Viscount *Doncaster* extraordinary Ambassador to mediate a Reconciliation. His constant Love of Peace, and his present Fear of the fatal Issue of such Commotions, together with the Request of the King of *Spain*, mov'd him to undertake this Affair. It was the *Spaniard's* Policy to make him a Reconciler, and so by that Means to place him in a State of Neutrality, and frustrate the Hopes of that Support the Princes of the Union might expect from him by the Interest of the Count *Palatine*: For which Cause the King of *Spain* spread abroad specious Pretences, *That King James should be the sole and grand Arbitrer of this Cause of Christendom*. Nevertheless his Mediation was neglected by the Catholick Confederates, and his Ambassador slighted and postpon'd in the Business. And at the same Time, the King's Agent Mr. *Cottington*, being sensible of their unworthy Dealings in the Court of *Spain*, profess'd, *That his most useful Service, and best agreeing with his own Conscience, would be to disingage the King his Master*. However the *Bohemians* resolv'd to proceed in their own Way; and being assembled for that Purpose, with the Consent of their Confederates, they solemnly elected *Frederick Count Palatine* of the *Rhine*, for their King; still hoping to be strengthen'd and secur'd by the Alliance and Assistance of his Father-in-law, the King of *Great Britain*.

The Count Palatine elected King of Bohemia.

King James disapproves the Election.

The Count *Palatine* being elected King of *Bohemia*, immediately crav'd Advice of King *James* his Father-in-law, concerning the Acceptance of that Royal Dignity. When this important Business was debated in the King's Council, Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, whose Infirmities would not permit him to be present in the Consultation, wrote a zealous and fervent Letter to the Secretary of State, to urge the King's utmost Assistance in this critical Juncture, which might turn highly to the Advancement of the Protestant Religion all over *Europe*. But the King was unfortunately engag'd in those Ways, out of which he could not easily extricate himself. Besides it did not please him to find Kingdoms dispos'd after such a Manner, as that his Son-in-law should snatch a Crown out of so hot a Fire; and he was wont to say, *That the Bohemians made use of him, as the Fox did of the Cat's Foot to pull the Apple out of the Fire for his own Eating*. In the mean Time, before the King could give any Answer, the Count *Palatine* was persuaded by the Protestant States to accept of the Election; and thereupon he made his Entrance into *Prague* upon the last of *October*, and on the Fourth of *November* was solemnly crown'd King of *Bohemia*. Of all which he sent speedy Advice into *England*, excusing the Suddenness of this Action, because the Urgency of the Cause would admit of no further Deliberation. King *James* surpriz'd at this bold Step, disavow'd the Act, and would never so much as grace his Son-in-law with the Stile or Title of his new Dignity. But Sir *Richard Weston* and Sir *Edward Conway* were sent Ambassadors into *Bohemia*, to make up the Breach between the Emperor and the Elector *Palatine*. And he was so very apprehensive, lest the *Palatine's* Nearness to him might give Cause of Suspicion to his Brother of *Spain*, that he commanded his Agent *Cottington* to give that King plenary Information of all Proceedings, and to let him understand that whatever the *Palatine* had done, was without his Countenance, Procurement or Allowance. The King of *Spain*, tho' he condemn'd *Doncaster's* Proceedings, was at length satisfy'd with King *James's* Integrity, declaring, *That it would gain the more Authority and Estimation, if he should continue to disclaim that which had been done so contrary to his Opinion*.

The Count *Palatine* was no sooner settled in his new Kingdom, when the Emperor publish'd a Proscription against him, ' wherein he proclaim'd him ' guilty of High-Treason, excluded him out of the publick Peace, and profecuted him as the publick Enemy of the Empire, and a Contemner of his Imperial Majesty; likewise absolving all his Subjects from their Oaths and Duties to him, and commanding all Persons whatsoever to abandon him and his Adherents. All the Princes and Potentates in the Empire were alarm'd, and began to make ready for War, joining to that Side whither their Interests or Inclinations led them. In *Spain* also they made all Preparations for the same War; only the King of *England* would take no Alarm, abhorring War in general, and disliking the *Palatine's* Cause as a dangerous Precedent against Monarchy, being still fed with Hopes of composing all Differences by the Success of the *Spanish* Treaty. For which Purpose Sir *Walter Aston* was sent Ambassador into *Spain*, and *Gondomar* return'd into *England*, to continue there, 'till the long-debated Match should be concluded. The Articles of Religion for Securing Liberty of Conscience to the *Infanta* and her Family were greatly enlarg'd by the Commissioners, and allow'd by the King of *England*; but still without a Dispensation from *Rome*, all the Transactions were but Nullities. And for this Cause it was expected, that King *James* should propose such Conditions for the Increase and Advantage of the Catholick Religion, that the Pope might deliberate whether they might any ways merit the Dispensation. To this Demand the King made Answer in his Letter to the King of *Spain*, ' That ' he had done as much in Favour of the Catholicks as the Times would bear, ' and promis'd upon the Word of a King, That no *Roman* Priest, or other Catholick, should henceforth be condemn'd upon any Capital Law: And tho' he ' could not at present rescind the Laws, inflicting only pecuniary Mulets, yet ' he would so mitigate them, as to oblige his Catholick Subjects to him: And ' if the Marriage took effect, his Daughter-in-law should find him ready to indulge all Favours which she should request for those of her Religion. With this the *Spanish* Council acknowledg'd great Satisfaction; and a Paper was drawn up accordingly by a *Junto* of Canonists, Lawyers, and Divines, to persuade the Pope to perform his Part.

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Reg. 18.

The King of
Bohemia pro-
scribed by the
Emperor.

The Spanish
Designs.

In the mean Time an Army of thirty thousand Men was raising in *Flanders*, under the Command of the Marquis *Spinola*; which gave King *James* an Occasion to enquire after the Cause of such great Preparations. The Marquis gave Answer, That he receiv'd his Commission seal'd up, with a Command, not to open it 'till his Army was compleated, and brought to a Rendezvous; but the King had sufficient Proof to allure him, that his Army was design'd for the *Palatinate*. Yet after all, no more than one Regiment, under the Command of Sir *Horatio Vere*, could be obtain'd from him, tho' two more were promis'd. When *Spinola* had his Rendezvous, where he muster'd twenty six thousand Foot and four thousand Horse, he open'd his Commission, which requir'd him to make War against all such as should be confederate with the *Bohemian* Rebels; all which he communicated to the Ambassador of *Great Britain*. At the same Time the *English* began their March, with as brave a Regiment as had appear'd in any Age, consisting most of Gentlemen, under a most worthy Commander, who was accompany'd with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex*, Persons ennobled as well by their own Virtues, as by those of their Progenitors. This handful of Men reach'd the *Palatinate* with some Difficulty, by the particular Aid and Conduct of *Henry* Prince of *Nassau*. But *Spinola*, having got the Start of the *English*, by reason of a far shorter March, had no sooner arriv'd, but he took in several Towns, and greatly prevail'd over a dispirited People: Yet he cautiously declin'd the Hazard of a Battel with the Protestant Confederates; nor was the Marquis of *Ansbach*, the Head of them, very forward to engage his Forces. And now the great Access of Strength to the Emperor's Party, and this slender Aid from the King of *Great Britain*, to preserve his Childrens Inheritance,

Sir Horatio
Vere sent into
the Palatinate.

extreamly dishearten'd the *German* Princes, and at length dissolv'd the Confederacy. After a short Space, the Season of the Year advancing, the Princes of the Union retir'd into their several Countries, and the *English* Regiment was dispos'd into three principal Garrisons: Sir *Horatio Vere* commanded in *Manheim*, Sir *Gerard Herbert* in *Heidelberg*, and Captain *Burrows* in *Frankendale*; having only Power to preserve themselves in those Walls, while the Enemy rang'd the Country at their Pleasure.

But with small Success.

As the new King of *Bohemia* suffer'd extreamly in his Hereditary Dominions, so at this Time he met with a more severe Fate in his own Kingdom, which soon put a Period to his short Reign. The Imperial Forces gathering Strength under *Bavaria*, *Bucquoy*, and D. *Balthazar*, advanc'd towards *Prague*, with a Resolution to fight King *Frederick*; upon which the *Bohemians* quitted their Garrisons, to make their Army the more compleat. So upon the eighth Day of *Novemoer*, being *Sunday*, both Armies met for the fatal Decision of the grand Controversie: The *Bohemians* stood upon the most advantageous Ground, between the Imperialists and the City of *Prague*; but the Enemy breaking through, dispers'd and ruin'd the whole Army, and effectually pursu'd their Victory. The King and Queen, surpriz'd with this Defeat, among a wavering People, in a City not very defensible, were constrain'd to fly the next Morning, with what Things they could carry with them. The Queen, being of the more gallant Spirit, bore it with most Undauntedness; but the King suffer'd doubly as he went, being condemn'd for keeping his Soldiers without Pay, having a vast Mass of Money by him, which he was forc'd to leave behind him, to augment the Spoils of his Enemies. Thus after one Year's Reign, King *Frederick* first lost a deciding Battel, with all his Treasure, and shortly

The King of Bohemia de-feared at Prague.

He loses all after all his Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and not long after that, all his Hereditary Lands and Dominions in *Germany*; being at length forc'd to abandon his Native Country, all his Honours and Places, and with his Lady and Children retire into *Holland* for a Place of Refuge and Residence.

He loses all his Dominions.

The Spanish Policy.

The Misfortunes of this Family began now to rouse King *James*, and to move him both to Pity and to Action: Wherefore a Council being call'd, an Order was made to promote the *Palatine's* Restoration; and the King, to encourage the Princes of the Union, and to keep them in Arms, sent them thirty thousand Pounds; yet withal resolv'd to treat for a Peace, and dispatch'd Sir *Edward Villers* to carry the *Palatine's* Submission to the Emperor, upon Conditions to be conceiv'd according to Equity and Conveniency. On the other Side the *Spaniards* never more flatter'd King *James*, than after the Defeat at *Prague*: They declar'd that he should order all Things according to his Pleasure, for the *Palatine's* Restoration, and be obey'd; that the *Infanta's* Portion was preparing, and that the Pope was oblig'd to grant the Dispensation, from whom they resolv'd to take no Denial: All which was encourag'd by *Digby*, *Cottington*, *Arundel*, *Worcester*, and especially by *Buckingham* and *Gondomar*; which last had gain'd the Access of a Favourite, rather than a Foreign Ambassador; so that Sir *Robert Naunton*, for showing a Dislike to him, notwithstanding his known Worth, was remov'd from his Secretary's Place, and *Conway* put in his Room. The King took great Delight in the Company and Conversation of *Gondomar*; a Person, as *Nani* observes, who with a stupendious Acuteness of Wit, so confounded pleasant Things with serious, that it was not easie to be discern'd when he rally'd, or when he spoke of Business. He knew how to insinuate and transform himself to the King's own Way and Humour; was full of Conceits, Jests and witty Sayings, and would sometimes speak false *Latine* purposely to please the King, telling him, *That his Majesty spoke Latine like a Pedant, but himself like a Gentleman*. By such little pleasing Arts, and others of a more bountiful Nature with the Nobility and Ladies, he gain'd an extraordinary Influence, and serv'd his own Master with great Advantage.

Gondomar's Influence.

The

The Favourite Earl was now made Marquess of *Buckingham*, and to his Mastership of the Horse was added the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*; and continually lying in the King's Bosom, every Man paid Tribute to his gracious Smiles. His Mother was made Countess of *Buckingham*, her eldest Son was made first a Knight, and afterwards Viscount of *Purbeck*, her other Son was created Earl of *Anglesey*; and now happy was that Person who could gain a Kinswoman, it being the next Way to a rich Office, or a swelling Title. The King, who never much regarded Women, had now his Court fill'd with young Ladies; Relations to the Marquess. Sir *Henry Montague*, Lord Chief-Justice, who was reported to have given twenty thousand Pounds for the Office of Lord-Treasurer, before the Year expir'd, had it taken from him, and it was conferr'd upon Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who by being bred up in the Custom-House, and knowing the secret Arts of those Offices, best knew how to supply by Projects, what was consum'd by a riotous and prodigal Court. But the great Step to this Office, was *Cranfield's* marrying one of the Marquess's Kindred, which soon rais'd him to be Earl of *Middlesex*; and the Lord Chief-Justice *Montague*, in lieu of his Mony, was made President of the Council, Viscount *Mandeville*, Earl of *Manchester*, and after *Worcester's* Decease, Lord Privy-Seal. The Marquess of *Buckingham*, in Appearance made all these Removes and Advancements, but in Reality most of the Affairs in Church and State were privately transacted by his Mother, for most Addresses were first made to her, and so convey'd to be finish'd by her Son, who generally regarded his Pleasure more than his Profit: Which caus'd *Gondomar*, among his other pleasant Stories, to write into *Spain*, *That there was never more Hopes of England's returning to Popery than now; for there were more Prayers and Offerings made here to the Mother, than to the Son.*

*The Power of
Buckingham's
Mother.*

The Marquess himself, as he was a Man of excellent Symetry and Gracefulness, so he affected Beauty where he found it; but being a general Lover, he treated all Women accordingly, only to gratifie his own unlawful Ends; and then dismiss them for the more prevailing Charms of the next fair Lady. He design'd to have practis'd this Method upon the Earl of *Rutland's* only Daughter, who was to be Mistress of all her Father's vast Fortunes: He spread his fine Nets for her, carry'd her to his Lodgings in *Whitehall*, kept her there for some Space, and then return'd her back to her Father. But the stout old Earl, fir'd with Indignation, sent him this threatening Message, *That he was too much of a Gentleman to suffer such an Indignity; therefore if he did not immediately repair his Daughter's Honour by marrying her, his Greatness should not protect him from his Justice.* The Marquess, who perhaps made use of this Stratagem to gain her Father's Consent, she being the greatest Match in the Kingdom, had no Reason to dislike the Proposal, and therefore he soon salvd up the Wound by consummating the Marriage. This young Lady was bred up a *Roman* Catholick by her Mother, but was converted by Dr. *White* to be a zealous Protestant; which crossing the Inclinations of the old Countess of *Buckingham*, who was a fiery Romanist, she with the Help of her Jesuits at length plac'd her on the first Foundation.

*Buckingham
marries the
Earl of Rut-
land's Daugh-
ter.*

The King himself being jealous of uncontroll'd Sovereignty, and impatient of his Peoples viewing the Mysteries of State, had fallen into a great Dislike of Parliaments, and for several Years had given way to Patents, Monopolies, and such distasteful Projects: And probably many of his Ministers, fearing an Enquiry into their own Actions, suggested to him, That he had better furnish himself by those Ways, and the Match now in Treaty, than by Subsidies accompany'd with the Redress of Grievances. Nevertheless he now resolv'd to call a Parliament, conceiving it might prove of special Advantage: For he found the Affections of the People much rais'd for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, which would naturally open their Purses to the Supply of his Wants; then the Treaty of *Spain* might effect the Business, without the Expence and Troubles

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Troubles of War, and the good Agreement between him and his People would quicken the *Spaniard* to conclude the Match. Accordingly a Parliament was summon'd to meet on the thirtieth Day of *January* at *Westminster*; where the King made a long Speech, which may be seen at large in the Introduction to *Nalson's Collections*; in which he laid open his great and numerous Expences, and handsomly pleaded for suitable Supplies; he also declar'd his great Readiness to recover the *Palatinate*, for which rather than fail *he would engage his Crown, his Blood, and his Son's Blood, to effect it.* At the same Time his Majesty sent the Lord *Digby* Ambassador to the Emperor to urge him to a positive Answer, whether the *Palatinate* might be recover'd by Peace, before he proceeded to actual War; and now expecting the Emperor's Answer, the Parliament proceeded in their Work, receiving Petitions from several Persons imprison'd and ruin'd by the horrid Extortions of voracious Patentees and Monopolizers, who were active in promoting illegal Exactions, to which the King's Necessities and ill-advis'd Counsellors had driven him. The chief Instruments of these Grievances were Sir *Giles Mompeffon*, and Sir *Francis Mitchel*. The former had Fortune sufficient to have maintain'd him fairly in the Country, but at Court he wanted this Novelty for his better Support; to whom *Mitchel* was made a Co-Partner, a servile Suburb Justice of Peace, who living by the Failings of his Neighbouring Females, was brought to Court and Knighted, and corroborated by these Letters Patents to oppress the needy Commoners. All which being canvas'd and laid open in Parliament, *Mompeffon* made his Escape, and Sir *Francis Mitchel* was censur'd after this Manner: First he was degraded with all the debasing Ceremonies that Justice could invent, and after that was made to ride through the City with his Face to the Horse's Tail, with a Paper on his Breast and Back declaring his Crimes: This expos'd him to the Scorn and Contempt of the Rabble in his Passage; but a large Fine and long Imprisonment secur'd him from further Mischief. The pecuniary Punishment fell as heavily upon *Mompeffon*, and upon other lesser Confederates, which put an End to this Grievance.

Not long after the great Lord-Chancellor *Bacon* was brought to a Censure for the most extravagant Weaknesses that ever enter'd into the Heart of a wise Man: He was a true Emblem of human Frailty, being more than a Man in some Things, and less than a Woman in others. His Crimes were Bribery and Extortion, yet more those of his Servants and Dependants than his own, all which were prov'd and aggravated against him by so many Circumstances, that he who in most things was thought a Man of the greatest Parts in the Kingdom, and elevated above Pity, now fell miserably below it; and his eloquent Tongue that us'd to charm his Auditors with admirable Harangues, was now forc'd to descend to servile Supplications; for throwing himself and his Cause at his Judges Feet, before his Sentence was pass'd, 'he humbly begg'd the Lords in Parliament, That his penitent Submission might be his Sentence, the Loss of 'the Great Seal his Punishment, and that their Lordships would recommend 'him to his Majesty's Grace and Pardon for all that was past. Thus his great and towering Spirit was brought low, and Humiliation might have rais'd him up again, if the Weight of his Mildemeanors had not kept him down. He lost both his Peerage and Seal, and the Beam was wavering whether he should carry the Title of Viscount *St. Albans* to his Grave, which now was all he had; and to heighten his Misery, many were crush'd in Pieces by his Fall, through the Debts he had contracted; and tho' he had a Pension from the King, he wanted to his last; living obscurely in his Lodgings at *Grays-Inn*, where the Remembrance of former Plenty and Grandeur lay so heavy upon his ingenious and now melancholy Temper, that he pin'd and consum'd away. He was of a very grave and comely Presence; of a quick and high flying Wit, striving in some things rather to be admir'd than understood, and yet when he pleas'd to descend no Man was more intelligible. In short, he was of a most capacious Mind,

and

and a great Master of all Kinds of Learning, and the World is so much oblig'd to his noble Discoveries in Nature, that his Name will be celebrated with Honour to Perpetuity. *Gondomar* hearing of his Miscarriages, and meeting him the *Lent* before his Censures, thought to pay him with his *Spanish* Sarcasms, saying, *My Lord, I wish you a good EASTER; and you, my Lord,* reply'd the Chancellor, *a good PASSOVER*: For he could neither indure his *English* Buffoonry, nor his *Spanish* Treaty, tho' he was too wise to oppose them publickly. He treasur'd up nothing either for himself or his Family, but his fatal Error was his Indulgence to his Servants; and his Decrees were always made with so much Equity, that none were ever revers'd as unjust. He was succeeded in his Place by *Dr. Williams*, Dean of *Westminster*, who was first made Bishop of *Lincoln*, and afterwards Arch-Bishop of *York*. Dr. Williams made Lord-Keeper.

In this Parliament, tho' no Laws and Statutes were pass'd, yet many Debates arose, relating to the King's Power and Prerogative, and particularly in the House of Lords, where the King had the strongest Party; yet several of that House stood up boldly for the publick Liberty, as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Southampton*, *Essex*, and *Warwick*, the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, and the Lord *Spencer*. This last Lord speaking something in the House of Actions of their great Ancestors, *Arundel* being displeas'd, said, *My Lord, when these things were doing, your Ancestors were keeping Sheep*, reflecting upon the numerous Flocks he lov'd: *Spencer* immediately reply'd, *When my Ancestors were keeping Sheep, as you say, your Ancestors were plotting Treason*. This caus'd such a Heat, that *Arundel* as the Aggressor was sent to the Tower, where after some Time, upon his Submission to the House, he was restor'd. The Commons on the other Side were no less warm and impatient, highly disrelishing both the Treaties with the Emperor and the King of *Spain*; and *Gondomar* had so rais'd the Peoples Fury, that he was revil'd and assaulted in the Streets of *London*. Upon which the King resolv'd upon exemplary Justice; and being inform'd that one Man was apprehended, who had us'd railing Speeches against the Ambassador, it was his Majesty's Pleasure, that on the next Morning he should be publickly and severely whipt through *London*, beginning at *Aldgate*, and so along by the Place where the Affront was offer'd in *Fleetstreet*, to *Temple-Bar*, without any Manner of Favour. This terrible Punishment more enrag'd the People against *Gondomar*, who by means of his Power with the King, had transported Ordnance and other Warlick Provisions, to furnish the *Spanish* Arsenals; and it was believ'd that he privately procur'd the sending of Sir *Robert Mansel* into the *Mediterranean* Sea, against the Pirates of *Algier*. The Merchants of *England*, by them much infested, were also induc'd to move for this Expedition, in which the *English* Fleet perform'd gallant Exploits, and bravely fir'd the Pirates Ships within their Harbours. Nevertheless by this the *English* Strength was diverted, the Treasure exhausted, and the *Spanish* Fleets and Merchants secur'd from those Robbers, and *Spain* left at Liberty to assist in subduing the *Palatinate*. Heats in both Houses.

The Parliament having sat about four Months, the King was desirous to give them a Time of Recess; therefore on the fourth of *June*, a Message was sent to the House, 'That his Majesty, by the Advice of his Privy-Council, thought 'fit to Adjourn the Parliament, lest the Season of the Year, by the continual Concourse of People, should cause Infection: Which Adjournment, keeping the Parliament still in Being, was thought better than a Prorogation. The Commons were extremely sorry at their Disappointment, having but just before made so hearty a Declaration to assist his Majesty in the Affair of the *Palatinate*. A Committee of both Houses attending his Majesty, he declar'd to them, *That he took it very ill, That the Commons should dispute his Reasons of Adjournment, all Power being in him alone, to call, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve Parliaments*. The Adjournment was appointed 'till *November* following, with a Declaration, *That in the mean Time he would by his own* The Parliament Adjourn'd by the King.

Authority redress Grievances. Moreover he issu'd out a Second Proclamation against licentious Speeches and Discourses concerning Affairs of State: For notwithstanding the Strictness of the King's former Commands, the Peoples inordinate Liberty of irreverend Language daily increas'd. Wherefore the King now threaten'd Severity, as well against the Concealers of such Discourses, as against the Lavishness of audacious Tongues and Pens. The King grew more and more uneasie, being continually sollicitated both from *Spain* and *Rome*, to enlarge his Favours to the *Popish* Recusants; for Reports were then brought to *Rome* that all the Catholicks in his Dominions were cruelly treated. And besides this, a Rumour was there spread, That King *James* in a Speech in Parliament had declar'd, *That notwithstanding the Spanish Match, the English Catholicks should not in the least Point be in a better Condition*, when he had only said, *That if any of that Party grew insolent, let his People count him unworthy to reign, if he gave not extraordinary Punishment.* Thus was the King unhappily embarrass'd and intangled in the Ways he had chosen; for it was not possible for him at once to please his People, and to satisfy his Foreign Interests.

The Second
Meeting in
of the Parlia-
ment.

At the Beginning of the Winter, the Lord *Digby* return'd from solliciting the Emperor, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, to the Restoration of the *Palatinate*, where he had met with no reasonable Success. And on the twentieth of *November*, when the Parliament met a Second Time, the King commanded him to give an Account of his Journey to the House of Commons, and to represent how necessary it was for the King to obtain that by War, which he could not procure by a Peace. But tho' the King by his Ministers encourag'd the Parliament to a War, yet they found him more inclinable to Peace, both in regard of *Gondomar's* Power with him, his Indulgence to *Roman* Catholicks, and his Fondness of the *Spanish* Match, which he hop'd might heal all Breaches; tho' it was positively dislik'd and disapprov'd by all *England*, besides *Romanists* and those of the *Spanish* Faction. Therefore the House of Commons, before they granted Subsidies, resolv'd to try the King's Spirit by a solemn Petition and Remonstrance, in which they laid open to his Majesty the several great and increasing Dangers arising from the *Romish* Religion in general, the Power of Papists in particular, and the great Oppressions of the Protestants in Foreign Parts; representing at the same Time proper Remedies for these great Calamities, too long to mention in this Place. The Commons were more apprehensive of the Danger of their Religion, not only from the terrible Wounds lately given by the House of *Austria*, but also from the Severities the Protestants met with in *France*, from *Lewis* the Thirteenth, who at this Time besieg'd them in *Montaubon* and *Rochelle*, and other Places, against all the Arguments and Mediations of King *James's* Ambassador. When the Remonstrance was brought to Perfection, the King had a Copy of it before the House had time to send their Members with it; in which something so highly displeas'd him, that he wrote the following Letter from *Newmarket* to Sir *Thomas Richardson*, Speaker of the House of Commons. *We have heard by divers Reports, to our great Grief, that some fiery and popular Spirits in the House of Commons, have publickly argu'd and debated Matters far above their Reach and Capacities, tending highly to our Dishonour, and Breach of the Royal Prerogative. These are therefore to command You, in our Name to make known to the House, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any Thing concerning our Government, or deep Matters of State, nor with our Son's Match with the Daughter of Spain, nor to touch the Honour of that King, or any other our Friends or Confederates. And if they have already touch'd any of those Points, which we have here forbidden, in a Petition of theirs, which is to be sent unto us, it is our Pleasure that You tell them, That except they Reform it before it comes to our Hands, we will not deign the hearing of it.*

The King
writes to the
Speaker.

When

When the House had duly consider'd the Reasons they had to draw up their Remonstrance, which at that Time were very cogent and prevailing with them, they sent the said Remonstrance, together with a new Petition to the King, in which they declar'd, ' That the Honour and Safety of the King and his Posterity, the Welfare of Religion and State of the Kingdom, are at no Time unfit for a Parliamentary Consideration; not that they took upon themselves, but as Loyal Subjects, to demonstrate such Things to his Majesty, which they were not assur'd could otherwise come so fully and clearly to his Knowledge. And whereas his Majesty seem'd to restrain them from intermeddling with the Matters of Government, that have their Motion in the Courts of Justice, and seem'd to abridge them of the ancient Liberty of Parliaments, Freedom of Speech, they were now forc'd to pray his Majesty to allow it, and to take away the Doubts and Scruples, which his Letter to the Speaker had brought upon them. After this the House were much discourag'd to proceed to Business, while there was so great a Difference between the King and them; for the King thought their Actions an Inroad upon his Prerogative, and they thought the King's Expressions an Infringement of their Liberty; therefore they resolv'd to give over all Business, till they had an Answer to their Petitions. The King hearing of this, was exceedingly vex'd and uneasie, and very roughly entertain'd the twelve Members that were sent to him; some say he call'd for twelve Chairs for them, saying, *Here are twelve Kings come to me.* After he had consider'd their Desires and Requests in their last Petition, he return'd them a long Answer in Writing, mix'd with some severe Expressions, in which he said, *That their first Petition was unworthy of Answer, that their giving Advice about his Son's Match, and urging him to a War, was Intrenching upon his Prerogative,* insinuating that the First concerning his Son was High-Treason. In the latter End he tells them, *That he wonders they should make so unjust a Comment upon the Words in his Letter to the Speaker, as if he meant to restrain them from their ancient Privileges and Liberties in Parliament: For tho' he cannot allow the Stile, calling it their ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance, but rather have wish'd they had said, That their Privileges were derived from the Grace and Permission of his Ancestors and himself, since most of them grew from Precedents, rather showing a Tolleration than an Inheritance, yet he gave them his Royal Assurance, that as long as they continu'd within the Limits of their Duty, he would be as careful to maintain their Liberties and Privileges, as ever any of his Predecessors did, nay, as he was to preserve his own Royal Prerogative.*

*The Parli-
aments Reply.*

*The King's Re-
joinder.*

But before this Heat arose in the House of Commons, the Lords began to consider how cheap they were made by the Multitude of *Irish* and *Scotch* Earls and Viscounts the King had created, not the Natives of those Kingdoms, but private *English* Gentlemen, who had purchas'd and assum'd those Titles, to get above the *English* Barony, contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Land. Therefore a Petition to the King was drawn up and sign'd by thirty three Lords, praying that the Privilege of their Birth-Rights might be preserv'd, and a Stop put to this growing Mischief. The King was extremely uneasie at this Petition, not knowing what Contests the Endeavours for Place and Precedency might produce: And being fully prepar'd, he sent for the Petitioners separately, and privately expostulated the Business with them one by one, beginning roughly with some of them; yet still he clos'd with them at last, as tho' his Anger was rais'd to make them humble, and reconcile themselves to him, that he might the better reconcile himself to them. And to the Earl of *Essex* he threw out this Expression, *I fear thee not Essex, if thou wert as well belov'd as thy Father, and hadst forty thousand Men at thy Heels:* Which Words were utter'd with such a Force, as if he had chid himself for letting him escape from him. And tho' this Petition did not derogate from the Dignity of those Creations past, yet the King willingly restrain'd himself for the Time to come.

*The Petition of
the Lords.*

But

*The Commons
Protestation.*

But the House of Commons proceeded to bolder Attempts; and judging the King's Letters so many Impediments to their Privileges, and for all the King's Promises the Protestant Religion was unsecure, if the *Spanish Match* succeeded, they resolv'd, whatever might be the Consequence, to leave some Prints and Footsteps of their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges to their Posterities, as their Ancestors had done to them; and therefore on the nineteenth of *December*, they register'd the following Protestation in their Journal Book, after they had given two entire Subsidies. *That the Liberties, Franchises, Privileges and Jurisdictions of Parliaments, are the ancient and undoubted Birth-Right and Inheritance of the Subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent Affairs concerning the King, State and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of England, and the Maintenance and making Laws, and Redress of Mischiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects, and Matter of Council and Debate in Parliament. That in handling and proceeding in such Business, every Member of Parliament hath, and of Right ought to have Freedom of Speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring the same to Conclusions. That the Commons in Parliament have likewise Liberty and Freedom to treat of these Matters, in such Order as in their Judgments shall seem fittest. That every Member of the said House hath like Freedom; from all Impeachment, Imprisonment and Molestation, other than by Censure of the House it self, for, or concerning any Speaking, Reasoning, or Declaring of any Matter or Matters, touching the Parliament, or Parliament Business. And that if any of the said Members be complain'd of, or question'd for any Thing done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shew'd to the King, by the Advice and Assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give credit to any private Information.*

The King opposes it.

The King was again alarm'd by this Protestation, and he who naturally lov'd Peace both at home and abroad, had a War rais'd within his own Breast: For if he should be silent or connive at this Protestation, it would remain as a strong Bulwark for the People to Posterity. Therefore neglecting his Pleasures and Health in the Country, he came hastily up to *London*, and upon the thirtieth of *December*, in a full Assembly of the Council, and in the Presence of the Judges, he declar'd the said Protestation void, invalid, and of none Effect, and with his Hand took the said Protestation out of the Journal Book of the Clerk of the House of Commons, and commanded an Act of Council to be made thereupon, and this Act to be enter'd in the Register of the Council-Causes. And to put a Stop to all Complaints, as he conceiv'd, on the sixth of *January* he by a Proclamation dissolv'd the Parliament, after it had continu'd almost a Year, without passing one Act besides the Subsidies, of which the Commons gave two and the Clergy three. The Proclamation set forth, 'That the Meeting, Continuing, and Dissolving of Parliaments does so peculiarly belong to the King, that he needs not give any Account thereof to any other; yet he thought fit to declare, That in the Dissolution of this Parliament he had the Advice and uniform Consent of his whole Council; and that some particular Members took inordinate Liberty, not only to treat of his High Prerogatives, and Matters not fit to be argu'd in Parliament, but also to speak disrespectfully of Foreign Princes: That they spent their Time in disputing Privileges, and discanting upon the Words and Syllables of his Letters and Messages; and that these ill temper'd Spirits sow'd Tares among the Corn, and by their Carriage have impos'd upon him a Necessity of discontinuing the present Parliament. And lastly he declar'd, *That tho' the Parliament was broken off, yet he intended to govern well; and should be glad to lay hold on the first Occasion to call another.*

The Parliament dissolved.

This unexpected Dissolution and Proclamation gave Occasion to several sawcy Tongues to slander their Sovereign and his Government; especially when they found that several eminent Members of the House of Commons, as Sir *Edward Cook*,

Cook, Sir Robert Philips, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, Mr. Mallery, and others, were committed to the Tower and other Persons. They said that Great Britain was now grown less than Little England, which had lost its Strength by Changing of Sexes; and the scandalous Story of David Rizio, written by the King's Tutor Buchanan, had dy'd in every English Man's Opinion, if it had not been reviv'd by these Controversies with the Parliament. And as Troubles bred Disturbances at home, so they caus'd no less Dishonour abroad, for they now despis'd the King's Power, as much as they formerly did his Courage; and in the King of Spain's own Towns, in their publick Comedies, they presented Messengers bringing News in haste, That the Palatinate would shortly be replenish'd with a most formidable Army; For the King of Denmark would furnish them with a hundred thousand Pickel'd Herrings, the Hollanders with as many Butter-Boxes, and England with as many Ambassadors. In one Place they pictur'd King James with a Scabbard without a Sword, and in another with a Sword that none could draw out, tho' several were pulling at it; and at Brussels they painted him with his Pockets hanging out, and no Money in them, or his Purse. And what was highly pitiable, as well as vilely dishonourable, at Antwerp they pictur'd the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia like a poor Irish Mantler, with her Hair dishevel'd, and her Child on her Back, with the King her Father carrying the Cradel after her. And every one of these Pictures had several Motto's, expressing the Fruitfulness of their Malice; such Derisions and Reflections were put upon the King, and in him upon the whole Nation. But Spanhemius more seriously and solemnly sums up the Ills that attended the Conduct of King James, and his Son-in-law in Germany, 'That thereby the Protestant Religion was entirely rooted out of Bohemia, the Electoral Dignity transferr'd from the Palatine Family, the Palatinate it self lost, the Liberty of Germany overthrown, and the Famous Library of Heidelberg remov'd to Rome, to the irreparable Prejudice of Learning. So that Gondomar seem'd to have some Reason to say in one of his Letters to the Duke of Lerma, That he had lull'd King James so fast asleep, that he hop'd neither the Cries of his Daughter nor her Children, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects on their Behalf, should be able to awaken him.

IX. King James having freed himself from the Complaining of a troublesome Parliament, still retain'd his main Designs and Resolutions of complicating the Marriage of his Son with the Infanta of Spain; where King Philip the Third being lately dead, was succeeded by Philip the Fourth. In order to effect this long and dilatory Affair, he sent the Lord Digby his Ambassador Extraordinary into Spain; who landed at St. Andero, a poor Maritime Town in Biscay, where the People usually went bare-foot. In that mean Place his Lordship had the Patience to stay a Fortnight in Expectation of the Spanish Court Civilities; but in Reality was so flighted by tedious and impertinent Delays, and at last by base and fordid Accommodations, that it was admir'd how he could bear it, and that the Spaniards were not asham'd to offer it to an Ambassador. It was thought the more strange, since King James had now treated the Roman Catholicks at home with so much Indulgence, that Gondomar boasted he had releas'd four thousand Recufants by his own Mediation; either to make his Service more acceptable to his Master, or to let him see how willing King James was to advance that Match which had never been really design'd in Spain. Then to expedite the Dispensation at Rome, he wrote to some of the most active Cardinals there, and receiv'd Answers from them, by Gage, his Agent, full of promising Hopes. And that he might give some publick Testimony of his Indulgence, he commanded Bishop Williams, then Lord-keeper, to pass Writs under the great Seal, to require the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge all such Papists as were imprison'd for Recufancy, which was accordingly observ'd and perform'd. This Bishop, as was formerly hinted, succeeded

A. D.

1622.

Reg. 20.

Digby's Embassie into Spain

*The Character
of Bishop Wil-
liams.*

ceeded the famous Lord *Bacon*; and for some Time continu'd in Favour with the Marquess of *Buckingham*, and the Countess his Mother, whose Creature he was, and who, as it was believ'd, could mold and form him into any Shape to serve their Purposes; but afterwards growing high and stiff, they laid him aside. He was of a comely and stately Presence, which being animated with a great Spirit, made him appear very proud to vulgar Eyes; tho' really as he was a Man of extraordinary Parts, aiming at great Things, so he was of a bountiful Mind to all Men in Want, and a noble Patron to support where Merit wanted a Supply. This was shown in his Treatment of Monsieur *de Moulin*, a famous Minister of *France*, driven by Persecution into *England*; which being told the Bishop, he order'd Doctor *Hacket* his Chaplain to make him a Visit from him, and likewise to carry him some Mony, not naming any Sum, purposely to sound the Generosity of his Chaplain. Doctor *Hacket* finding the Bishop to mention no certain Sum said, *He could give him no less than twenty Pounds.* Upon which his Lordship suddenly answer'd, *Is twenty Pounds a fit Present from me to a Man of his Parts and Merits? Take a hundred Pounds, and present it from me, telling him he shall not want, and I will come shortly and visit him my self.* Which he afterwards perform'd, and made good his Promise, in supplying him during his Abode in *England*.

*Arch-Bishop
Abbott's Mis-
fortune.*

About this Time, the Reverend Prelate, Doctor *Abbot* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, began to fall into Disgrace at Court, his Enemies taking Advantage of a late sad Misfortune; for shooting at a Deer with a Cross-Bow in *Bramzil Park*, the Arrow glancing casually kill'd the Keeper. This unfortunate Accident was such a sensible Affliction to this pious Man, that he retir'd to an Alms-House of his own Building at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, there to mortifie himself from the Enjoyment of worldly Pleasures. Some were of Opinion that it disabled him from exercising his Episcopal Function; but the King granting a Commission to enquire into the Fact, he found Friends that restor'd him from his Alms-House to his Palace, and he conferr'd a comfortable Subsistence upon the Widow and Children of this unhappily slain Man. But however, having disgusted the King by disapproving the *Spanish Match*, he never could recover any great Authority; and a Plant was now growing up that overspread him while he liv'd, and after his Decease obtain'd the Primacy. And this was the famous Dr. *William Laud*, a Person of extraordinary Spirit and Zeal, who was now made Bishop of St. *David's*, by the Interest of the Mar-

*The Rise of
Bishop Laud.*

quess of *Buckingham* and the Lord-Keeper *Williams*. This great and fiery Man, at *Oxford* had shown himself a mortal Opposer of the *Puritans*, of whom *Abbot* was thought to be a Favourer, and was there charg'd not only with *Arminianism*, but with holding several of the *Romish* Tenets. But for the scandalous Manner of his Rise, related by *Coke*, and pretendedly attested, it is so contrary to probability, that it can deserve no Place in History. The King had been disoblig'd at some Actions of his, therefore *Buckingham* his great Friend resolv'd to make use of *Williams* to raise him into the Bishoprick; and *Williams* knowing the Disposal of the Seal was at the other's Pleasure, found himself oblig'd to become *Laud's* Advocate to the King. But his Majesty was at first utterly averse, for several Reasons; but the Keeper earnestly persisting, the King at last said, *Is there no Hold, but you will carry it! Then take him to you; but on my Soul, you will repent it:* And so departed in a great Passion, with other fierce and ominous Words, publicly discours'd in Court; after this *Arminianism* daily increas'd, and *Puritanism* was more strictly watch'd; but to restrain the licentious Tongues among either Party, the King issu'd out a Letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with several good Articles and Directions to all Preachers whatsoever, as may be seen at large in *Wilson* and *Rushworth*.

As the King now labour'd to settle things at home, and keep his People in Obedience, so he was as active abroad to preserve his own Reputation: For he still

still concluded that he should save all Miscarriages by the intended Match with *Spain*, and that his People might see he could discern further into deep Matters of State than they, and so make the Error theirs. Therefore he industriously urg'd it by his Agents and Ambassadors, and all Indulgences to Recusants were admitted to smooth and soften their Addresses. The Lord *Vaux*, The King's Endeavours for the Spanish Match. a *Roman* Catholick, had liberty to transport four thousand *English*, to reinforce the King of *Spain's* Armies, both against King *James's* Confederates of *Holland*, where his banish'd Children had Refuge, and against their Country it self the *Palatinate*, which he had so much endeavour'd to preserve. The Articles of Marriage had taken up much Time in Debate, between the Commissioners of the two Kings, before they could be brought to any Form; and those concerning Religion had many various Shapes and Turns, 'till they were dress'd to their Satisfaction; and when they were form'd and fashion'd by them, the Pope stript them, and new modell'd them as he pleas'd. So that the sending and resending between *Spain* and *Rome*, and *Rome* and *Spain*, wasted much Time, and might have serv'd for a Colour to draw the Treaty in *Infinitum*. Wherefore King *James* wrote several Letters to the Lord *Digby*, whom he made Earl of *Bristol*; and he was commanded to declare plainly to the King of *Spain*, 'How far the King his Master had condescended in Matters of Religion, which was more than was capitulated in the late King of *Spain's* Reign; 'and if that would give Content, to proceed to a Conclusion of the Marriage, 'without further Delay; if otherwise, that then without more Loss of Time, 'the King his Master may dispose of his Son, and the King of *Spain* of the 'Infanta, as they pleas'd. But the *Spaniard* still continu'd in his former Pace, and would not be spurr'd forwards; and the Earl of *Bristol* still assur'd his Master, *That the King of Spain, tho' slow in his Proceedings, was real in his Intentions.* And tho' the Articles were fully drawn up in form, and agreed on both Sides, yet it is plain from the King of *Spain's* Letter to *Olivarez* this Year, that the *Spaniard* never design'd the Match at all, in which he positively tells him, 'That his Father had the same Design, as well as himself, and 'so declar'd upon his Death-Bed; therefore he would have him break it off as 'soon as conveniently he could. Thus was King *James's* Plain-heartedness deluded, his Honour blemish'd, his Love among his Subjects diminish'd, his Childrens Patrimony destroy'd, and he himself left without any Satisfaction. The Spaniards unfair Dealings.

This strange and unreasonable Management in the Court of *Spain* gave Rise and Occasion to a very peculiar if not romantick Project form'd by the Marquess of *Buckingham*, who envy'd the Earl of *Bristol* for having the sole Management of so great an Affair. Therefore he took an Opportunity to insinuate to Prince *Charles* the common Misfortune of Men of his Rank, 'That in so nice a Part of their worldly Happiness, as depended upon their Marriage, 'they had so small a Share, usually depending upon the uncertain Credit of 'others, for the Nature, Humour and Beauty of the Ladies they were to marry. 'Next, how brave and gallant it would appear for his Highness to make a 'Journey into *Spain*, and bring home his Lady; that it would put an End to 'all those slow Formalities, which might still retard the *Infanta's* Voyage for 'several Months; all which would be immediately remov'd by his engaging 'Appearance: That it would be such a singular Obligation to the *Infanta*, as 'she could never sufficiently esteem or requite, as being a Respect rarely paid by 'any other Prince, upon the like occasion: That in the great Affair concerning the *Palatinate*, it was very probable the King of *Spain* might readily 'gratifie his personal Interposition, which in a Treaty with an Ambassador 'might be protracted, or attended with the starting of new Difficulties: However, the Mediation could not but be frankly undertaken by the *Infanta* herself, who would ambitiously make it part of her great Debt to the Prince, 'that he might by her Influence present to his Majesty the Peace and Restoration of his Family; which could not be effected by any other human Means. A. D. 1623. Reg. 21. Buckingham's strange Project.

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These

These Discourses made so deep an Impression upon the Mind and Spirit of the Prince, who was naturally inclin'd to Adventures, that he was transported with the Thought of it, and impatiently solicitous to compass the Design. The most apparent Difficulty was how they should procure the King's Consent, who they knew to be very quick-sighted in discerning Difficulties, and raising Objections, but very slow in mastering and unravelling them; who, not knowing how to struggle with desperate Contingencies, abhor'd to be involv'd and intangled with them. This was therefore first to be attempted by the Prince himself, and to communicate it to the King as his humble Suit, with this Circumstance, that since all his Actions depended intirely upon his Majesty's own Approbation, he would vouchsafe to promise Not to communicate the thing propos'd, before he had first taken his own Resolution: And that this Condition should be first obtain'd, before the substantial Part should be discover'd; and so this Approach being first made, the Success and Prosecution was to be left to the Credit and Dexterity of the Marquess.

The King acquainted with it.

All things being thus concerted, the two Adventurers soon found a proper Opportunity to make their Approaches. His Majesty chearfully consenting to the main Condition of Secrecy, the Prince upon his Knees declar'd his importunate Suit and Request, while the Marquess stood by, and enlarg'd upon the infinite Obligations his Majesty would accumulate upon the Prince, by his yielding to the tender Passion with which his Highness was transported; which being refus'd, would make a deep Impression upon his Spirits, and be accounted as the greatest Misfortune that could befall him in this World. The Prince taking Opportunity from the good Temper of his Father, insist'd upon two Points, That his Presence in *Spain* would immediately conclude the Marriage, and likewise determine the Restitution of the *Palatinate* to his Brother and Sister; both which the King passionately desir'd. These Discourses, urg'd with the utmost Artifice and Address, so prevail'd upon the King, that with less Hesitation than was usual, and much less than was agreeable to his Wisdom and Character, he gave his Approbation and Consent that the Prince should make the Journey he so earnestly desir'd. They therefore, to prevent any new Measures which a solemn Preparation for so rash an Undertaking might gradually occasion, as soon as they had gain'd the King's Promise upon the main, represented, 'That the Security of such a Design depended on Expedition; that were 'they to stay either for the equipping a Fleet fit to attend the Prince of *Wales*, 'or 'till a Pass might be obtain'd from *France*, the principal Ends of their Journey would by Delays be disappointed: That therefore, since the Design had 'hitherto been a Secret to all but themselves, they might with the Attendance 'of only two Servants, get through *France*, before they could be mis'd at 'Whitehall: Which indeed was very probable, and so the more readily consented to by the King; the Time of their Departure, the Servants that were to attend them, and whatever else should be thought necessary, being deferr'd till a second Consultation on the next Day.

The King consents to the Prince's Journey.

But when the timorous King in his Retirement came seriously to revolve what had been so loosely consult'd, as he had a wonderful Sagacity in such Reflections, a thousand Dangers and Difficulties occur'd to his distracted Thoughts; suggested as well by the violent Affection of a Father to his only Son, as the Influence he thought it might have on his People, too much inclin'd to murmur, and complain of the least Inadvertency; together with the Reputation he should forfeit among all Foreign Princes, if he so much departed from his Dignity, as to expose the immediate Heir of three Kingdoms to all the Jealousies and Dangers that might arise from that fathomless Abyss, *Reason of State*. These Reflexions were so terrible to him, that they robb'd him of all Peace and Rest; so that when the Prince and Marquess came to him about the Dispatch, he fell into a violent Passion with Tears, and told them, *That he was undone, and that it would break his Heart, if they pursu'd their Resolution*. Then he

He repents.

recounted

recounted to them all the numerous Difficulties and Mischiefs that had occur'd to himself in his Retirement ; particularly observing to the Marquess, who was already unpopular to the highest Degree, how unavoidable his Ruin must be ; concluding with that Disorder and Passion with which he began, and with Sighs and Tears conjur'd them, *That they would no longer urge him to consent to a thing so contrary to his Reason and Understanding, the Performance of which would prove his Death.* The Prince and the Marquess took no Pains to answer any of his Majesty's Reasons : His Highness only reminded him of the Promise he had made the Day before, *Which if he should violate, it would make him never think of Marriage more.* But the Marquess, who better knew what Arguments would prevail, treated him more rudely, and with all the Insolence of a Favourite told him, *His Breach of a Promise so solemnly made, would ruin his Credit with all Mankind ; that some Rascal had furnish'd him with his pitiful Reasons ; and that it would be such a Disobligation to the Prince, whose Heart was fix'd upon the Journey after his Majesty's Approbation, that he could never forget it, nor forgive any Man who had been the Occasion of it.* So that at length the Prince by his humble and importunate Entreaties, and Buckingham by his rougher Dialect, prevail'd so far, that the Debate upon the Journey was resum'd, in which it was agreed, That they should take their leaves of the King in two Days, his Highness pretending to hunt at *Theobalds*, and the Marquess to take Physick at *Chelsey*.

Buckingham
seduces him.

They next proceeded to the manner of Attendance, and told the King, That being to have no more than two in their Company, they had fix'd upon Sir *Francis Cottington*, and *Endymion Porter*, who were both grateful to the King, the former being Secretary to the Prince, and the other of his Bed-Chamber ; so that his Majesty wish'd that it might be immediately imparted to them, because many things might occur to them, as necessary to the Journey, which they two would not think on. Whereupon Sir *Francis Cottington*, waiting then in the outward Room, was quickly brought in ; to whom the King said, *Here is Baby Charles and Stenny* (for so he usually call'd the Marquess) *have a Mind to go Post into Spain, to fetch home the Infanta, and designing to have but two in their Company, have chosen you for one, what think you of the Journey ?* Sir *Francis*, surpriz'd and trembling at the Consequence, reply'd, *That he could not think well of it ; for the Spaniards, when they had the Prince in Possession, would make what new Overtures they believ'd most advantageous to themselves, and among the rest, many that concern'd Religion, and the Exercise of it in England, and by that means ruin all the Attempts that have been for the compleating the Match.* Upon this the King threw himself upon his Bed, and said, *I told you this before, and fell into new Passion and Lamentation, That he was undone, and should loose Baby Charles !* Hereupon the Marquess reproach'd *Cottington* with all possible Bitterness of Words, and told him, *That the King only ask'd him about the Journey, and best Way of Travelling, and not his Advice upon Matters of State, which he had the Presumption to give against his Master, and which he should repent as long as he liv'd.* This threw the poor King into a new Agony, on the behalf of a Servant like to suffer for answering honestly, upon which he reply'd with some Heat, and a profane Oath, *You are very much to blame to use him thus ; he has answer'd like an honest and wise Man to the Question I ask'd him, and you know 'tis no more than I told you before he came in.* However, after all this Passion and Heats on both sides, the King yielded ; having by this plainly discover'd that the whole Intrigue was first contriv'd by the Marquess, and now pursu'd by his Spirit and Impetuosity.

The Prince
and Buckingham
begin their
Journey.

The two Adventurers being ready, with their two Attendants, set forwards with false Beards to cover their smooth Faces, and pass'd towards *Dover* under the Names of *Jack Smith* and *Tom Smith*, in all Places leaving greater Impressions of their Bounty than was agreeable with their Disguises. At *Dover*

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the officious Mayor examin'd them so strictly, that the Marquess was forc'd to discover himself in private, and tell him he was going to visit the Fleet; so they had liberty to take Shipping, and landed at *Boloign* the same Day, making the swiftest Motion by Post-Horses 'till they arriv'd at *Paris*. There the Prince spent one Day to view the Grandeur of the City, and Splendor of the Court; and they both together saw the Queen Mother at Dinner, the King in the Gallery after Dinner, and towards the Evening they had a full View of the Queen *Infanta*, and the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, with most of the Beauties of the Court, at the Practice of a Masking Dance; being admitted by the Duke of *Montbason*, the Queen's Lord-Chamberlain, in Courtesie to Strangers, when many of the *French* were refus'd. Here the Prince saw those Eyes, which afterwards so inflam'd his Heart, that it was thought to be one Occasion of inflaming three Kingdoms. From *Paris* they pass'd with all Expedition to *Bordeaux*, where the Duke *d'Espemon*, Governor of the City, offer'd them the Civilities of his House; but Sir *Francis Cottington*, handsomly declin'd the Invitation by informing him, *That they were Gentlemen that desir'd to improve themselves, and had not Breeding suitable to his Grandeur*. They met with some Difficulties also at *Bayonne*, the last Town in *France*, where the Count *de Gramont* was Governor; who being a pregnant Man read something extraordinary in their Looks, but this being a Time of Peace, he out of ordinary Civility let them pass: Yet within a few Hours after they had taken Post, he had Notice by a Courier from the *Spanish* Ambassador to the *English* Court, that the Prince of *England* was among them; so that the Prince had great Fortune in meeting with such little Interruption, when the *French* might have made great Advantages by stopping his Passage.

They arrive in Spain.

Upon *Saturday* the sixth of *March* they arriv'd at *Madrid*; where the Prince and Marquess came one Day before *Cottington* and *Porter*, to raise the less Noise in Appearances. They lighted at the Earl of *Bristol*'s House in the Evening, where the Marquess brought in the Portmanteau, while his Master staid without with the Guide, 'till he had prepar'd a way for Privacy. The Earl of *Bristol* was astonish'd at the Sight; and the next Morning the City was fill'd with Rumours of the Arrival of some great Prince; which was sufficiently known to the King of *Spain*, tho' he thought fit to conceal it. In the Evening *Buckingham* and *Bristol* went to Court, and had private Audience of the King, who sent his grand Favourite *Olivarez* back with them, to congratulate the Prince's Arrival, who let the Prince know *how infinitely happy his Master was in the Enjoyment of him there, and that the Obligation was so great, that he deserv'd to have the Infanta thrown into his Arms*; all this while kneeling, kissing his Hands, and imbracing his Thigh, with all the Marks of *Spanish* Humility. Next he address'd himself to the Marquess of *Buckingham*, telling him, *That now the Prince of England was in Spain, his Master and he would divide the World between them*, with other Flights of Rhetorick and Fancy. After his Departure, about ten a Clock at Night, the King of *Spain* came in a close Coach to visit the Prince, who having Notice of his coming, met him in the Way; and there they spent some Time in such Caresses and Embraces as are usual at the Interviews of great Princes and Monarchs. *Gondomar*, lately return'd, had also his peculiar Compliment the next Day; for he declar'd to the Prince, *That he had strange News to tell him, which was, That an Englishman was sworn Privy-Counsellor to the King of Spain*; meaning himself, who had lately receiv'd that Honour, tho' he was an *Englishman* in his Heart.

Their kind Reception.

The common Sort did highly applaud this brave Adventure, and express'd his Welcome by Shouts and Acclamations of Joy; and immediately they marry'd him to the *Infanta*, as it were by publick Voice. The King and Council contriv'd how to give his Highness the most honourable Reception, and decreed, that upon all Occasions of Meeting he should have the Precedency of the King;

King; that he should make his Entrance into the Royal Palace, in the same State that the Kings of *Spain* us'd to do on the Day of their Coronation, and that one of the chief Quarters in the King's Palace should be prepar'd for his Lodgings; that a hundred of the Guard should attend him, and all the Council obey him as the King's own Person. A general Pardon was publish'd; the Prisons were open'd, and hundreds of Offenders were set at Liberty; and a late Proclamation against Excess in Apparel was revok'd. The following Day after Dinner the King came in Person, with his Favourite *Olivarez*, and several other of the Nobility, to conduct the Prince from the Town to the Court, having Horses and all Equipage proper for such Shew and Grandeur. Thus nobly mounted, they rode through the Streets under a Canopy in as much State as at a Coronation, the Prince riding on the King's right Hand. The Queen and the *Infanta* from a Window in the Court saw them; and when they dismounted the *Infanta* retir'd, and the Queen went to her Chamber, in Expectation of a Visit. When the King and Prince enter'd her Room, she rose to meet them, making a low Obeisance to the Prince, which he return'd with a profound reverential Bow; and after some Compliments, they sat down on three Royal Seats, the Queen in the middle, and the Prince on her right Hand; when after half an Hour's Conversation, the Queen brought the Prince to the utmost Extent of her Chamber, and the King to a stately Apartment provided for him. Immediately after the Queen by her *Major-domo* gave him a further Welcome, with several rich Presents of Perfumes, and costly wearing Linnen; and the King sent him two Golden Keys, which would open all his private Lodgings, and his Bed-Chamber, letting him know, that he had free Access to him at all Hours. Here he was constantly attended and serv'd with *Grandeos* and *Titulados*, as the King himself; and was entertain'd with many Shows and Triumphs, and several daily Pastimes. And one Day running at the Ring, in Company of many of the Nobility, his Highness was the only Person that bore the Ring away, and that in the Presence of the *Infanta* his Mistress; which was interpreted as a fortunate Presage at the Beginning of his Atchievement. In sum, there wanted nothing that human Invention could produce to manifest and display the Height of outward Glory. And now the *English* Nobility came over in great Numbers into *Spain*, and the Marquess of *Buckingham* had the new Title of Duke sent him by King *James*, that he might be in the highest Rank among the *Spanish Grandeos*; and the Prince was so encircled with a magnificent Retinue of his own People, that it might be said, there was an *English* Court in the Palace of the King of *Spain*.

The Prince highly honour'd

When all the splendid Ceremonies were a little over, the Prince began to consider the main Business of his Journey, and desir'd a more intimate Access to his Mistress, which *Olivarez* promis'd from Day to Day, but still delay'd: But at length, when unperform'd Promises were heighten'd into Shame, he plainly confess'd that it was agreed by the King and Council, *That he might not see her as a Lover, 'till the Dispensation came from Rome*; but he had sometimes Access to her as a Prince in a publick Way, the King of *Spain* being always present, and the Earl of *Bristol* Interpreter. It was observ'd that the Prince had sometimes his Eyes immovably fix'd upon the Lady for half an Hour together, in a thoughtful speculative Posture, other times he watch'd a full Hour in a close Coach in the Streets to see her as she went abroad; and one particular Time, he climb'd over a lofty Wall, and hazarded his Life, to see her in a Garden. But now the chief Obstructions seem'd to have proceeded from the Pope, who us'd all Endeavours to cause the Prince to turn Catholick; the People of *Spain* were not a little elevated with such Hopes, and Promises were made to him of great Assistance, if his own People should rebel upon that Consideration. Orations and Processions and pompous Shows were made to allure him; Popish Books were dedicated, and Popish Pictures were presented to him; they carry'd him to the most Religious Places, and to Persons famous for

His Inclinations for the Infanta.

Endeavours to make him turn Catholick.

for pretended Miracles ; and the Pope himself wrote a smooth insinuating Letter to him, and another to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to bring about this glorious Conversion. He return'd a civil Answer to the Pope's Letter, but as he had first answer'd *Olivarez*, *He came not thither for Religion, but for a Wife*, so he remain'd stedfast in his Religion, nor did he express any shew of Change, when he was under the greatest Temptations.

A. D. 1623. Reg. 21. At length, after innumerable Scruples and Impediments, the long solicited Dispensation came from Pope *Gregory* to the Court of *Spain*, but so clog'd that it caus'd new Delays and Difficulties, which where at last surmounted by the King of *Spain*, who now began to be seriously inclin'd to the Match, and caus'd it to be publickly declar'd at *Madrid*. After which certain Articles, to the Number of twenty three, were sign'd and sworn to by the King of *England*, the Prince and Privy-Council. These were stil'd by the Cardinals, *Propositions for the right Augmentation and Weal of the Roman Catholick Religion*, and were much of the same Nature with those of which we have given the Substance, Page 947; only in one Article it was provided ' That the Sons and Daughters that should be born of Marriage, should be brought up in the Company of the *Infanta*, at least 'till the Age of ten Years. Besides these publick Articles, which were confirm'd under the Great Seal of *England*, *Rushworth* has given us some private Articles, sworn to by King *James* and the Prince, greatly to the Advantage of the *Romanists* in *England*; but of these *Nalson* justly doubts, as being too much void of Proof, as well as Probability. Thus the great Business seem'd to have been accomplish'd; which gave King *James* so much Satisfaction, that being transported with an Assurance of the Match, he was heard to say, *Now all the Devils in Hell cannot break it*; to which one softly reply'd, *There was never a Devil left in Hell, for they were all gone into Spain to make it up*. In *Spain* the *Infanta* was stil'd *The Princess of England*, and was kept no longer in her Virgin Retirements. In *England* a Chappel was building for her at *St. James's*, and *Don Carlos*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, laid the first Stone: Her Picture was every where to be seen, and a Fleet was prepar'd for her Passage; and the greatest Enemies to the Alliance submitted to the King's Will. But in all this Capitulation between the two Crowns, the Restitution of the *Palatinate* was laid aside; the King conceiving that the Consummation of the Match would over-rule and settle that Affair to his intire Satisfaction. The *French* were very apprehensive of this Conjunction, and thought it safest to make Peace at home, and employ their Strength to bound the Incroachments of the Emperor and King of *Spain*: By which means a severe Persecution ceas'd in that Kingdom; the Protestants were permitted to call home their banish'd Ministers, to build their ruin'd Churches, and enjoy their Liberty in Religion. This Happiness did King *James's* joining with *Spain* procure to an almost ruin'd People.

But after all the King's Concessions, the *Spaniards* contriv'd new Delays, and propos'd harder Terms; and the Pope had oblig'd the Catholick King to see the Conditions perform'd, and to protract the Marriage, 'till Matters in *England* were put in perfect Execution. Whereupon the Divines advis'd the King, that the Promises of Marriage be immediately made, but the Consummation and the Delivery of the *Infanta*, be deferr'd 'till *May* in the following Year. But while they were contriving new *Remora's*, Pope *Gregory* that granted the Dispensation dy'd, which furnish'd them with a Pretence that the Dispensation was now invalid; yet with a Reserve to keep up the Prince's Spirit, That it should be no Hindrance to the Match, for the new Pope would immediately perform his Part; and the King of *Spain* assur'd the Prince, That if he would stay 'till *Christmas*, the Marriage should then be really celebrated. These repeated Delays, and continu'd Obstructions, caus'd the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was highly disoblig'd at *Olivarez*, to send home such provoking Accounts of the *Spanish* Procrastinations, that King *James* writ to *Buckingham* in

Articles of the Marriage.

King James's Satisfaction.

New Delays in the Spanish Court.

in the most exprefs Terms to bring his Son back with all speed, and if his Son's Youthful Follies shou'd tie him to a longer Expectation, he charg'd him upon his Allegiance to come away, and leave him there. This Letter was immediately shewn by the Duke to the Prince, which so effectually wrought upon him, that he took up a sudden Resolution to return into *England*. Of which the *Grandees* in *Spain* having Notice, they were exceedingly concerned; for their Design was to detain the Prince there all Winter, not only hoping to turn him to their Religion, but to marry him to the *Infanta*, that she being with Child before the Spring, they might keep her there 'till she was deliver'd, that so the Child might be educated and naturaliz'd a *Spaniard*, both in Affection and Religion, which this sudden Resolution hindering, it extreamly startled them. *Olivarez* charg'd the Duke of *Buckingham* with giving him Assurance of the Prince's turning Catholick, which the Duke told him was false; which caus'd very angry and resenting Expressions on both sides: So that the Duke, not regarding a ceremonious Farewel, departed hastily a little before the Prince, pretending to prepare the *English* Fleet that lay at Port St. *Andero* for the Prince's Transportation. According to his open Temper, at his Departure, he told *Olivarez*, *That he was oblig'd to the King, Queen and Infanta, in an eternal Tie of Gratitude; but for himself, he had so far disoblig'd him, that he could not, without Flattery, make the least Profession of Friendship for him.* *Olivarez* gave a short Reply, *That he accepted of what he had spoken.* The Duke departing with so little Satisfaction, the *Spaniards* concluded, that he would endeavour by all Means possible to hinder the Marriage.

*Buckingham's
Departure.*

But his Highness had gain'd an universal Love and Esteem, and was look'd upon to be a truly noble, discreet, and well deserving Prince; his grave Deportment suited with the very Genius of that Nation, which during the whole Stay was supported with the greatest Affability, Solidity and Constancy, and at his Departure, with unparallel'd Bounty, presenting Jewels of inestimable Value to the *Infanta*, and several *Grandees*. Before which, the King of *Spain* and the Prince both took solemn Oaths to accomplish the Marriage, and to make the Espousals ten Days after the Dispensation from the new Pope should arrive; and a Procuration was seal'd by the Prince to the King of *Spain*, and his Brother, and left in the Hands of the Earl of *Bristol*, to stop the Delivery of the Proxies, 'till further Direction from him, alledging, *That the Infanta might retire into a Cloister, and defraud him of a Wife;* but these Instructions were to be conceal'd from the Earl, 'till the Dispensation came from *Rome*.

*The Espousals
agreed.*

After six Months Stay, to the vast Expence of the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, the Prince took a most solemn Farewel of the Queen and *Infanta*, who look'd upon the Marriage as compleated in Effect; and the *Infanta* caus'd many Divine Duties to be perform'd, for the Safety of his Return into *England*, expecting to follow him in no long Space. When the Prince told her, *His Heart could never be out of Anxiety, 'till she had pass'd the intended Voyage, and was safe on the British Land,* she answer'd with a modest Blush, *That if she were in Danger upon the Ocean, or discompos'd with the rolling Waves, she should take Courage, and remember all the Way to whom she was going.* The King himself conducted him as far as the *Escorial*, and there nobly feasted him; and at the Minute of parting acknowledg'd the Obligation which his Highness had laid upon him, by putting himself in his Hands, a thing so unusual with Princes: Prottesting, *He earnestly desir'd a nearer Conjunction of Brotherly Affection, for the more intire Unity between them.* The Prince extoll'd the high Favours he had found during his Abroad in his Court and Presence, which had begotten such an Estimation of his Worth, as he knew not how to value; but he would leave a Mediator to supply his own Defects, if he would make him so happy as to continue him in her good Opinion, his most fair and most dear Mistress. From thence, attended with a Train of *Spanish* Courtiers to the *English* Fleet, he took Shipping, with great Hazard to his Person;

*This Prince's
Departure.*

Person; and it was observ'd, That the first Words he spoke after he was embark'd, were, *That it was a great Weakness and Folly in the Spaniard, to grant him a free Passage, after they had us'd him so ill.* He arriv'd at *Portsmouth* on the fifth of *October*, and soon appear'd to be the Kingdom's Delight and Darling; the Peoples Hearts were fir'd at the Sight and News of him, and unanimously prais'd God, without any publick Edict of Thanksgiving. Publick Societies and private Families overflow'd with the most rapturous Expressions of Pleasure and Wonder; and when he enter'd *London*, the Bonfires, which the Peoples Joy had kindled, seem'd to turn the City into one Flame.

His Arrival in
England.

The King was then at *Royston*, to whom the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham* rod Post, and gave him a fair and plausible Narration of all their Proceedings, laying the whole Weight of Odium upon the *Spanish* Delays, and the Earl of *Bristol*'s Miscarriages; which the King, as an indulgent Father to his Son, and a kind Friend to his Favourite, took for current Payment, without further Examination. And to retaliate the former Usage of the *Spaniards*, the Prince and Duke join'd with those of the Council and Nobility who were averse to the *Spanish* Match, cementing their Power with that Strength, that a Parliament was to be call'd, and the People consulted; that they laying open the fraudulent Proceedings of the *Spaniard*, the King's Justice in breaking the Treaty might be more conspicuous to the World. The News of a Parliament to break this Match was quickly carry'd through the Nation; and, according to their Expectations, it prov'd very grateful to the People, and gain'd them much Respect and Honour. But the first thing they did was to procure an absolute Command from the King to the Earl of *Bristol*, to suspend the Delivery of the Proxy 'till *Christmas*, tho' the Dispensation should come sooner; and being resolv'd to affront the King of *Spain* for his former Delays, *Bristol* in his Letter had positive Instructions to demand the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and the *Electoral Dignity*, which had been wav'd and neglected in the Conclusion of the Treaty: The King in his Letter writing, *It would be very strange in me to receive one Daughter in Joy, and leave another in Sighs and Tears.* But *Bristol*'s Power of deferring the Espousals 'till *Christmas*, was to be kept within his own Breast, and not made publick, 'till the Dispensation should come to discover it: And there was a Clause in the Procuration left by the Prince, that the Power of that Instrument should expire at *Christmas*; so that the Execution of it was to be respited 'till it was altogether invalid. All this was extremely ungrateful to the Earl of *Bristol*, who had so long labour'd, and was still endeavouring to bring about the Match.

New Proposals
to Spain.

Great Provisions
for the
Match in Spain.

In the mean Time the *Spaniards* made all solemn Provisions for the accomplishing so glorious a Work; and the King of *Spain* sent a special Ambassador into *England* to congratulate the Prince's happy Voyage and safe Return; and from thence he had Instructions to go into *Flanders*, *Germany* and *Italy*, to make known to all Princes, Potentates and Allies, how near the Treaty of Marriage was to be consummated. As soon as the Dispensation came from the new Pope, in the Beginning of *December*, Bonfires were made throughout all *Spain*, and the great Ordnance every where thunder'd out the general Joy. The ninth of the Month was prefix'd for the Marriage Day, a noble Terras was erected between the Court and the next Church, almost a quarter of a Mile in length, cover'd with Tapestry, for the greater Magnificence, and all things appointed in the highest State for such an extraordinary Solemnity. Great Presents were providing in the Court of *Spain* for King *James* and the Prince; the *Infanta*'s Family, design'd for *England*, was settled and established; she had prepar'd the richest Suits for her Lord and Husband, had long practis'd the *English* Tongue to make it Natural, and began to draw the Letters which she design'd to have written the Day of her Espousals to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-Law. Her Journey into *England* was resolv'd to be in the Beginning of *March*; and tho' her Portion was not nam'd in the Articles,

ticles, yet it was fix'd at no less than two Millions of Mony, which was four Times as much as had been given with any Daughter of *Spain*. In this State and Perfection were the Affairs of *Spain*, when King *James's* Commands at once blasted all this blooming Glory: For *Bristol* had now Orders to declare positively to the King of *Spain*, *That without the Restoration of the Palatinate, and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty should proceed no further*; which was a strange Surprize to the King and *Infanta*, when the one was like to lose his Honour, and the other her Lover. His Answer was, *That the Palatinate was none of his to give, and the Electorate was in the Power of another; but if the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria would not yield to Reason, he would arm himself against them*. But this Answer was not Satisfactory from one who had us'd so many subtle Pretensions, and had been a prime Instrument in the Ruin of the Count *Palatine*. Therefore, a Breach being apparent, the King of *Spain* The Match suddenly broke. sent to the Earl of *Bristol* to demand no more Audiences of him, to deliver no more Letters to the *Infanta*, and gave Command that none hereafter should call her Princess of *England*. This was the End of the famous seven Years Treaty; in which the King of *England*, a King of Peace, notwithstanding all the *Spanish* Armado's, gain'd the Victory; and *Spain* for many Years did not receive so retaliating and dishonourable a Defeat. And this was an Amazement to the Christian World, that when the Match was brought to such Perfection, the Motion should be rejected by that Side, which pursu'd it with so much Eagerness and unweary'd Patience; which by some has been call'd a Master-piece, by others a Mystery of State, of which many various and uncertain Conjectures have been made.

With the Breach of this *Spanish* Match ended the Life of the famous Antiquary and Historian Mr. *William Camden*, *Clerenceaux* King at Arms, in the seventy fourth Year of his Age; a Person highly esteem'd by Foreigners, as well as those of his own Country. The latter are oblig'd to him not only for his noble Productions, but also for his Munificence in founding a History-Professorship in the University of *Oxford*; doubly immortalizing his Name, both in his own happy Discoveries, and the laudable Incouragement given to the Labours of Posterity and future Ages. The Death of Mr. Camden.

Wilson Rushworth.arendon. Hacket. Ret. Parl. D'Agan &c. X. We are now approaching to the last great Turn of Affairs in this Reign, which had such remarkable Effects in the next, namely the Marriage with *France*, which *Buckingham* had been a considerable Time in contriving and projecting. This Duke having by a long Converse made himself Favourite to the Prince, as well as to the King, perswaded his Highness to look back to the Beauty he had seen in *France*, which was nearer to him, and probably more easie to be obtain'd. But the Treaty with *Spain* ought first to be dissolv'd, to give a Colour of Honour to a Proceeding with the other; and that was what nothing but a Parliament could fully accomplish, who once removing the Cause, a Treaty of Peace, were best able to make good the Effect, which would be a War that must follow it. Therefore a Parliament was summon'd the twelfth Day of *February*; when the Grief that the sudden Death of the Duke of *Richmond* had given the King, caus'd it to be deferr'd to the nineteenth of the same Month. Here the King in a long and very obliging Speech, 'us'd his utmost Endeavours to sweeten the Parliament into a good Opinion of all his Actions, and of his sincere Desires to comply with them in every thing, for the Good of the Kingdom, and his utter Aversion to the Infringement of their Liberties. He desir'd to be accounted the Husband of his People; and because he was blam'd for Remissness in Maintenance of Religion, and in encouraging a Toleration to *Papists*, he declar'd, *As God should judge him, he never thought, or ever in Words express'd any thing that savour'd of it: Only sometimes, for special Reasons, he did not so fully put the Laws in Execution, but conniv'd at some things that might have hinder'd more weighty Affairs.* The fourth Parliament in this Reign.

Affairs. As to what related to the breaking off the *Spanish Match*, he re-
 ferr'd them to the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham*, to give them Satisfaction
 in that Affair. And towards the latter End he declar'd, *He spoke as a Chri-*
stian King, that never any Traveller, in the burning, dry and sandy De-
sarts, more thirsted for Water to quench his Thirst, than he did for a happy
Conclusion of this Parliament, and that it might atone for the Miscarriages
of the three former.

Buckingham's
 Narrative of
 the Spanish
 Treaty.

Within three or four Days, the Prince began to speak of the *Spanish Affairs*
 in Parliament, in which he forgot not to mention the Duke of *Buckingham*
 with more than ordinary Affection, who observing the heavy Resentment the
 King had of what was past, and the Affection he still bore to the *Spanish Trea-*
 ty, resolv'd to use all possible Means to ingratiate himself with the Parliament
 and People, who he knew always detested the Match, and indeed any Alliance
 with *Spain*. So when at a Conference between the two Houses, which his
 Highness and the Duke were desir'd to manage, the Prince had made a short
 Introduction, and commended the Duke for his great Care of him in *Spain*,
 and his Dexterity in bringing him away, he referr'd the whole Relation to
 him, who before that august Body declar'd, 'That the real Design of the
 Prince's Journey into *Spain*, had been to make a clear Discovery of the *Spani-*
ard's Integrity, and if he was sincere in what he pretended. That the Am-
 bassador, who had the sole Management of that great Affair, wrote in one
 Dispatch that all was concluded, and in the next, that new Difficulties and
 fresh Demands were started and insist'd upon. These Ebbs and Floods made
 the Prince apprehend, that their Business was to amuse us while they had
 other secret Designs in Agitation; and thereupon his Highness had prevail'd
 upon his Father that he might make that Journey. That they were no soon-
 er arriv'd at *Madrid*, than they discover'd their Purpose never was to give him
 the *Infanta*. That instead of proceeding upon the Articles, which were
 thought concluded, they urg'd new Demands, and that so peremptorily
 in Matters of Religion, that the principal Clergy-Men, and most eminent of
 the King's Preachers, had not only frequent Conferences with the Prince to
 persuade him to turn Papist, but had procur'd the Pope to write a Letter
 himself to his Highness upon the same Subject; but it had pleas'd God to give
 him not only a constant and unshaken Heart in his Religion, but such
 Strength of Argument to defend the same, that they stood amaz'd to hear him,
 and confess'd they were not able to answer him. That the Prince was never per-
 mitted to confer with his Mistress, and very rarely to see her, even when they
 pretended he was upon the Point of Marrying. That they never could obtain a
 more Satisfactory Answer in the Business of the *Palatinate*, than *That it*
was not in the King of Spain's Power to restore it, tho' it had been taken by
 the sole Power of *Spain*, and still'd possess'd by their Forces; so that he was
 well assur'd there was no more real Intention in that Point of Restitution,
 than in the other of Marriage, and that there was no Hopes of recovering the
Palatinate by any other Means than that of Force, which would easily effect
 it. Throughout his whole Discourse he frequently reflect'd upon the Earl of
Bristol, as if he was privy to the *Spanish* Designs, and concurr'd with them;
 that therefore the King had recall'd him, that he might account for all his Mis-
 carriages. Whereas in reality his Majesty had sent for him, rather to assist
 him against the Duke, than to expose him to his Malice and Fury.

The Parila-
 ment applaud
 him.

The Conference ended in an high Applause of the Prince's and Duke's Be-
 haviour, and the Parliament, who had before look'd upon the Duke with a Ma-
 lignant Eye, for tempting the Prince to so dangerous a Journey, when they
 found what extraordinary Effects it had produc'd, forgot all former Mur-
 murings, and could scarce contain from acknowledging him the *Preserver of*
the Nation: His Discovery was highly extoll'd, and he soon became the Fa-
 vourite of the Multitude. But the King himself was infinitely offended, when
 he

he heard what the Duke had so confidently avow'd, without any Authority or Direction from him, a great Part of which himself knew to be false; so that he only wanted the Assistance of a resolute brisk Counsellor to destroy the Duke, and such a one he promis'd himself in the Earl of *Bristol*, whom he daily expected. However he resolv'd to comply in all things with his Parliament, who now wisely pass'd over all Reflections upon particular Persons; and having the Treaty of Marriage with *Spain* put into their Hands, they crush'd that Serpent in the Head, by advising the King to break the Treaty, and proclaim open War against the King of *Spain*, protesting to assist the King in the regaining the *Palatinate*, with their Lives and Fortunes. But the timorous King, apprehending that when the War was begun there would not be sufficient Means to maintain it, thank'd the Parliament for their Advice; and answer'd *That he would consider better of it*. The Parliament finding the King begin to stagger and sink, were resolv'd to rouse and keep up his Spirits; and therefore they offer'd him an extraordinary Aid of three intire Subsidies, and three Fifteenths and Tenths, payable in the Compass of one Year, and so closely urg'd him to the Beginning of the War, that he had no longer Room to make an Evasion, but was forc'd to declare both against the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, according to their Advice. Upon which it was resolv'd, shortly to send six thousand Men to join with the Forces of the States of *Holland*, that by weakning the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, they might have a freer Access into *Germany*, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. They dissolve the Spanish Treaty.

The Dissolution of the Treaties with *Spain*, and the Preparations for War resounding in every Ear, gave such an Alarm to the *Spanish* Ambassador, the Marquess of *Inoiosa*, that he resolv'd to act his Revenge against the Duke of *Buckingham*. In order to effect it, by a Stratagem he thrust a Paper into the King's Hands, containing the Particulars of some strange and desperate Designs form'd by the Duke against his Majesty, in which the Prince himself wanted not his Share; which were so plausibly drawn up, as might have distracted a Mind far less timorous than his own. This Contrivance so prevail'd upon the King, that he became deeply thoughtful and melancholy, and would entertain the Prince and Duke with no Discourse but Riddles and broken Sentences, that like Flashes of Lightning from a dark Cloud, shew'd a Storm was gathering within. Immediately the Prince and Duke concluded themselves in Danger; and upon Enquiry found that the *Spanish* Ambassador, and *Macstro* a Jesuit of that Nation, had been with the King, and that some of the Ambassador's Family had boasted, *That they had sensibly wounded the Duke, and laid such a Train as should blow the Parliament in pieces*. The King, amidst these terrible Anxieties, prepar'd for *Windsor*, hoping to divert and ease his over-charg'd Imaginations: And at the End of *April* he took Coach together with the Prince, but made some slight Pretence to leave *Buckingham* behind him, as he was putting his Foot into the Coach: At which he broke out into Tears, and humbly begg'd of his Majesty *To tell him his Crime, that he might confess it, or clear himself*. To which the King only reply'd with a profound Sigh, *That he was the most unhappy Wretch alive, to be forsaken by those who were dear to him*: Which was follow'd by a Flood of Tears both from himself and the Prince; but the King drove away for *Windsor*, and left the disconsolate Duke behind him. This coming to the Ear of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, he hasten'd to the Duke's House, where with Difficulty he gain'd Admittance to his Grace, whom he found lying on a Couch in a melancholy unmovable Posture. But at length the Duke was persuaded to declare the Case, at which the Keeper advis'd him immediately to follow the King to *Windsor*, and never to stir from his Presence Night or Day; *for the Danger was, lest any one should gain the King's Ear, and persuade him to dissolve the Parliament, and upon the Dissolution of it, get his Grace thrown into the Tower, and then God knows what would follow*. The Duke follow'd the Keeper's Advice, while the The King suspects Buckingham.

*He is reconcil'd
to him.*

other in the mean Time, by a nice Piece of Dexterity, and through the Means of a Mistress kept by the *Spanish* Secretary, found out the whole Occasion of the Disturbance: Which ended in a full and happy Reconciliation between the King, the Prince and Duke, at a Time when the Continuance of the Breach might have caus'd infinite Mischiefs to them all.

*The Earl of Bristol
imprison'd.*

By this the Duke's Power was more firmly establish'd, notwithstanding the secret Resentments of the King, who contrary to his Promise was prevail'd upon to restrain the Earl of *Bristol* at his first Arrival, and without admitting him into his Presence, to throw him into the Tower, upon Suspicion of High-Treason; this noble Earl had left the *Spanish* Court with Honour and Reputation, where he was offer'd Places, Sums of Money, and Protection against his Enemies in *England*, all which he generously refus'd: But now finding *Buckingham's* Power and Popularity too mighty for him to oppose at this Instant, he was content with Submission to gain his Liberty, and retire himself to a Country Privacy. The Duke, swell'd with Grandeur, next turn'd the Weight of his Authority against *Lionel Cranfield*, a Gentleman of great Abilities, who by marrying a near Relation of the Duke's, was rais'd by him to be made a Privy-Counsellor, Master of the Wardrobe, Master of the Wards, and shortly Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, and Earl of *Middlesex*. This Lord had by his great Dexterity gain'd so much Credit with the King, that during the Duke's Absence in *Spain*, he not only refus'd to remit such Sums of Money as those unlimited Expences requir'd, but took the Courage to dispute his Commands, and appeal to the King, whose Ear was always inclin'd to him. Therefore when the Duke found his Interest in the present Parliament, he projected the Ruin of this bold Rival, and easily procur'd some leading Men in the House of Commons to send up an Impeachment of several Corruptions and Misdemeanors to the House of Lords against that great Minister. The discerning King readily foresaw the ill Consequences of such an Activity, which was a Breach upon his Royal Authority, and a dangerous Precedent against the Supports of Regal Power. He therefore sent for the Prince and Duke, who had both promoted the Matter, and earnestly conjur'd them to make use of their utmost Interest to restrain it, as a Wound to the Crown not easie to be cur'd; and finding the Duke unmov'd by all his Arguments and Commands, he with an angry Oath call'd him a direct Fool, and prophetically told him, *That in this Fit of Popularity he was making a Rod to scourge himself.* Then turning to the Prince with the same Foresight he said, *That when he was dead, he would have his Belly-full of Parliament Impeachments, and would remember to his Sorrow how much he had contributed to the Weakning of the Crown, by the two Precedents he was so fond of;* meaning as well the engaging the Parliament in the War, as the Prosecuting the Earl of *Middlesex*. But the Duke had gain'd so powerful an Interest in both Houses, that the King's Interposition was ineffectual, and the Earl, notwithstanding the good Defence he made, was at last condemn'd in a great Fine, to a long Imprisonment, and an Exclusion from his Seat in Parliament during Life: A Clause of such a Nature, as was never known before in any Judgment of Parliament, and indeed not to be inflicted on a Peer but by Attainder.

*The Parliament
petition
against Popery.*

The Lords being now at Leisure, began to consider how highly necessary it was that they should join with the Commons, in Petitioning the King to curb the Growth of Popery, and restrain the Aspiring *Romanists*. And after some Conferences between both Houses, the Petition was reduc'd to two Propositions, and presented to the King as two Petitions: The first was to beg his Majesty, 'That all the Laws might be put in Execution against Jesuits, 'Seminary Priests, and other Orders of the Church of *Rome*, and generally 'against all Popish Recusants. The second was, 'That his Majesty would be 'pleas'd to secure the Hearts of his Subjects, by the Engagement of his Royal 'Word, That upon no future Occasion of Marriage or Treaty, or any Request 'of

of Foreign Prince or State, he would remove or relax the Execution of his Laws against the foresaid *Roman* Catholics. To both these the King gave a particular Answer *viva voce* before the Lords and Commons; and as to the first he protested before God, *That his Heart had bled when he heard of the Increase of Popery, and that the Grief of it had been as Thorns in his Eyes, and Pricks in his Side; therefore he was ready by Proclamation to command all the Jesuits and Priests of the Nation to depart by a certain Day.* As to the second he declar'd, *That since it was against the Rule of Wisdom, that a King should suffer any Subject to transgress the Laws by the Intercession of other Princes, therefore he assur'd them, That he would be careful that no such Condition should be foisted in upon any other Treaty whatsoever.* From these Proceedings many Papists were turn'd out of Places of Trust and Profit, which considerably crush'd their Party; 'till a new Treaty with *France* made a great Alteration, and gave them new Life and Incouragement. And now the Parliament having sat above three Months, given three Subsidies, three Fifteenths and Tenths, pass'd an Act of general Pardon, and thirty three other Acts of Consequence, upon the twenty ninth of *May* it was prorogu'd from time to time, 'till the King's Death dissolv'd it.

The King's Answer.
The Parliament ended.

During this Session, four Regiments of Foot, fifteen hundred in each Regiment, were transported into *Holland* under the Command of the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Willoughby*, since Earl of *Lindsey*. But while the *English*, the great Supporters of the *Dutch*, were fighting for them in their own Country, there arriv'd News out of the *East-Indies* of such a horrid and barbarous Nature, as no Time nor Age could parallel. The *Dutch* grasping at the whole Spicery Trade in that Eastern World, and having industriously wrought out the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, endeavour'd to do the same by their best Friends the *English*, that they might engross the whole to themselves; which causing many Contests between them, at length they came to Terms of Agreement, and the *English* conceiving themselves secure, planted their Factories among them: Where after two Years, that they had reap'd the Fruit of their Dangers and Hazards, the *Dutch* began to attempt their utter Extirpation, not by the Sword of War or a Massacre, but by such cruel and savage Tortures, as could hardly be thought to proceed from Christians, or those of human Race. The Island of *Amboyna* was the bloody Stage where they acted this dismal Tragedy: For, pretending that Captain *Gabriel Towerson*, and the rest of the *English* Factory, had conspir'd to seize the Castle, and expel the *Dutch* out of the Island, they seiz'd upon them, and having no Witnesses against them but their Racks, they extended their Sinews to the full Length, and disjointed all the Limbs of their Bodies; and with their other Engines making them suck in Water with their Breath, they swell'd their Bodies to a vast Proportion, 'till their Skins were ready to burst, and their Eyes to start out of their Heads. And those whose Innocency and Courage could not be compell'd by those Torments to accuse themselves of unacted Crimes, they burnt the Soles of their Feet with Candles, 'till the dropping Moisture extinguish'd the Flame, and with those fiery Instruments made such Holes in their Sides, that they might see their Entrails, tho' the Monsters would not see their Innocence, but persisted in their exquisite Cruelties; which being horrible to express, must be insupportable to sustain. Having thus weary'd out the miserable Men with Tortures, and they being willing to die quickly, confess'd and gave under their Hands whatever their barbarous Tormentors dictated to them, and ended their Cruelties by cutting off their Heads. Ten of the *English* lost their Lives, and the rest, being near as many more, with rack'd, swell'd and macerated Bodies, were sent to the *English* Plantations; so the whole Factory was destroy'd, and the *Dutch* seiz'd that Trade into their Hands, which they have kept ever since.

The Dutch Cruelties at Amboyna.

King *James* receiving the Account of this barbarous Transaction, is said to have made a very cold Reply upon the Occasion, having his Thoughts more nearly imploy'd about his own Family, and the Marriage of his Son with the House of *France*; in Order to which, soon after the Breach with *Spain*, his Majesty sent over the Lord *Kensington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, privately to find out the Inclinations of the *French* King, in relation to a Match between the Prince and the Lady *Henrietta Maria*, younger Daughter to King *Henry* the Great. He continu'd there a Month before he mov'd in that Matter; but as soon as he propos'd it to the *French* King, he was so desirous of the Match, that he told the Earl, *He had rather have the Prince of England to be his Brother, than any other Man in the World*, and was so ready to comply, that he seem'd indifferent in making Terms for the Catholics in *England*. But when he found King *James*, who dreaded a second Disappointment, to be immeasurably fond of this Alliance, he abated of his Forwardness, enlarg'd his Demands in Favour of Papists, and strain'd the King to such Concessions, as he had promis'd to his Parliament he would never grant upon the Mediation of Foreign Princes. The famous Cardinal *Richlieu* was now in the Infancy of his Rise and Favour, and was made the principal Manager of this great Affair in Behalf of *France*; and the Earls of *Holland* and *Carlisle* were sent Ambassadors Extraordinary from the Court of *England* in the Month of *June*. These represented to the Cardinal, 'That the Proposition they made of a Marriage being no new Thing, since it had been treated of many Years before to marry the Prince of *Wales* with Madam *Christiana*, who was afterwards marry'd to the Prince of *Piedmont*; they had nothing now to do, but to re-assume the Articles already made, and to continue on the same Foot with the Lady *Henrietta*. But the *French* answer'd, 'That the Face of Affairs was chang'd since that Time, and that they had different Thoughts at present; that it was the King of *England*'s Interest to preserve the Reputation of the *French* King in this Marriage; that at present they could not be contented with what they had formerly offer'd about Religion, after what had happen'd in *Spain*, when there was a Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the Infanta; urging, that it was necessary to begin the Negotiation by laying those Articles upon the Table, which the King of *Great Britain* had agreed with *Spain* upon that Occasion. The *English* Ambassadors rejecting this, one of the *French* answer'd, *He was much surpriz'd that they were not come with Power to make the same Concessions to the Most Christian King, as their Master had granted to his Catholick Majesty, since they might easily imagine France would suffer no Inequality in this Affair.*

A Treaty of Marriage with France.

The French insist upon high Terms.

The English and French agree.

This put some Stop to the Negotiation, but in effect the Ambassadors of *England* soon consented to agree to all the Articles with *Spain*, except three; of which one was concerning a Toleration for the *English* Catholics; another for a publick Church for the Retinue of the Lady; and the last related to the Education of those Children who should be born of this Marriage, who 'till twelve Years of Age were to be in the Hands of the Queen, to educate them in her own Religion. The *French* represented it would do great Service to the King of *England*, by uniting to his Party all the *English* Catholics, who would oppose themselves to the *Puritans* and *Presbyterians*, by whom the King was not truly belov'd: But the Ambassadors would never consent to grant a Church to the Papists, which would endanger a Mutiny in *London*, tho' they agreed to the Article concerning the Education of Children; but yet rejected to have a Bishop sent with the Lady, as a Matter of no Use. As for the Dowry, the King of *England* insisted upon eight hundred thousand Crowns, of which one half was to be paid in *London* the Evening before the Marriage, two hundred thousand a Year after, and the rest in six Months after that. There was also a Proviso made, that if the Lady should die before the Prince without Children, he should be oblig'd only to restore the Moiety. All this being agreed,

the

the main thing was to procure a Dispensation from the Pope to permit the Lady to marry with an Heretick Prince; for his Holiness was no ways pleas'd with the Marriage, lest it might occasion the Restitution of the *Palatinate*. Therefore Father *Berulle*, who was sent to *Rome* for that Purpose, us'd many Arguments with the Pope, and insisted upon the numerous Advantages that would accrue to the Catholick Religion by this Marriage; so that at length the Pope was mollify'd, and consented to a Dispensation, which in three Months Time was compleated.

While one Negotiation was carry'd on at *Rome*, another more secret was managing in *England* by the Arch-Bishop of *Embrun*, who was sent over by the *French* King in Favour of the *Roman* Catholicks in *England*, and likewise to sound King *James* about his Thoughts of the *Romish* Religion; of which remarkable Transaction we have this following Account from the Arch-Bishop himself, and from Monsieur *D'Ageant*, a prime Minister of State in *France*. This Prelate, who was a Man of great Knowledge and Experience, having receiv'd his Orders from the *French* King, took a Voyage into *England*, in the Habit and Name of a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, whom Curiosity had induc'd to see the Nation. He was soon met and discover'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who told him *That there was no occasion for him to change his Name or conceal his Quality, for he should receive nothing but Honour, especially from the King his Master, who had a very particular Esteem for him.* Shortly after he introduc'd him to the King at *Royston*, who entertain'd him very graciously, and order'd the Duke to be present all the Time of the Discourse, which lasted above two Hours. At this first Meeting he prevail'd so far, that Orders were immediately given to release many *Roman* Catholicks out of Prison, in *London* and other Places, and the Execution of many Laws against them was suspended; and further he was permitted to administer Confirmation to what Catholicks he pleas'd, in the House of the *French* Ambassador, while the Doors were open. Accordingly he confirm'd above ten thousand, in the Presence of a great Concourse of People at the Door and in the Street; at which many were extreamly offended, and complain'd of it to the King, but to no Effect, for his Majesty answer'd them, *That he did nothing contrary to his Pleasure.* This Arch-Bishop had several Conferences with the King, in which his Majesty testify'd his great Desire to be ally'd to *France*, and the other insisted upon a Toleration, as the most effectual Means to give Satisfaction to the Catholick Princes: Whereupon the King laying his Hand upon his Hand, said, *I plainly see that you are a Person appointed by God, in whom I ought to confide, and to reveal the Secrets of my Heart.*

The secret Treaty of the Arch-Bishop of Embrun in England.

He confirms ten thousand in London.

Afterwards, he very freely acknowledg'd to the Arch-Bishop the good Opinion he had conceiv'd of the Catholick Faith, and so particularly, that he omitted nothing; protesting to him, 'That during his Minority, his Tutors having perceiv'd his Inclination to that Religion, he ran great Hazards of being assassinated: As to a Toleration, he profess'd he had long design'd to grant it in his Dominions, and for that very Purpose, he intended to summon an Assembly of Prelates and other learned Men of *England*, together with an equal Number of Foreigners, and upon the Decisions there made, to found the said Liberty; adding, That he had already determin'd what Persons should be chosen among the *English*; and that if the Assembly could not meet at *Dover*, he would consent that it should be holden at *Boloign*, as soon as he should be in a Condition to rely upon the King of *France*, by the Means of the intended Marriage: And to procure these good Effects, he thought convenient that after the Consummation of it, the Arch-Bishop should return into *England* under the Pretence of accompanying the Princess, at which Time he would deliver to him two Letters written with his own Hand, one for the *French* King, and the other for the Pope, containing his serious Resolutions: He would also give him a distinct Memorial concerning his Intention, which he would

King James's Discourses with him.

‘ would Sign, that the Arch-Bishop being furnish’d with these Dispatches, he
 ‘ should go to *Rome*, under Colour of visiting the Apostolick See, there to treat
 ‘ with the Pope alone, for whom he said, he had a greater Respect and Affecti-
 ‘ on, ever since he understood he had compos’d Verses in his Youth of the vio-
 ‘ lent Death of the Queen of *Scotland* his Mother, in Commendation of her,
 ‘ and of the Family of the *Stuarts*, which he shew’d to the Arch-Bishop. He
 further declar’d, ‘ That in Case the Arch-Bishop return’d from *Rome* with the
 ‘ Approbation of his Holiness concerning the Convention, he would cause it
 ‘ forthwith to be assembled, whereupon extraordinary and admirable Events
 ‘ would ensue : But before he proceeded to discover his Design as to his own
 ‘ Person, he would negotiate with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and
 ‘ with the principal *Puritan* Lords of *England* and *Scotland*, and promis’d that
 ‘ all things should tend to a happy Conclusion, and to the great Advantage of
 ‘ the Catholick Church. This, says the Arch-Bishop, is the Substance of all
 the Discourses they had at several Times upon this Subject.

His Letter to
the Pope.

Monfieur *D’Ageant* further tells us, that being satisfy’d as to all the Points
 in Controversie, the King wrote a long Letter to the Pope, by a Catholick
 Gentleman his Subject, whom he privately sent to him on purpose. ‘ In which
 ‘ he acknowledg’d him as the *Vicar General of Jesus Christ* on Earth, as the
 ‘ *universal Father of the Christians*, and the *Chief of all Catholicks* ; assuring
 ‘ him, that after he had taken Care of those things to which he had agreed, he
 ‘ would openly declare himself : In the mean Time he promis’d not to suffer
 ‘ any Search to be made in his Kingdom after Priests that were sent by his Ho-
 ‘ linefs, or the *Most Christian King*, provided they were not *Jesuits*, in whom
 ‘ he protested he could not confide, for several Reasons ; principally because he
 ‘ accounted them the Authors of the Gun-Powder Treason, by which they
 ‘ were to have blown up him and the chief of the Nation. In his Letter,
 among other Particulars, he intreated the Pope ‘ To vouchsafe that the Goods
 ‘ of the Church that were enter’d into the Patrimony of the principal Families of
 ‘ *England* should not be taken from them ; but that they should be permitted still
 ‘ to enjoy them, because otherwise great Troubles and Commotions would ensue.
 He affirm’d moreover, ‘ That nothing could hinder him from making a pub-
 ‘ lick Profession of the Catholick Religion at this Time, but the Desire he had
 ‘ to gain the King of *Denmark* his Brother-in-Law, whom he had for that
 ‘ End, tho’ under another Pretence, solicited to come over into *England*,
 ‘ where he hop’d to convert him : That by doing this, he should be able to
 ‘ establish Peace in his own Dominions, which otherwise could hardly be main-
 ‘ tain’d ; and that they two united in the same Design, would draw after them
 ‘ almost all the Northern Countries. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Gen-
 tleman he sent to *Rome*, were the only two Persons, that were Subjects, to
 whom he communicated these Intentions. The Duke had promis’d to follow
 him, and had made a considerable Progress in the Affair ; but all these remark-
 able Designs were made void by the Death of the King of *England* not long
 after, at which the *French* King, declaring the News to the Arch-Bishop of
Embrun, express’d a very sensible Regret in these Words, *All our Hopes of*
England are lost. Thus far the two *French* Authors, Monfieur *D’Ageant*,
 and *William D’Hugues*, Arch-Bishop of *Embrun* ; of whom we can say no
 more, than that the Credit of their Narrative must be left to all nice and im-
 partial Readers of this Reign.

The Marriage-
Treaty conclu-
ded.

In the mean Time the Marriage-Treaty with *France* succeeded, and held
 fewer Months than the Years that were spent in that of *Spain*. In *August* the
 Match was concluded, and in *November* the Articles were sworn to by King
James, Prince *Charles*, and the *French* King ; tho’ they were not fully con-
 cluded ‘till *February* following, nor the Match consummated ‘till after the
 King’s Death. Cardinal *Richlieu*, to prevent all Contests that might arise by
 Means of this Alliance, as in former Times had happen’d, oblig’d Madam the
 Princess

Princess to renounce all Successions, both Direct and Collateral, which might accrue to her; for which eight hundred thousand Crowns was to be given to her in Marriage. He also took care that her House should be compos'd of as great a Number of Officers, as any Queen of *England* ever had: That her Dowry should be sixty thousand Crowns *per Annum*, which should be assign'd her upon Lands, one of which should be a Dutchy or an Earldom: That if she became a Widow, she should have her Choice to stay in *England*, or come into *France*, whether she had Children or not; and if she return'd into *France*, the King of *England* should be oblig'd to conduct her at his own Charge, with agreeable Honours, as far as *Calais*. The publick Articles concerning Religion were not much short of those for the *Spanish* Match; besides which *Rusworth* mentions some private Articles in favour of the *Roman* Catholicks, which *Nalson*, upon rational Grounds, looks upon as fictitious, particularly for not being to be found in Monsieur *D'Ageant's* Memoirs, where the Secrets of the *English* Court were, or pretended to be discover'd. Yet the *French* Author of Cardinal *Richlieu's* Life in Effect declares as much as *Rusworth*, namely, that the King and Prince took a particular Oath to release all the Catholick Prisoners, as soon as the Marriage was consummated, and to prohibit for the future their being ill treated for their Religion: And further, that they both gave a Promise in Writing, by which they bound themselves, by no Way or Means whatsoever, to oblige the Princess to change her Religion. The Author likewise highly reflects upon the Wisdom of King *James*, and says, 'As this Match was against all the Maxims of good Policy, so it drew upon his Son King *Charles* those Mischiefs, which perhaps never befel any King succeeding to an Hereditary Crown; and his Sons born of that Marriage, and seduc'd by their Mother's Persuasions, have been most unfortunate since his Death. And several were of Opinion, that Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was then contriving a War against the House of *Austria*, sent this Princess into *England*, as a Ball of Dissention, that would create so much Trouble in that Nation, as would incapacitate them from disturbing their Neighbours Affairs.

Censures upon it.

Yet still King *James* thought it a propitious Match, and a great Step towards the Restoration of the *Palatinate*, and his unfortunate Progeny; but this prov'd no more successful than another feeble Attempt this Year, made by Count *Mansfield*, who came into *England* for that Purpose, was receiv'd with great Splendor, and made Commander of an Army of twelve thousand *Englishmen*. These Forces were design'd to pass through *France* into *Germany*, the *French* having promis'd, as well an Addition of Strength, as a free Passage. The *French*, notwithstanding their Promise, and the Treaty of Marriage, delay'd, tho' not directly deny'd their Passage; nevertheless the whole Army was shipp'd off, and put over to *Calais*; and after a tedious Stay, in hopes yet to land and pass through the Country, they were forc'd to set sail for *Zealand*. Neither were they suffer'd to land there, coming so unexpectedly upon the States, and in a hard and scarce Time for Provision of Victuals. Thus they were long confin'd to their narrow Vessels, and suffer'd the want of all Necessaries, by which means a Pestilence broke out among them, and rag'd so extremely, that they were thrown into the Sea by Multitudes: Insomuch that scarce a third Part of the Men were landed, which also soon after decreas'd and dispers'd, and the whole Design vanish'd into Air. Thus continually unfortunate was the King in the deplorable Case of his Children; and neither he nor his Son saw the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, which happen'd not 'till twenty three Years after, when the Monarchy of *England* was under a fatal Eclipse, and its Sovereign Lord, by an unheard of Example, brought to the Scaffold to lose his Head.

A. D.
1625.
Reg. 23.
Count Mansfield comes into England.

His Expedition unfortunate.

Before King *James* could see the Misfortunes of Count *Mansfield*, or the Marriage of his Son, he was seiz'd with a Tertian Ague that prov'd fatal to him.

him. This was preceded by the Deaths of two great and worthy Men, *Lodowick Duke of Richmond* and *Lenox*, and *James Marquess of Hamilton*; which exceedingly affected the King, who being inform'd of the Death of the latter, said, *If the Branches be thus cut down, the Stock cannot continue long*: Which Saying was shortly verify'd. His great Indisposition meeting with a fat and unweildy Body, and daily increasing, he retir'd to *Theobalds*; and the Lord-Keeper *Williams* having Notice that they fear'd his Sickness was mortal, went and presented himself before his Majesty, endeavouring to divert him, and bring him to a chearful Discourse, but all in vain: Thus he continu'd by his Bed-side 'till Midnight, but the King found no Comfort. The next Morning, after a Consultation of Physicians, he saw no Hopes of Life, and therefore he ask'd leave of the Prince to acquaint his Father with his weak Condition, and put him in Mind both of his mortal, and immortal State. Having the Prince's Consent, he went into his Majesty's Chamber, and kneeling down told him, *He knew he should neither displease, nor discourage him, if he brought him the Message of Isaiah to Hezekiah, to set his House in Order; for he concluded his Days to come would be but few in the World.* At which the King calmly reply'd, *I am satisfy'd, and I desire you to assist me in preparing to go hence, and to be with Christ, whose Mercies I pray for, and hope to find them.* Finding himself much declining, he call'd the Prince his Son to his Bed-side, and recommended several useful Precepts to his future Consideration; while the Keeper continually watch'd with his Royal Master, and never so much as put off his Cloaths to go to Bed, 'till after his Death. His great Business was frequently to pray, read and discourse about Repentance, Faith, Remission of Sins, Resurrection, and Eternal Life; all which was the Preparation on *Wednesday* for the blessed Sacrament on *Thursday*, which his Majesty receiv'd *with singular Comfort*. On *Friday* he became sensibly weaker; so that now the Keeper stirr'd very little out of the Chamber, and that not only to comfort the departing King, but likewise to keep off some of the *Romish* Religion, who were watching about the Chamber-Door, whom, as a Privy-Counsellor, he commanded to keep at a greater Distance. As he drew near to his End, the Prayer usually said at the Hour of Death being ended, having repeated these Words, *Veni, Domine Jesu*, he gave up the Ghost without any Pangs, as are commonly seen in dying Persons, and the Keeper clos'd his Eyes with his own Hands. This was upon *Sunday* the twenty seventh of *March*, being fifty eight Years of Age, and having reign'd twenty two Years, and three Days. Many scandalous Rumours were spread concerning his Death; and some took the liberty to write that he was poison'd, as the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marquess of *Hamilton* had been before him; which might be occasion'd by the too bold Officiousness of the Duke of *Buckingham* in administering his own Physick. But upon opening his Body, there was found no Mark or Sign of Poison, his inward Parts being all sound; only his Spleen was a little affected, which might be Cause enough to throw him into an Ague. His Body, for the greater State, was convey'd by Torch-Light from *Theobalds* to *Somerset-House*, where being deposited from the twenty third Day of *April*, to the seventh of *May*, it was carry'd to *Westminster*, where, according to Sir *Richard Baker*, it was interr'd with great Solemnity, but with greater Lamentation.

The King's last
Sickness.

His Death.

His Character.

To come at last to the Person and Character of this Prince, we find it a hard Undertaking to draw the Picture of one who had so many different Aspects; especially where both Friends and Enemies have so far exceeded the Limits of Justice and Impartiality. As to his Person and Presence he made but an Ordinary Figure; his Countenance was homely, his Features harsh, tho' not altogether uncomely; his Stature was of the middle Size, his Body not ill compacted, but fat and unweildy in his latter Days, usually wearing his Cloaths plain, large, and different from the common Mode. But as to his Mind, he has receiv'd the highest Applauses and Commendations, particularly, That he

was

was the *Solomon* of the Age for *Knowledge*, *Learning* and *Wisdom*; one, who knew how to catch the Inclinations of the People at the first Rebound, not suffering them to mount higher than he could reach them, nor grow so strong, but he could either alter or divert them: That he had an admirable Pregnancy of *Wit*, which being improv'd by continual Study, he acquir'd such a Promptness and Elegancy in expressing his Mind, that his extemporary Speeches were little inferior to his premeditated Writings: That he was a *mild*, *peaceful* and *munificent* Monarch, suitable to the *English* Genius and Nation. All which Particulars were really true, but still with a remarkable Mixture of Allay; and without that, *Wilson* acknowledges, that his high, towering and mastering Reason had been of a rare and sublim'd Excellency. Upon which Account, his *Knowledge* has been by some thought fitter for the Head of a Society, than the Governor of a Kingdom; his *Learning* to border more upon Pedantry, than rise to a compleat Understanding; his *Wisdom* to have more of Subtlety, or a Sagacity in discovering Mischiefs, than an Ability of surmounting them; and his *Wit* too often to descend to inferior Sorts of Jest and Quibbles, which was the common way of Wit in that Age. His *Munificence* was many Times a direct Profuseness, and a wasting of the Revenues of the Crown; and his *peaceful Temper*, which made him take *Beati Pacisci* for his Motto, had too much of a timorous Disposition, not to say Cowardize; which caus'd him not only to be often contemn'd by Foreign Princes, but also at home to be govern'd, and sometimes insulted by his Favourites, which was one of the greatest of his Weaknesses: And this led him to another Quality, or rather an Acquisition, which some thought as wicked, as the other was weak, which he call'd by the Name of *King-Craft*, others an *exquisite Skill in Dissimulation*; in which he so much delighted, that it seems to be the greatest of all his Blemishes. He had excellent Notions in Conception, but could bring but few into Action, tho' they tended to his own Preservation: And this was one of his Maxims, of which he made no timely Use; *A Prince, who would avoid Conspiracies, ought to be rather jealous of such, whom his Favours have advanc'd, than of those whom his Frowns have discontented: For the latter want Means, while the Former have them at Pleasure, to execute their Designs.* But to come to his moral Virtues, he was eminent for his Chastity, which was remarkable in a Court so loose and luxurious as his own. He was very temperate in his Exercises, and Diet, and not intemperate in his Drinking; yet he drank very often of the strongest sweet Wines, but always in very small Quantities, and rather out of a Custom than any Delight, as *Weldon* himself acknowledges. He was by Education patient, pious and religious; yet sometimes his Choler and Passion would prevail over all, and throw him into the profanest Oaths and Curses; for which he would afterwards shew himself heartily penitent: And indeed, he was not only ready to ask Forgiveness of God, but also of Men; and sometimes in such a peculiar Manner, that they could scarcely say whether it was a pious Condescension, or an abject Disposition. As to his Religion, in which he display'd the Height of his Parts and Learning, he was really *Calvinist* in most Points, excepting that of Episcopacy, as appears from some of his Books, and his Zeal for the Synod of *Dort*: Yet he gave unhappy Suspicions to the Nation, by making such Advances to the Pope and Papists, upon the Account of the *Spanish* and *French* Treaties. Notwithstanding his open Indulgences, and perhaps secret Inclinations to the *Roman* Catholics, yet in many publick Speeches he declar'd against them, and once in a very remarkable Manner, in the Presence of many Lords, as we find it in *Croke's* Reports; for having been charg'd with a Design of granting a Toleration to Papists, he made a solemn Protestation, *That he would spend the last Drop of Blood in his Body before he would do it, and pray'd, That before any of his Issue should maintain any other Religion than his own, that God would take them out of the World.* How far this Imprecation

cation reach'd or affected himself, or any of his Family afterwards, we leave to the Determination of an omniscient Being.

His Reign in general.

To take some Notice of this Reign in general, it is highly remarkable, that tho' the Nation was warlike and ready to kindle at any Flame, yet this King kept it his whole Reign all in Peace, without any War from abroad, or Rebellion at home. It is true, there were some Heats between him and his Parliaments about the *Prerogative*; and it happen'd then, as it does in most Feuds, Things were carry'd to great Extremities: Yet impartial Writers think, that considering his Majesty's Circumstances, he was not well us'd, and that if the House had been freed from half a dozen popular and discontented Members, the Disturbances would soon have ended. It is also remarkable, that during this whole Reign the King never took away the Life of one Nobleman in *England*, but restor'd many; yet his artificial taking off Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by vertue of a former Condemnation, after an equitable Restoration, and his sparing the Earl and Countess of *Somerset*, after such Imprecations upon himself and Progeny, are both real Blemishes in this King's Conduct. He came to the Crown with all the Advantages of Power, Love and Reputation, and the former Part of the Reign was more active and laudable; but the latter, with the encreasing Weakness of the publick Ministry, became more passive, and declin'd in Vigour and Greatness to the last Moment of his Life. If we consider the whole Reign with the former, it will bear no Comparison; and tho' there was a great Increase of Affluence and Trade, the Reputation of *England* began sensibly to sink; so that the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, when join'd under one Monarch, made a less Figure, than one of them had in former Ages. The martial Heat and Exercise of the Nation began gradually to decline, by the Example of a pacifick King; and Sir *Richard Baker* observes, that two Things in this Reign grew to lose their Lustre: One, the Exercise of Tilting, which in the last Reign was so much us'd, that no Year pass'd without special Solemnities in that Kind: The other, the Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners and Yeomen of the Guard, which in the Queen's Time consisted of the most select Persons of the Realm for Stature, and other Qualifications; and was so noble an Ornament in her Court, that no Prince in Christendom could show the like. But this King so little valu'd these Particulars, that both in his Time came utterly to be neglected; no Solemnity of Arms but by Accident, and no Regard had to what Persons were admitted into that Service. In short, the main Conduct of the Reign seems inconsistent with it self, and differing from the common Methods of Mankind: Therefore whatever may be said in Commendation of the Blessings of Peace and Plenty, and whatever Rhetorick has been us'd to extol the uninterrupted Pleasures of this Reign, it cannot be deny'd, but that this admir'd Calm was only the Fore-runner of a most dismal Storm, and that this peaceful Monarch was not only really unfortunate in himself and Daughter, but also left to his Son an unnecessary War, an exhausted Treasury, and a Crown of Troubles and Thorns. Of which we may be more particular, when, in another Volume, we come to trace the several Steps, and lay open the various Springs of those tumultuous and calamitous Times.

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